When intelligence of this reached the Emperor at Fathpúr, on the 25th Rabí‘u-l ákhír he set off. At five kos distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by ’Abdu-lla Kháń, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khán-jahán, and who now returned to cast the head of Dáúd at the foot of the Emperor’s throne. Rejoiced at the victory, he returned to the capital.

Saiyid ’Abdu-lla Kháń thus rehearsed the story of the victory. Muzaffar Kháń arrived with the forces of Bihár, Hájípúr, and Patna, amounting to nearly 5000 horse, and joined Khán-jahán. On the 15th Rabí‘u-l ákhír, 984, they drew out their forces and attacked the enemy. Dáúd also, supported by his uncle Junaíd Kirání and other Afghán chiefs, made his dispositions. Junaíd was struck by a cannon-ball. His leg was broken. After a while the armies closed with each other, and the enemy was defeated. Dáúd being left behind, was made prisoner, and Khán-jahán had his head struck off, and sent it to His Majesty. Great spoil and many elephants fell into the hands of the victors. * * *

At this time, Sultán Khwája was appointed Mír Hájí, and a sum of six lacs of rupees in cash and goods was assigned for the benefit of the poor people about to make the pilgrimage to the holy places, and given into his charge. He was directed to furnish what was necessary to any one desirous of being a pilgrim, and many benefited by this liberality.

[The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwája Mu’tnu-d-dín at Ájnúr.]

It has already been related how Rájá Mán Singh defeated Ráná Kíká, and occupied his country—how the Ráná fled into the high hills, and how the army penetrated to Kokanda, which was the Ráná’s home. The roads to this place were so difficult that little grain reached it, and the army was nearly famished. The order was given for Mán Singh to fall back quickly, and he very soon arrived at the Emperor’s throne. When the distress
wounded by an arrow, became unmanageable, and he was thrown to the ground and made prisoner.

As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant and mounted a horse. Then he gave orders for the elephants to be driven against the lines of 'Alí Kulí Khán. There was among them an elephant named Híránand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyána; but Híránand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. 'Alí Kulí Khán received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and 'Alí Kulí Khán also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him, when 'Alí Kulí-Khán cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahádur placed Bahádur Khán behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the amirs he was put to death. After a little while, the head of 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán was also brought.¹ The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for this victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwál, one of the dependencies of Josí and Payág, now known as 'Illahábás, on Monday, the 1st Zí-l hijja, 974 H.

While the Emperor was on his campaign against Khán-zamán, the author's father remained at Agra, in the performance of his duty to the Emperor, and the author himself was at Agra with him. Every day turbulent and designing men spread disastrous news. One day I said to one of my companions, "Suppose we set some favourable reports afloat?" and he asked what we should say, and I replied, "Let us say that news has come that they are bringing in the heads of Khán-zamán and Bahádur

¹ His death being doubted, a reward was offered for every head. His head was then brought in and recognized.—Akbar-náma, vol. ii. p. 371.
Khán." I told this story to several persons. Three days afterwards 'Abdu-lla, son of Murád Beg, brought in the heads of Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán. The rumour was started in Ágra on the very day they were slain.¹

When the Emperor’s mind was relieved from all apprehension about his adversaries, he proceeded to Josí and Payág, and there rested two days. Some persons, who had deserted the royal army to join 'Alí Kulí Khán, were here brought in, and were handed over to keepers. He then proceeded to Benares.² Every follower of 'Alí Kulí Khán who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor’s power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpúr, and remained three days in sight of that city. Some of 'Alí Kulí Khán’s men, who had escaped from the battle-field and fled to Jaunpúr, were all forgiven and kindly treated. From thence he went, attended by four or five persons, and, by rapid travelling, in the course of three days he reached the Ganges, at the ferry of Karra and Mánikpúr, where there was a camp. Crossing the river in a boat, he went and rested in the fortress. Then he wrote to Mu‘ním Khán Khán-khánán, summoning him from Ágra.

Several jágirdárs of the Eastern province paid their respects, and were dismissed with honour. Some men of 'Alí Kulí’s army, who were prisoners and always intent upon creating a disturbance, such as Khán Kulí Uzbek, Yár 'Alí and Mírzá Beg Kákshál, people of Majúún 'Alí Khán, Khushhál Beg one of the guards of the late Emperor Humáyún, Mír Sháh Badakhshí, and other malcontents, met with a terrible fate.³

¹ Abú-l Fazl tells a similar story of his father. He says that while the Emperor was on this campaign, the hopes of the disaffected rose to the highest pitch, and Mu‘ním Khán, who was in charge of the capital, was sorely troubled. In his perplexity, he consulted Shaikh Mubáarak, who predicted that the heads of the rebels would be brought in.—Akbar-mubára, vol. ii. p. 373.

² The people of Benares had closed their gates, so orders were given for plundering the city.—Akbar-mubára, vol. ii. p. 373.

³ Trampled to death by elephants.—T. Alí. Badání informs us (vol. ii. p. 100) that Káz Tawáá, the Káz of the Imperial camp, gave it as his opinion that the execution of these prisoners and the seizure of their property was unlawful. For this independent judgment he was dismissed.
Mizá Mirak Rizwá Meshhedí, the vakil of 'Alí Kulí Khán, who had fled from Court to join the latter, was taken prisoner on the day of battle, and was ordered to be cast under the feet of an elephant. But the elephant merely rubbed him with his trunk, and finally, in virtue of his being a saiyyid, his crime was forgiven.

Khán-khánán, who had been summoned from Agra, now waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the jāgirs of 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán in Jaunpúr, Benares, Gházipúr, the fort of Chunár and Zamáníya, as far as the ferry of Chaunsá. He also received a present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season, in Zí-1 hijja, 974, the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Muharram, 975, arrived at Agra.

It has been previously mentioned that Muhammad Kulí Khán Birláś and Muzaffar Khán were sent with a force against Sikandar, and went towards Oudh. On hearing of their approach, Sikandar took refuge in a fort. The royal forces came up and laid siege to the fort. Sikandar was already hard pressed, when the news arrived of the destruction of 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán. This greatly dispirited the Uzbek, and they sent men to 'Alí Kulí and Muzaffar Khán, to treat for peace. Having thus engaged the commanders in negotiations, Sikandar evacuated the fort by the gate towards the river, and embarked in boats. As he had all the boats, the Imperial generals were unable to cross the river. Sikandar again sent a message to them, declaring that he was quite ready to keep the engagement he had made, but his men were suspicious. Therefore requested that they would come out in a boat to the middle of the river, and he would meet them with two or three persons and settle the terms. This would satisfy his men, and they would proceed together to Court. Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás, Muzaffar Khán, and Bájá Todar Mal agreed to this proposition, and went out to the middle of the stream. Sikandar Khán, on the other side, came out with two or three persons, and had the

interview. The amirs promised to sue for the pardon of Sikandar, and swore that they would make no attack on the lives or property of him or his men. Upon this agreement, they separated, and each party went to his own side.

Sikandar then made two days’ march, and wrote to the amirs, stating that the rise of the waters had prevented his staying on the banks of the river. On hearing of his departure, the amirs went after him. When they reached Gorakhpúr, they discovered that he had crossed the river and gone off. The country before them belonged to the Afghán, into which they could not enter without the order of the Emperor. They wrote a statement of the position to Court, and received an answer to the effect, that as Sikandar had left the Imperial territory, it was unnecessary to pursue him. His estates and jagirs were given to Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás. The amirs, on being acquainted with the contents of the letter, left Muhammad Kulí Khán, and returned to Court.

Conquest of the Fort of Chitor.

Many zamindárs and rajas of Hindústán had become subjects of the Imperial throne. But Báná Udí Singh, Rája of Márwár, confident in the strength of his fortresses, and the number of his men and elephants, had thrown off his allegiance. Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of 'Alí Kulí Khán and other rebels, he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor. He accordingly began to make preparations for the campaign. The pargana of Bayána was taken from Háji Muhammad Khán Sístání, and given in jagir to Asaf Khán, who was ordered to proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor followed to the town of Bárí, with the avowed intention of

1 Abá-I Fáṣl places this conference after Sikandar’s escape, and says that he demanded the restoration of his jagir and offices, and acted in a very false and unworthy manner.—Akbar-náma, vol. ii. p. 377.

2 See supra, p. 169.
hunting, and there killed a thousand animals in sport. Then he ordered his army to be brought up, and proceeded onwards to Mú-maidána. When he reached the fort of Súpar, he found that, hearing of his approach, the men who garrisoned that fort for Ráí Surjan of Rantambhor, had abandoned it and fled to Rantambhor. The fort was placed in charge of Nazar Bahádúr, one of the Imperial adherents. From thence he went on to Kota, one of the parganas of that country, of which he made Sháh Muhammed Khán Kandahári the governor. Next he marched to Gágrún, on the borders of Málwa.

Mirzá Ulúgh and Mirzá Sháh, sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, had fled from Sambal, and had come into these parts, where they had begun a revolt, which the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress. He therefore appointed Shahábú-d dín Ahmad Khán, Sháh Bidágh Khán, Muhammad Murád Khán, and Hájí Muhammad Sístání to jágrís in Mandú, and charged them with that duty. When the amírs reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirzás, on hearing of the Emperor’s approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarát, to Changíz Khán, the ruler of that country, who had been one of the adherents of Sultán Mahmúd Gujaráti. So the amírs obtained possession of Mandú without opposition.

When the Emperor marched from Gágrún, Ráná Udí Singh left seven or eight thousand men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Bájpút named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain, in the fort of Mírtha, as before related. The Ráná himself, with all his relatives and dependents, took refuge in the hills and jungles.

The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one kos in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three kos, and the width half a kos. It contains

2 Near the junction of the Ahú and Káli Sind in Kota.
plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the
ground round the fort was portioned out among the different
amirs.

The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the
country, and Asaf Khan was sent to Rámpúr,¹ a prosperous
town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and
ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kulí Khan was sent
with a detachment towards Udípur and Kombalnúr,² which is
one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence
of the Ráná. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding
no trace of the Ráná, he returned to the Imperial camp.

When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the
Emperor ordered the construction of sábáts, and the digging of
mines. About 5000 builders and carpenters and stonemasons
were collected, and began their work of constructing sábáts on
two sides of the fort. A sábát is a kind of wall which is begun
at musket-shot distance (from the fort), and under the shelter of
its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw
hides, a kind of way (kúcha) is conducted to the fortress. The
walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being
made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The sábát which
was conducted from the royal battery (morchal-i bádsháhí) was
so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and
it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand
could pass under it.

While the sábát was in course of construction, the garrison
kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of
the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily,
although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide.
Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the
sábát was completed, and carried close to the fort.

¹ About fifty miles S.E. from Chitor. Asaf Khan had previously reduced the fort
of Mándal (the "Mandalour" of Malcolm's map, ten miles S.E. of Gágrún?)._
² Thirty-four miles N.W. of Udípur.
The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery, fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded, and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes, who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 mans were carried to a distance of three or four kos from the walls, and bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamali-d din and * * * and a great number of the Emperor's attendants, were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A sabat which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khán was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th Sha'bán, 975 H., the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the sabat, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died upon the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place, and burnt them. This
proceeding, in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called jauhar. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the sâbât, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. 'Adil Muhammad Kandahârî * * * * and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night the fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8000 Râjpûts who were in the place received the reward of their deeds. After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Asaf Khán was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital, on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bán.

A curious incident in this siege was this: A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at that moment a gun was fired from the fortress, and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb, and did him no harm.

When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwája Mu‘în-d dín Chishti, which is at Ajmîr. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmîr, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Ramazân, he reached Ajmîr. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital.

1 Abü-l Fazl states that the number of the slain amounted to near 40,000; but perhaps 30,000, is meant.—Akbar-nâma, vol. ii. p. 407. See suprd, p. 174.
Thirteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Ramazán, 975 H. (14th March, 1568). At the beginning of this year the Emperor left Ajmír, and proceeded by way of Mewát towards Agra. On his journey, he passed a jungle which was the abode of lions (sher) and tigers (babar). A terrible tiger (sher)\(^1\) came out, and His Majesty’s followers, who were constantly in attendance upon him, discharged their arrows and stretched him in the dust. His Majesty then gave orders, that if a like thing should occur again, they were not to shoot until he directed them. As they went on, another tiger (sher), larger and fiercer than the first, came out and made towards the Emperor. No one of the attendants dared to fire without orders. The tiger-hunting King alighted from his horse and levelled a musket at the beast. The ball grazed the animal’s face, inflicting a slight wound, which caused him to rush from his place towards His Majesty. The Emperor fired a second time, and brought him down. At this juncture, 'Adil Muhammad Kandahári, boldly placed an arrow to his bow, and faced the animal, which then turned away from the Emperor and attacked him. It brought him to the ground, and was about to take his head in his mouth. That brave fellow, in this supreme moment, thrust his hand into the animal’s mouth, and sought to draw his dagger to stab him in the belly. But the handle of the dagger stuck in the sheath, and the beast gnawed the flesh and skin of the hand which was in his mouth. Notwithstanding this, ‘Adil managed to draw his dagger, and inflicted some deep wounds in the animal’s belly. Brave men gathered round on all sides and finished him. ‘Adil Muhammad received a sword-cut besides the wounds the tiger had given him. He lay for some time on the bed of pain before he died of his wounds.

After the tiger hunt the royal camp moved towards Alwar, and

\(^1\) It was in all probability a tiger, although the author would seem to use the words sher and babar distinctively.
directions were given that it should proceed thither, while the Emperor himself went to pay a visit to Shaikh Nizám Nárnauli. He then returned to the camp, and proceeded with the army to the capital.

After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor, renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindústán. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor. Ashraf Khán Mir-munshi and Sádik Khán were sent on this service with a large portion of the Imperial army. When these amirs had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, who had escaped from the hands of Changiz Khán, in Gujarát,¹ and had laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Málwa. The Emperor then directed that Kulíj Khán, with the amirs and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzás.

The two forces united according to the order. On approaching Sironj, Shahábu-d dín, the ruler of that sarkár, came forth to meet them. He joined them and marched on with them. When they encamped at Sárangpúr, Sháh Bidágh Khán joined them with his forces. The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzás were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandú. Muhammad Murád Khán and Mirzá 'Azízu-lla, who had been besieged in Ujjain, being thus released, came out and joined the amirs. All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzás, who fled before them from Mandú to the banks of the Nerbadda. They crossed this river in such confusion that many of their men were drowned. Just at this time Jajhár Khán Habshí murdered Changiz Khán, the ruler of Gujarát, in the tirpauliya maidán of Ahmadábád. When the Mirzás heard of this, they

¹ "The Mirzás did not get on amicably with Changiz Khán, and were tyrannical in their jagirs, so they fled from him." —Bábaání, vol. ii. pp. 109, 199.
seized the chance which it afforded, and fled to Gujarát. The Imperial amirs turned back from the river Nerbadda, and the jágirdárs of Mandú returned to their jágirs. Kalíj Kháń and the other amirs proceeded to Court, and were received with royal favour. On reaching Gujarát, the Mirzás first seized upon the fort of Chámpánír, and then marched against Broach, to which they laid siege. After a while, they by stratagem got into their power Rustam Kháń Rúmí, who was besieged in the fort, and put him to death. The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place.

In the course of this year Mír Muhammad Kháń-i kalán, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Kháń, and Kamál Kháń Chakár, jágirdárs of the Panjáb, were summoned to Court. They hastened to obey, and in Rabí‘u-l awwal, 976 H., they arrived and made their offerings. Husain Kulí Kháń and his brother Isma‘íl Kháń were summoned from Nágor, and appointed to the government of the Panjáb instead of them. The jágir of Muhammad Kháń-i kalán, in the sarkár of Sambal, became a tankhwáh. When the Emperor marched to conquer Rantambhor, Husain Kulí Kháń was his personal attendant in the campaign. But after the reduction of Rantambhor, and the return of His Majesty to Ægra, Husain Kulí Kháń and his brother Isma‘íl Kulí Kháń took leave and departed to the Panjáb. On the 1st Rajab, the Emperor marched from Ægra against Rantambhor. Proceeding to Dehlí, he stayed there some days and went out to a-kamurgha hunt, in the neighbourhood of Pálam, where four or five thousand animals were killed.

Fourteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year agreed with 5th Ramazán, 976 H. (22nd February, 1569). The Emperor marched at the opening


2 The fort was held by Rustam Kháń, a Turki slave, in whose house the sister of Changiz Kháń had taken refuge. He fought bravely, and held out for two years; but being left without help, he was at length obliged to surrender, and was then “in a base and dastardly manner put to death.”—Akbar-náma, vol. ii. p. 418.
of the year towards Bantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, sádáts constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon.

Ráí Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence, and he sent out his two sons, Dúdh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kuli Khán, who had received the title of Khán-jahán, into the fort to give assurances to Ráí Surjan. He did so, and brought the Ráí to wait upon the Emperor, when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants. On Wednesday, 3rd Shawwál, the conquest of the fortress was accomplished, and on the next day the Emperor went in to examine the place. He placed Mihtar Khán in command of the fortress, and then prepared to return to the capital. Leaving the army under the command of Khwája Amínú-d dín Mahmúd, who was entitled Khwája-jahán, and Muzaffar Khán, the Emperor left them to conduct the army back to the capital, while he made a hasty journey to pay a visit to the tomb of Fáizu-l anwár Khwája Mu'ínú-d dín Chishtí. He remained there a week, and then departed for Ágra, where he arrived on Wednesday, 4th Zí-l ka'da, 976. Darbár Khán, one of his personal attendants, had been compelled by sickness to continue with the army, and he died before His Majesty reached Ágra. Upon his return His Majesty went into the Khán’s dining-hall, and made a princely provision for his family.

Foundation of the town of Fathpúr.

The Emperor had several sons born to him, but none of them had lived. Shaikh Salím Chishtí, who resided at the town of Sikrí, twelve kos from Ágra, had gladdened him with the

1 See Blochmann’s Aín-i Akbarí, vol. i. p. 408.
promise of a son. The Emperor went to visit the Shaikh several times, and remained there ten or twenty days on each occasion. He commenced a fine building there on the top of a hill, near the Shaikh’s monastery. The Shaikh also commenced a new monastery and a fine mosque, which at the present day has no equal in the world, near the royal mansion. The amirs also built houses and mansions for themselves. When one of the Emperor’s wives became pregnant, he convoyed her to the dwelling of the Shaikh, and left her there. Sometimes he stayed there himself, sometimes at Agra. He gave the name of Fathpūr to Síkrí, and built a bāzār and baths there.

Conquest of Kālinjar.

This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultáns had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khán Afghán (Sher Sháh) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it, as has been narrated in the history of his reign. During the interregnum of the Afgháns, Rájá Ram Chandar had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijílli Khán, the adopted son (pisar-i khwánda) of Bihák Khán Afghán. The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held jágirs in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Rájá Rám Chandar was a prudent and experienced man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Májnún Khán Kákshál, one of the jágirdárs of that quarter, and a friendly farmán was sent to Rájá Rám Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Safár, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.

2 “‘Alí Khán, the reputed son of Bihár Khán Azam Hamáyún, and son-in-law of Sher Khán [Sher Sháh].”—T. Alfi.
Birth of Prince Sultán Salím Mirzá.

On Wednesday, 18th of Rabí‘u-l awwal, 977 H., and the fourteenth year of the reign, when seven hours of the day had passed, the exalted prince Sultán Salím Mirzá was born in the house of Shaikh Salím Chishti, in the town of Fathpúr. The Emperor himself was in Agra at the time, and the joyful tidings was conveyed to him by Shaikh Ibráhím, son-in-law of Shaikh Salím, who was right royally rewarded. In thanksgiving for this happy event, gifts were distributed among the people, prisoners were set free, and great feasts were held, which were kept up for seven days with great pleasure and rejoicing. The date of the birth is found in the words Sháh-i ál i Timúr. Khwája Husain composed an ode, of which the first line contained the date of the Emperor’s accession, and the second the date of the prince’s birth. The Khwája received a present of two lacs of tankas for this ode, and several other poets received rewards for their productions. The Emperor made Fathpúr 1 a royal abode, raised a stone fortification round it, and built some splendid edifices, so that it became a great city. Before the prince was born, the Emperor had resolved in his own mind, that if the Almighty granted his wishes, he would go a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Murádú-l anwar Kutbu-l wásilín Khwája Mu‘innu-d dín Chishti. Having prepared his offerings, on Friday, the 12th Shaʻbán, 977, he started on foot from Agra for Ajmír. Every day he travelled seven or eight kos. He visited the shrine, and performed the usual observances immediately upon his arrival. He passed some days there, and then left Ajmír for Dehlí, where he arrived in Ramazán, 977.

Fifteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, the 6th Shawwál, 977 H. (14th March, 1570). * * * On Thursday, the 3rd Muharram, 978, the star of good fortune shone, and the

1 Now known as Fathpúr-Sikri. See supra, p. 333.
Emperor had another son, Prince Murád, borne to him in the house of Shaikh Salím. In gratitude for this blessing, he opened the hand of liberality, and gave away many munificent gifts, and men were enriched by his bounty. The nobles and officers of the Court presented offerings suitable to their respective ranks, and received robes of honour. Mauláná Kásim Arslán on this occasion wrote a couplet, of which the first line contained the date of the birth of Prince Salím, and the second that of Prince Murád.

**March of the Emperor to Ajmír.**

The Emperor was accustomed, wherever he might be, to pay a visit every year to the tomb of Muʿinu-l hākk wau-d dín Hasan Sanjári at Ajmír. In this happy year, on the 8th Rabíʿu-l ákhír, 978, he started for that place, in order to show his gratitude for the boon granted to him. He stayed twelve days at Fathpúr, in order to make some necessary arrangements for his journey. He arrived at Ajmír in due course. To show his favour, and to improve the condition of the place, he ordered a strong wall to be built round it, and a palace to be erected in it for his own residence. The amírs and kháns, and attendants of the Court, vied with each other in erecting dwellings there. He distributed the villages and lands and houses of Ajmír among his amírs, to enable them to pay the expenses of the new buildings. On Friday, 4th Jumáda-l ákhír, he left Ajmír, and arrived in sight of Nágor on the 16th. Here there is a large tank, which he ordered his soldiers to dig and fill with water. He himself inspected the tank, and gave it the name of Shukr tâláo.

While he was thus staying at Nágor, Chandar Sen, son of Ráí Máldéo¹ came to pay his allegiance, and make his offerings. Rájá Kalyán Mal, the Rájá of Bikanír, also came with his son, Ráí Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest,

¹ "Ruler of Márwár."—Badáuní, vol. ii. p. 133.
the Emperor married Kalyán Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nágor. From thence he proceeded to Ájodhan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-d din Mas'ud Ganj-i shakar. Ráí Kalyán Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanír; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion, as will be related in the proper place.

There were many wild asses (gor-khar) in this desert country, and His Majesty, who had never hunted this animal, was desirous of doing so. One day as he was journeying on, the scouts brought information that there was a herd of wild asses in the vicinity of the camp. He immediately mounted a fleet courser, and after a ride of four or five kos, came in sight of the herd. He got off his horse, and commanded all his followers to remain quiet. He himself, with four or five Bilúchís, who were acquainted with the country, approached the herd with guns in their hands. At the first shot he struck an ass, and the remainder of the herd, being frightened by the noise, dispersed. His Majesty cautiously approached, and struck another, and so on, until sixteen asses fell by his hand. That day he travelled nearly seventeen kos in hunting, and at the close returned to the camp. By his order the sixteen asses were brought to the camp in carts, and their flesh was distributed in front of the royal tent among the amirs and courtiers. Then he proceeded towards Ajodhan; and on arriving in sight of the place, he went on immediately, and performed all the ceremonies of pilgrimage, and distributed his bounty among the poor.* * *

From thence he proceeded towards Lahore, and when he arrived at Dípálpúr, the jágirdár of that pargana, Mirzá 'Azíz Muhammad Kokáltásh, who bore the title of 'Azam Khán, and was well known as Mirzá Koka, prepared an entertainment, and begged him to stay there a few days and rest. His Majesty graciously consented, and remained there. For some days
feasting went on, and upon the last day splendid offerings were presented to him. Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver; huge elephants, with chains of gold and silver, and housings of velvet and brocade; and gold and silver, and pearls and jewels, and rubies and garnets of great price: chairs of gold, and silver vases, and vessels of gold and silver; stuffs of Europe, Turkey, and China, and other precious things beyond all conception. Presents of similar kind also were presented for the young princes and the Emperor's wives. All the ministers and attendants and dignitaries received presents, and every soldier of the army also participated in the bounty.

Sixteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 17th Shawwál, 978 H. (13th March, 1571 A.D.)

At the beginning of this year His Majesty departed from Dípálpúr for Lahore, and Hasan Kulí Khán, the governor of that city, hastened forth to receive him. Leaving his camp at Malkapúr, the Emperor went on speedily to Lahore. He passed that day and night in the house of Hasan Kulí, and next day the Khán presented his gifts. On the following day the Emperor returned to the camp, and after spending a few days in the vicinity of Lahore, he set off for Hisár-Fírozah, on a visit to the shrine of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín.

Náhib Begam was wife of Muhíb b'Alí Khán son of Mír Khalífá, and her mother was wife of Mirzá 'Usá Tarkhán, the ruler of Thatta. Mirzá 'Usá being dead, Náhib Begam had received leave from His Majesty about a year before this date to go to Sind, to see her mother, and bring the daughter of Mirzá 'Usá to pay homage to the Emperor. Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán now occupied the seat of his father, and would have nothing to do with Náhib Begam. She therefore returned in anger to the Emperor, and made a statement of the harshness and tyranny of Muhammad Bákí, and of the disrespect he had shown to the Emperor's servants. She said that if the Emperor
would permit and support her husband Muhibb 'Alí Khán, he could easily effect the conquest of Thatta. As Náhídí Begam was returning from Thatta, she had some conversation at Bakar with Sultán Mahmúd Bakarí, who was one of the officers of Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, and his koka; and, after the death of Mirzá Sháh, Bakar remained in his possession. This Sultán Mahmúd Saláí Samarkandí told Náhídí Begam that if Muhibb 'Alí Khán would undertake the conquest of Thatta, he would join and assist him, and that he would have no need of any further support. In consequence of this promise, Náhídí Begam was very desirous of going to Sind. Muhibb 'Alí Khán had for a long time given up the military life, so the Emperor granted him a banner and a kettle-drum, and he gave him a jagir of fifty lacs of tankas in the sarkar of Multán, towards the expense of the campaign. He also sent with him his daughter's son Mujáhid, a young man of resolution and courage, and he wrote a farmán to Sa'íd Khán, the ruler of Multán, directing him to support Muhibb 'Alí Khán.

When the Emperor left the Panjáb for Fathpúr his royal residence (daru-l khiláfat), he sent Muhibb 'Alí on his expedition. Upon arriving at his jagir in Multán, Muhibb 'Alí set about collecting men, and got together nearly 400 horses. Relying upon Sultán Mahmúd Bakarí, he wrote letters to him, and began his march. But Sultán Mahmúd was adverse to the entrance of any Imperial forces into his territory, so, disregarding the promises he had made to Náhídí Begam, he sent to say that he would not allow Muhibb 'Alí to pass through his country; but that if Muhibb 'Alí would march by way of Isalmír, he would send his army to him, and render him all the assistance he could.

Muhibb 'Alí, and his grandson Mujáhid, took a bold course, and proceeded towards Bakar. Sultán Mahmúd sent his whole army to oppose them, but his men were defeated, and obliged to seek refuge in the fort of Máníla; Mujáhid and Muhibb 'Alí Khán besieged the fort for six months, and at
length obtained possession of it by capitulation. At this time Mubarak Khan, a slave of Sultan Mahmud’s, who acted as his vakil, being aggrieved with his master, went and joined Muhibb ‘Alî. The latter having increased his force, laid siege to Bakar. Sultan Mahmud sent out his army, amounting to nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot, archers, and gunners. They were defeated in battle and driven back into the fort. For three years Sultan Mahmud sometimes daily, sometimes every two or three days, sent out armed ships and ghrâbs to fight. Three times he sent out his whole army, horse and foot, to fight a regular battle, but each time he was defeated. In consequence of the large number of men which he had crowded into the fort, pestilence and sickness¹ broke out and became very fatal, so that 500 to 1000 persons died daily. At length, in the year 983, Mahmud himself died, and the fort came into the possession of the Emperor’s adherents.

When the Emperor left the Panjâb and proceeded to Fathpûr, Mun’îm Khan Khan-khânân came from Jaunpûr, bringing Sikandar Khan with him. The offences of Sikandar Khan were pardoned, and the jâgîr of Lucknow was conferred upon him. Khan-khânân quickly returned to secure his Bengal frontier. Sikandar Khan also took his leave, and was sent along with Khan-khânân to his jâgîr. Each received a jewelled sword-belt and four horses with golden saddles. Soon after his arrival at Lucknow, Sikandar Khan fell sick, and died on the 10th Jumâda-1 awwal, 979 H.

Seventeenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 25th Shawwâl, 979 H. (11th March, 1572 A.D.)

Campaign in Gujarât.²

In the Court of the Emperor conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarât, and information was often

¹ "'Ufûnât o bimdrî." Badâûnî (vol. ii. p. 135) calls it "wâbbd."
² "Gujarât had for a long time had no legitimate master, and its amirs were quarrel-
brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities. Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarát. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmír. On the 15th Rabí‘ú-l awwal, he paid a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu‘ínu-d din Chishti, and gladdened the hearts of the shaikhs and attendants with his munificent gifts. Next day he made a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Hussain Kháng-sawár, a descendant of Zainu-l 'ábidín, which is on the top of a hill at Ajmír. Next day, Mír Muhammad Khán Atka, better known by the title of Khán-i kalán, was sent on in advance with 10,000 horse, and His Majesty followed on the 22nd Rabí‘ú-s sání.

Two stages from Nágor, messengers brought him the news that in the night of Wednesday, 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, a son was born to him [at Ajmír].¹ He spent several days in rejoicing, and made many happy by his munificence. As the child had been born in the house of Šaikh Dániyál, one of the most pious and celebrated shaikhs of the time, he gave the prince the name of Dániyál. After the rejoicings were over, he again marched and arrived at Nágor, on the 9th Jumáda-l awwal. There he remained fourteen days employed in arranging for the supply of his army.

From thence he marched to Mírath, and there he was informed that when Mír Muhammad Khán came near to Sirotí, the Rájá of that place professed subjection and obedience, and sent some Rájpúts as envoys to wait upon the Mír. The envoys arrived and delivered their message. Mír Muhammad

¹ Badáání, vol. ii. p. 139.
Khán gave them an appropriate answer and fine robes, and then, according to the etiquette observed among the people of India, he dismissed them with his own hand. One of those desperate envoys at that moment stabbed the Khán in the breast, and the weapon pierced through to his back under the shoulder. Bahádur Khán, a young man and a servant of the Khán, who was standing behind Sher Khán, but now has his place among the nobles, rushed forward, and seizing the Rájpút, dashed him to the ground. Muhammad Sádik Khán, who was seated by the side of the Khán, arose and despatched the accursed wretch with his dagger. When this intelligence reached the Emperor, on the same day he sent Lashkar Khán Mir-bakhshí to inquire after Mir Muhammad Khán, and next day he marched forward himself. Sádik Muhammad Khán and the other amirs called in surgeons, who dressed the Khán’s wounds, and by the Emperor’s good fortune the severe wound was cured in fifteen days, and the Khán mounted his horse with his quiver girt upon his loins.

The Emperor continued his march, and on the 8th Jumáda-s Sání formed a junction with the advanced force. When he reached Sirohí, eighty Rájpúts in a temple and seventy in the Rájá’s house, stood ready to perform the vow they had made to die. In a few moments they were all despatched. Dost Muhammad, son of Tátár Khán, perished in the Rájá’s house. At this stage His Majesty resolved to send one of his officers to make sure of the territory of Joudhpúr, and keep the road to Gujarát open, so that none of the Ránás might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rái Singh Bikanírī, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. **Farmáns**

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1 "When the envoy was taking leave, according to the custom of the country, he asked for **pdr.**, and the Khán taking some in his hand, called him forward to give it to him. The envoy then drew a dagger (**jándhar**) from his bosom, and stabbed the Khán in the breast. **- - -** The attendants of the Khán killed all the followers of the ambassador, although they denied any complicity in the shameful deed."—**T. Alfi**.

2 "Rái Singh of Bikanir was sent to Joudhpúr to keep the road to Gujarát open, and to prevent any annoyance from Ráná Kńska, chief of Koka and Kumbalmír."—**Badáání**, vol. ii. p. 146.
were written to the amirs and jãgirdãrs of that province, directing them to render Ráí Singh every assistance he might require.

At this stage Yár 'Alí Turkomán, with an escort of Turkománs, came as an ambassador from Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, and from Sháh Talámsp, King of Khurásán, bringing with them Arab and Persian horses, and other presents. They were received by His Majesty with all due state and honour. The Emperor then marched from Sirohí to Pattán Nahrwála, and when he arrived near the fort of Dísa, which is twenty kos from Pattán, intelligence was brought that the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí had taken off their troops and families towards Ídar. The Emperor sent Rájá Mán Singh in command of a detachment after them. On the 1st Rajab, 980, the army arrived in sight of Pattán, and rested there for a week. The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindústán. At this halt Rájá Mán Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afgháns.

The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadábád. Sher Khán Fúládí had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadábád, which was held by 'Itimád Khán; but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pattán, when Sultán Muzaffar, son of Sultán Mahmúd Gujaráti, whom 'Itimád Khán had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor, and on Sunday, the 9th Rajab, was admitted to an interview. Next day, 'Itimád Khán, the ruler of Ahmadábád, Mír Abú Turáb, Saiyid Ahmad Bukhári, Ikhti-yáru-l Mulk, Malik Ashraf, Wajhu-l Mulk, Ulugh Khán Ḥabší,  


2 According to Abú Fasīl, Sultán Muzaffar separated from Sher Khán Fúládí, and wandered about without aim or purpose. Akbar sent a party to search for him. He was found hiding in a corn-field, and was brought to the Emperor, who treated him very kindly.—Akbar-nâma. (There is here a lacuna of about six months in the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nâma.)
Jahār Khān Habshī, and other amirs and chiefs of Gujarāt, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. 'Itimād Khān presented the keys of Ahmadābād, and showed every sign of submission.

The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the Habshīs (Abyssinians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajab, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadābād. The khutba was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings. On the 20th Rajab, Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī brought their wives into the royal camp. On the same day Jalāl Khān, who had been sent on an embassy to a Rānā, returned.

Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā and Muhammad Husain Mirzā held Broach, Baroda, and Surat¹ in defiance of the Emperor, so he resolved to free the country of Gujarāt from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Sha'bān, he started from the river of Ahmadābād, and marched towards Kambay. 'Itimād Khān and other of the Gujarāt amirs were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadābād for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarāt, fled on the 4th Sha'bān from Ahmadābād to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarāt, 'Itimād Khān was given into the custody of Shāhbab Khān Kambū. On the 6th the Emperor reached Kambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Kambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarāt, he appointed Mirzā 'Azīz Muhammad.

¹ Ibrāhīm Mirzā held Baroda, Muhammad Husain Mirzā held Surat, and Shah Mirzā had Chāmpānīr.—Akbar-nāma.
Kokaltāsh the Khán-i 'azīm to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadābād.

A detachment sent to invest Surat.

After the departure of the 'Azam-khān, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat, which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzās. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Kulī Khān Mahram Khán-i 'ālam, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Kunwar Mān Singh and several others, to overpower Husain Mirzā, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th Sha'bán, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrāhīm Mirzā Khān, having heard at Broach of the Emperor’s advance, had murdered Rustam Khán Rúmí, and then left the town, intending to pass about eight kos distance from the Emperor’s camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

On hearing this, the Emperor’s wrath was kindled. He instantly gave orders that Khwája-jahán, Shujá’at Khān, Kālij Khān, and Sādik Khān should take charge of the young prince Salím, while he went to chastise Ibrāhīm Mirzā. He took with him Maliku-sh Shārk Gujarátī, who was well acquainted with the roads, and he sent Sháh bāz Khán Mir Bakhshi in all haste, to recall to his side Saiyid Muhammad Khān, and the forces which had marched against Surat. The remainder of that night, and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahändri. Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā was in the town of Sarnāl, on the other side of the river. When they heard this, the Emperor’s followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.

At this crisis, Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha, Kulī Khān Mahram Khán-i ‘ālam, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Kunwar Mān Singh,

1 "Who was desirous of returning to his allegiance."—Akbar-nāma.
2 The force he took with him numbered about 2000 men.—Akbar-nāma.
3 Abū-1 Fazl calls the river also "Sakānār."—Ib. There is a "Sinmole" on the Maujam river, thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.
** ** Bhōj the son of Surjan, and others of the force sent against Surat, by a forced march came up and joined the Emperor. Kunwar Mān Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor, without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over.

Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzá, who had with him about 1000 horsemen, on perceiving this bold movement, went out of the town of Sarnál by another road, telling his men that he intended to give battle in the open. The road between the river and the fort was very broken, so Kunwar Mān Singh, and the advance under his command, took another road, and the Emperor passed by a road to the gate of the town by the water-side. Some of the enemy, whose blood was up, made a stand in the street, and showed fight. Makbúl Khán, a Kalmuck slave, who on that day went in front of the Emperor, cut one of them down, and wounded several others.

It was now discovered that Ibrāhīm Husain had quitted the town, and the Emperor gave orders for the pursuit. The troops accordingly left the walls and went out into the plain, and there the two parties confronted each other. Ibrāhīm Husain made an attack upon Bábá Khán Kákshál, who had been sent forward with a party of bowmen. Although these made a stout resistance, they were driven back a short distance. But every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhúpat, son of Rájá Bihár Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was all hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the

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1 The text says distinctly that the whole of the Emperor's men did not exceed one hundred. Firāhshta makes them 166. Badānī (vol. ii. p. 142), however, states that Mān Sing crossed the river with 100 men. See Extract from Akbar-nāma, infra.
front, and Rájá Bhagwán Dás had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Rájá. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Rájá Bhagwán Dás hurled his spear at him and severely wounded him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

At this time, Makbúl Khán Ghulám and Surokh Badakhshí joined His Majesty, and he sent them in pursuit of his assailants. The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was disheartened, and took to flight. Some brave men pursued him, and cut down several men on their way. But the night came on darker than the fate of that band, so the Emperor gave orders to stop the pursuit. Ibráhím Husain Khán, glad to save his life, made off with a few persons by the Ahmadnagar road to Sirohí. The Emperor went into the town of Sarnál, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in jágirs.

Next day the Emperor started on his return to the royal camp, but he sent on in advance Surokh Badakhshí, whose conduct in this affair had gained the royal approbation, to carry news of the victory to the princes. When the news arrived, the princes and the ladies of the harem, and the amirs and the officials, were filled with joy sufficient to last them their lives. On Wednesday, the 18th Sha'bán, when one watch of the night was passed, the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Rájá Bhagwán Dás, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

March against Surat.

The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said, that a slave

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1 One MS. invariably calls him "Iraj."
of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī, Safar Akā by name, who received
the title of Khudāwand Khán, built this fortress on the sea-
shore\(^1\) in the year 947, in order to resist the attacks of the
Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all
kinds of mischief to the Musulmāns. When Khudāwand Khán was
engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times
fitted out ships to attack it, but could not succeed in their object.
Khudāwand Khán then called for his architect, a very clever man,
to provide for the security of the fort. After a little reflection, the
careful builder determined on his plan. On the two sides of the
fort which face the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water,
which were twenty yards (darā\(^2\)) wide, and filled with water; they
were built of stone, chunam, and burnt bricks. The thickness
of the double walls\(^3\) is five yards, and the height twenty yards,
and these are likewise built of stone, chunam, and burnt brick.
The thickness of the four walls is fifteen yards, and the height
twenty yards. It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone
is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron, having molten
lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embra-
sures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On
the top of the tower there is a chaukandī,\(^4\) which, in the opinion
of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the
Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of the fortress
by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent
the raising of this structure. But Khudāwand Khán, in con-
tempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the
structure.

After the death of Changiz Khán, the fortress came into the

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\(^1\) "On the shore of the Persian gulf," but it is really on the river Tápt, twenty
miles from the sea.

\(^2\) Badāūnī (vol. ii. p. 146) uses "gaz" as the equivalent of "dara'."

\(^3\) دیوار دو تیپ

\(^4\) This word is used for the howda of an elephant, and so by inference may mean
a watch tower or a cupola; or perhaps it was something in derision of Christianity.
Badāūnī uses the word "ghurfā, upper room," as an equivalent. See Sir H. Elliot's
note in the Extract from Badāūnī, infīrā.
possession of the Mirzás. When the Emperor marched into Gujarát, the Mirzás placed all their soldiers in the place, and left it under the command of Ham-zabán, who had formerly been one of the orderlies (korchtán) of the Emperor Humáyún, but had fled from the Imperial Court, and joined the rebels. The Mirzás themselves did their best to stir up war and strife outside.

When Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was defeated and put to flight at Sarnál, the Emperor returned to Baroda, and renewed his design of conquering Surat. He sent forward Sháh Kuli Khán and Sádik Khán, with instructions to invest the fort so that no one could get out. Upon this movement becoming known to the garrison, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Prince Kámrán and wife of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, took her son Muzaffar Khán Mirzá with her, and fled to the Dekhin before the arrival of the Imperial forces. When the amirs heard of her escape, Sháh Kuli Khán Mahram pursued her for fifty kos, and returned unsuccessful, but some of the Begam’s servants fell into his hands. Some days afterwards the Emperor sent Rájá Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report.¹

His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda on the 25th Sha’bán, and encamped at the distance of a kos from Surat on the 18th Ramazán. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among his amirs, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it. But the chief carpet-spreader brought to his knowledge through the amirs that there was near at hand a tank called Goli-táláb, and although the bank of the tank was close to the fort, the uneven ground and the trees would prevent balls from reaching it. So the order was given for the removal of the royal tents to this spot.

¹ He considered its reduction an easy matter, not requiring the presence of the Emperor.—Akbar-nama. Badáuñi, vol. ii. p. 144.
The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for nearly two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress or egress was closed. (The soldiers and the followers of the amirs collected a vast quantity of earth, and raised a high mound, which commanded the fort. And the gunners and musketeers stationed upon the mound kept up a fire that greatly harassed the garrison, and prevented the men from moving about or bringing anything up. Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs),¹ they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress.

The wretched disloyal Ham-zabán and all the people in the fort sent out Mauláná Nizámu-d dín Lári, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter. The Mauláná was conducted to the royal tent, and made his plea for mercy through the amirs and officials. The chief amirs reminded His Majesty that the batteries had been advanced very forward, and when they saw that he was inclined to mercy, they remarked that the garrison had resisted and fought with all their might so long as they had any power; and now that they saw that the fall of the place was imminent, they were ready to beg for mercy. His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition. Mauláná Nizámu-d dín Lári was allowed to pay his homage to the Emperor, and, being dismissed, he returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded.

A royal order was then issued for Kásim 'Alí Khán and Khwája Daulat Názir to proceed into the fortress with the

¹ The passage in parenthesis is not given in the MS. of the E. I. Library, but is found in the margin of the Nawab of Jhajhar's copy, from which Sir H. Elliot's was transcribed. It is written in a different hand from that of the MS., and does not fit in very well with the context; but it is found in Badāání (vol. ii. p. 144). There are other similar additions, which are in accord with Badāání, and the probability is that they have been borrowed from his work.
Mauláná, to give assurances to Ham-zabán and the men of the garrison, and to bring them out with them. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live stock and dead stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. Kásim 'Alí and Khwája Daulat Názir, by order of His Majesty, brought Ham-zabán and all the men before him, and Ham-zabán, for all his fluency, hung down his head with shame, and could not speak. In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zabán and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 23rd Shawwál, in the year 980.²

Next day the Emperor went in to inspect the fortress. After much consideration and examination, he gave orders for the necessary repairs and improvements. During his inspection some large mortars (deg) and guns (zarba-zan) attracted his attention. Those mortars bore the title of Sulaimání, from the name of Sulaimán Sultán of Turkey. When he made his attempt to conquer the ports of Gujarát, he sent these mortars and some guns,³ which are in the fort of Junágarh, with a large army by sea. As the Turks were unable to overcome the difficulties and obstacles they encountered, and were obliged to return, they left these mortars and the gun which is now in Junágarh on the sea-shore, and returned to their country. The mortars remained upon the sea-shore until Khudáwánd Khán built the fortress of Surat, when he placed them in the fort. The one which was left in the country of Súrath⁴ was taken to

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¹ The tongue of Ham-zabán was cut out.—Akbar-náma of Abú-l Fazl and Faízí.
² The siege having lasted one month and seventeen days.—Akbar-náma.
³ The plural is here used, but it would seem that only one gun was taken to Junágarh.
⁴ The names “Surat” and “Súrath” are identical, both being derived from the Sanskrit Surásthra; but as they belong to very different places, a distinction in spelling has been maintained. “Surat” is the city; “Súrath” is a gránt or district of Kátiwá, of which Junágarh is the chief town.
the fort of Junágarh by the ruler of that country. As there was no great necessity for these mortars in the fort of Surat, the Emperor gave orders for their being removed to Agra. On the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalíj Khán. On the last day of the month Rájá Bihár Jiú, Rájá of the country of Baglána, captured and sent to His Majesty's presence Sharafu-d dín Husain Mirzá, who for ten years past had been engaged in various turbulent and rebellious proceedings. His Majesty's anger had been roused by the disturbances of the country's peace, so he censured the Mirzá and placed him under restraint.

When the Emperor had settled to his satisfaction all the affairs of the province, on Monday, 4th Zí-l ka'da, 980, he marched towards Ahmadábád. When he came to Broach, the mother of Changíz Khán complained to him that Jajhár Khán Habshí had unjustly killed her son, and the order was given for Jajhár Khán's being brought up to answer the charge. Upon being questioned, Jajhar Khán acknowledged the deed, and the Emperor, in his indignation, ordered him to be cast under the feet of an elephant.

Various Events that occurred during the Siege of Surat.

While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá to Hindústán, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnál, Ibráhím fled to the neighborhood of Pattan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá should go into Hindústán and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzás, along with Sher Khán Fuládi, laid siege to Pattan: their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadábád, to repress these

1 He was tried and found guilty.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 5.
two outbreaks. Having induced Sher Khán Fuládí to join them, they invested Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders that Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán and * * * all the jágirdárs of Málwa, Ráísín, and Chanderí, and all the other nobles and adherents of the Imperial throne, such as * * *, should assemble under the command of 'Azam Khán to repress this rebellious attempt.

The nobles accordingly joined 'Azam Khán and marched to Pattan. When they were five kos distant from Pattan, Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sher Khán Fúládí came forward to meet them. The Mirzás fell upon the advance and defeated it. They then attacked the right, which was under Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, and defeated it also. Sháh Muhammad Atlka received a wound and fled. These two divisions being broken, fled towards Ahmadábád. Kutbu-d dín's camp was plundered, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukháří was killed. When 'Azam Khán saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukháří, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight. But Bidágh Khán, who was himself a man of war, held his bridle, and would not let him go. When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but few in array, 'Azam Khán, with Bidágh Khán, formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side. Sher Khán Fuládí, in a forlorn and helpless state, went to Amín Khán, the ruler of Junágarlí, and there found refuge. Muhammad Husain Mirzá

1 Abru-l Fazl's view is different. He says that Ibráhím, who was as able with the sword as he was wanting in sense, quarrelled with his brothers, and left them with the crude design of making an attempt on the capital.—Akbár-náma.

2 Abru-l Fazl and Faizi state that the rebels endeavoured to treat and gain time for the arrival of expected reinforcements.—Akbár-náma.

3 He held the fâqir of Dálaka.—Faizi.

4 Abru-l Fazl attributes the victory to Kutbu-d dín, who rallied his broken forces, and led them again to the fight.
fled to the Dekhin. This victory was won on the 18th Ramazán, 980.

'Azam Khán, after setting things in order at Pattan, left Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha in command as before, and went to the Emperor, whom he joined under the fort of Surat, on the 20th Shawwál, and reported the devotion and bravery of the amirs and all the troops. On his way back, he sent Kutbu-d-dín Muhammad Khán and some other amirs to Ma'múrábád, in order to chastise Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk¹ and the defeated troops who were scattered in the jungles and forts. Kutbu-d-dín drove Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk and the other Habsís out of the jungles, took possession of the forts, and left his own garrisons in them. When the Emperor departed from Surat for Ahmadábád, Kutbu-d-dín Muhammad Khán, and the amirs who had taken part in his campaign, joined him on the road at the town of Mahmúdábád.

*Eighteenth Year of the Reign.*

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 5th Zi-l ka'da, 980 (11th March, 1573). The Emperor arrived at Ahmadábád on the last day of Zi-l ka'da, and there he entrusted the government of Gujarát to Khán-i 'azam (Mirzá Koka).² On the 10th Zi-l hijja, the 'I'd-zuha, he commenced his journey to the capital. On the 18th Zi-l hijja, at the town of Haibatpúr, one of the dependencies of Pattan, he gave fine robes and horses to 'Azam Khán and the other amirs, and dismissed them to their jágírs. At the same place, Muzaffar Khán (late King of Gujarát) received the Imperial bounty. The sarkárs of Sárangpúr and Ujjain in Malwa were taken from the Rání and granted to him, with fifty lacs of tankas in jágír.³ He

¹ He had escaped from prison at Ahmadnagar.—Badaúní, vol. ii. p. 149.
² Pattan was given to Mir Muhammad Khán-i kalan; Broach to Kutbu-d-dín Muhammad; and Dúlaka and Dándúka to Saiyid Hámid Bukhári.—*Akbar-nama*, vol. iii. p. 8, and MS.
³ Badaúní (vol. ii. p. 149) says, “Two and a half khors in jágír, Sárangpúr, Ujjain, and the whole of Málwa.”
was then sent to his jāgîr. The Emperor continued his journey by Jâlor towards Fathpûr. At one stage from Ajmîr, he received a communication from Sa'id Khân, the governor of Multán, to inform him of the death of Ibrâhîm Husain Mirzâ.

When Ibrâhîm Husain Mirzâ hurried off from Gujarât, he proceeded to the town of Mîrtha. At eleven kos from that place, he plundered a caravan which was on its way from Gujarât to Agra. Upon reaching Nâgor, Farrukh Khân, son of Khân-i-kalân, who governed there on behalf of his father, withdrew into the fort, and the Mirzâ, after plundering the houses of the poor people in the environs of the city, went on to Nárnaul. Râí Rám and Râí Singh, whom the Emperor had left at Joudhpûr with about 1000 horse to keep open the communications when he marched into Gujarât, gathered their men and pursued the Mirzâ. On reaching Nâgor, they joined Farrukh Khân, and continuing the pursuit, they came up with the Mirzâ one evening at the village of Katholi, twenty kos from Nâgor, but he took the alarm, and managed to make his escape.

On the 2nd Ramazân, 980, the troops halted on the banks of a great tank, when the Mirzâ, who was only a little in advance, turned back and attacked the troops which were in pursuit of him. The troops held their ground and defended themselves. Three times the Mirzâ, forming his men in two divisions, attacked them on two sides, and showered arrows upon them. Finding he could make no impression, he again fled. One division got separated in the darkness, and the men were scattered in the neighbouring villages, where they were taken prisoners, and many of them were put to death. Nearly 200 fell alive into the hands of Farrukh Khân and the amîrs of Joudhpûr.

1 He had with him his youngest brother, Mas'ûd Husain Mirzâ.—Akbar-nâmâ, vol. iii. p. 8. Faizi Sirhindî.
2 The Mirzâ besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it.—Akbar-nâmâ, vol. iii. p. 8. Faizi Sirhindî.
The Mirzá, with about 300 men who accompanied him, plundered the villages and places in their road, and crossing the Jumna and Ganges, he proceeded to the pargana of Azam-púr, in the district of Sambal, which had been his jágir while he was loyal to the Emperor. He stayed there five or six days, and then started for the Panjáb. He plundered Pánipat, Sonpat, Karnál, and other places on his route. Many plunderers and adventurers joined him, and inflicted great wrongs upon the people.

When he reached the Panjáb, Husain Kulí Khán Torkomán, Amir-i umárá of the Panjáb, was engaged with the forces of his province in besieging Kángra, well known as Nagarkot. On hearing of the Mirzá's arrival, Husain Kulí Khán set off with his brother Isma'íl Khán * * * and other amírs, and by forced marches came up with the Mirzá near the town of Tulanubha, forty kos from Multán. He was returning from hunting free from apprehension and in disorder, when he was attacked. His men were dispersed, and were unable to reach him. His brother Mas'úd Husain Mirzá, who had come up before him, attacked the troops of Husain Kulí Khán, but was taken prisoner. Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, being unable to do anything, made off. Upon arriving near Multán, he wanted to pass the Gára, which is the name of the river formed by the junction of the Biyáh and Satlej. But it was night, and he had no boats, so he rested on the bank. A party of Jhils, who are fishermen dwelling about Multán, made an attack upon him in the night, and the Mirzá received a wound in his throat from an arrow. Seeing no other means of escape, he quickly changed his clothes, and separating from his people, endeavoured to get away. But some of the people of that country recognized him, took him prisoner, and carried him to Sa'íd Khán at Multán, and in the custody of the Khán he died.¹

On the 12th Muharram, 981, in the eighteenth year of the

reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwája Muīnu-d dín Chishti, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances. From thence he started for the capital, and on reaching Sangánír, he left his camp and went on express with a few attendants to Fathpúr. In two nights and one day he reached the town of Bachúna, twelve kos from Fat. To secure an auspicious time, he remained there three days, on the 2nd Safar he arrived at Fathpúr.

March of Husain Kulí Khán against Nagarkot.

(There was a brahman named Brahma Dás, a bard (bád-farosh), who was distinguished above all his compœers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindí verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Ráí, chief of poets). ¹

When the Emperor’s favour was alienated from Rájá Jai Chandar, Rájá of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Rájá’s son, Bádi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead, broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Ráí the title of Rájá Bírbal,² bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot. hereupon jarnáns were sent to Husain Kulí Khán, and the amirs of the Panjáb commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bádi Chand, and place it in the possession of Rájá Bírbal.³ Bírbal in Hindí signifies courageous and great, so his title means “Brave and mighty Rájá.”

¹ This passage is another marginal addition apparently taken from Badáúni.
² In the MSS. the name is more frequently written “Bírbar”; but the more familiar form has been here adopted.
³ Abú-l Fazl places this transaction in the seventeenth year of the reign.—Akbar-náma, vol. ii. p. 426.
When the Rájá arrived at Lahore, Husain Kulí Khán, * * *
and other naísas of the Panjáb, set out for Nagarkot. On
reaching Dañinarí, the holder of that place, whose name was
Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the
security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in
private, and sent two vaktís with his offerings. He also sent
a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the
ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of
keeping the roads clear. Husain Kulí Khán presented the vaktís
with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at a
village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.

On arriving at the fort of Kútila, he pitched his camp. This
fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Rájá Rám
Chandar, of Gwálior;¹ but Rájá Dharm Chand and Rájá Jai
Chand had obtained possession of it by force.

The officers left in charge of the fort by Rájá Jai Chand
discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops
who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some
damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Kulí Khán mounted
his horse with the other amírs to reconnoitre the place. He
ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it.
With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire
was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered
by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and
great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to
the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During
the night, the Rájpúts who were in the fortress, and were terri-
fied by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning
Husain Kulí Khán, beating his drums, marched into the fort of
Kútíla, which he delivered over to the Rájá of Gwalior, to whose
ancestors it had formerly belonged; but he left a garrison of his
own there.

Continuing his march, he came to a thickly wooded country,
through which it was difficult even for an ant or a snake to

creep; so a party of men was set to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab, 990, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot. The fortress (hisár) of Bhún, which is an idol temple of Mahámáí, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rájputs, who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans, who for many years had served the temple, never gave one thought to flight, and were killed. Nearly 200 black cows belonging to the Hinduś, during the struggle, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. Sábûts were formed, and a mound commanding the fort (sar-kob) was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Rájá. One day the commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Rájá had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building. Among them was Bhújdeo, son of Rájá Takhat Mal.

In the beginning of Shawwál, letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had crossed the Satlada (Satlej), and was marching upon Dípálpúr. Husain Kulí Khán held a secret council with the amírs about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Kulí Khán felt constrained to accede.¹ The infidels

¹ Husain Kulí required each of the amírs to give him a written opinion, signed and sealed, in favour of granting a capitulation. Abú-1 Fazl gives a somewhat different version of the terms. 1. The Rájá was to send his daughter to the
undertook to pay a large tribute: five mans of gold, Akbarsháhi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Bájá Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Háfiz Muhammad Bákir read the khutba in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwál, 980. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor, gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the khutba read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor’s name, Husain Kulí Khán marched away.

He then proceeded against Ibráhím Husain Mirzá. At the town of Jamári he paid a visit to the holy Khwája ‘Abdu-sh shahíd, who presented him with his garment, and sent his blessings with him. When he reached Tulambha, he achieved the victory, which has already been described. Upon His Majesty arriving at Fathpúr after his campaign in Gujarát, Husain Kulí Khán took Maś’úd Husain Mirzá with him, and went to wait upon the Emperor. The other prisoners, nearly 300 in number, were presented to the eyes of the Emperor with cow-hides placed on their necks in a strange fashion. The eyes of Maś’úd Husain Mirzá were sewed up, but the Emperor in his kindness ordered them to be opened. Several of the prisoners were liberated, but some, who had taken a leading part among the rebels, were kept in custody. On the same day Sá’íd Khán arrived, bringing with him as an offering the head of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, and he received distinguished marks of favour.

When the Emperor returned from Gujarát, there remained

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1 “Charmhde gdo ğar gaiš andákhtah.” Such are the words in the text and in Faízí. Charm-i gdo means a thong or lash, the American “nowhíde”; but Abú-l Fáṣal makes the matter clear. He says, “The prisoners were brought in cow-skins, from which the horns had not been taken away.” — Akbar-níma, vol. iii. p. 14.
no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaign were sent to strengthen 'Azam Khán. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time, and 'Azam Khán himself wrote for reinforcements.

*Events which occurred in Gujarát.*

When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarát, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men, who had crept into corners and hidden themselves in dread of the royal forces, once more raised their heads. Having assembled round Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, they got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory.

Muhammad Husain Mirzá left the Dekhin with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalíj Khán, who was jágirdár of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mirzá gave up the project, and made a rapid march upon Kambáy. Hasan Khán Karkaráh, the shikkdár, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadábád.

Khán-i 'azam sent Naurang Khán and Saiyid Ahmad Bukhári against the Mirzá, while he himself marched to Ahmadnagar and Ídar against Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. When Naurang Khán and Saiyid Bukhári approached Kambáy, Muhammad Husain Mirzá came out to meet him. Sharp fighting went on for several days, and Saiyid Jalál, son of Saiyid Baháu-d dín Bukhári, was killed. At length the Mirzá was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. 'Azam Khán, who had marched against Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Ídar with no decisive result.

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1 He was in the neighbourhood of Ídar, and was supported by Ráf Naráín, the zamindár of that place.—*Akbár-náma*, vol. iii. p. 13.
3 He got possession of Broach on his way.—*Ib.* p. 13.
4 Abú-l Fazl imputes negligence to Hasan Khán.—*Ib.* p. 13.
Intelligence now came that the sons of Sher Khán Fuládí, the son of Jajhá Khán, and Mirzá Muhammad Husain had joined Ikhtiyáru-í Mulk, and had formed the plan of making a rapid march by a different road to Ahmadábád. On being informed of this, Khán-i 'azam marched for that city, and when he reached it he sent a messenger to summon Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán from Broach, who accordingly marched and joined Khán-i 'azam at Ahmadábád. Ikhtiyáru-í Mulk and Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujarátís, Hábshís, Afgháns, and Rájpúts—around Ahmadábád. The Rájá of Ydar also kept up a connexion with them.

Khán-i 'azam and Kutbu-d dín, being unable to depend upon some of their men, shut themselves up in the town, but sallied out every day and fought under the walls. One day Fázíl Khán, son of Khán-i kalán, went out and made a bold attack upon the enemy, and killed several men; but he was slain by a thrust from a spear. Khán-i 'azam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for assistance. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarát, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families.

The Emperor summoned his clerks and officials, and gave them directions to provide for the outfit of an army. The former campaign had lasted a year, and the men through the length of the march were without accoutrements. After returning they had not had sufficient time to get money from their jágirs to replace their necessaries. His Majesty therefore issued money from the public treasury to the soldiers, and made liberal grants for procuring the materials of war. He sent Shujá'át Khán¹ on in advance with his camp equipage, and he sent with it his horses under the charge of Khwája Áká Khán. He personally enjoined the divánts officers to use the greatest despatch in outfitting the army. To expedite matters he on the

¹ Rájá Bhagwán Das and Ráí Singh were sent with him.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 18.
same day sent the men of his advanced guard out of the city to join his camp equipage. He frequently said that although he was exerting himself in the organization and despatch of the army, no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in its work.

When several amirs with their troops had been set in motion for Gujarat, he bestowed the title of Khán-jahán upon Husain Kuli Khán, who had rendered good service, and he increased his jágirs and allowances. He confirmed to him the government of Lahore and the sarkár of the Panjáb, and then dismissed him to his duty. Each person who sought for an increase of dignity, or for an increase of his allowances, met with a favourable hearing. Rájá Todar Mal was ordered to join Khán-jahán Husain Kuli Khán, and to give him and the amirs of the Panjáb the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of the province. All the amirs of the Panjáb took their leave with Khán-jahán, excepting Mirzá Yúsuf Khán. The Mirzá and Muhammad Zaman, who exhibited great intelligence, went to accompany the Emperor. Sa’íd Khán, the ruler of Multán, was sent to his jágir, taking with him his brother Makhsús Khán, who had been promoted.

In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Rabí‘u-l-ákhir, 981, the Emperor, with his companions and attendants, mounted swift she-camels,¹ and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda² without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and continued his journey. On the morning of Monday, he took a short rest at Hans-mahál, but quickly resumed his journey. One watch of the night of Tuesday had passed, when he reached the village of Mu’izábád.³ He was

¹ Abú-l Fazl (vol. iii, p. 18) agrees. The words used are jummdsa and náka; and the annotator of the Akbar-náná gives as an explanation the Hindi sáduhi. According to Badáání (vol. ii, p. 165), the animals were bkhhtí, or two-humped camels. Faizí uses both terms, jummdsa and bkhhtí.

² About seventy miles W. by S. from Kgra. “He proceeded by way of Basáwar and Toda, and accomplished 100 kos in two days. On the 26th he arrived at Ajmir.” —Badáání, vol. ii, p. 166.

³ Thirty miles S.W. from Jaipur.
now fatigued, and several of his attendants had dropped behind, so he stayed a few hours to take rest. After his attendants had come up, he mounted a fast-going cart, and travelled all night. On Tuesday he reached the tomb of Khwája Mu’ínu-d din Chishtí (at Ajmír), where he went through the usual observances, and bestowed his gifts upon the poor. He rested for a while in the palace, which he had built for his own use, but towards the end of the day he mounted his horse, and continued his journey. Among his attendants when he started were Mirzá Khán, son of Khán-khánán Bairám, Āsaf Khán Koka, Zain Khán Koka, and ** *. The night was bright moonlight. In the morning they joined Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, and Muḥammad Kulí Khán Tughbánt, who had been sent on in advance from Fathpúr. The intelligencers now brought the information of the royal army having marched. His Majesty alighted at the town of Páli, which was near at hand, and then, having chosen Khwája 'Abdu-lla, Āsaf Khán Bakshi, and Raísál Darbář, he took them along with him. On the 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 981, he reached the town of Dísa, twenty kos from Pattan, in Gujarát, where the shikkdar came forth to meet him. His Majesty now sent Āsaf Khán to Muḥammad Khán, directing him to collect his forces, and join the party at the town of Bálísána, five kos from Pattan. In the middle of the night His Majesty started from Dísa for Bálísána, and turning aside from Pattan, came in sight of Bálísána in the morning, and there halted. Here he was joined by Mír Muḥammad

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1 According to Faizí, his limbs had to be anointed with oil, to assuage the effects of the friction.

2 Here the T. Alífí says they rode on swift female camels, but Abd-í Fazlí agrees as to the carriages.—Ākbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 19.

3 Distance 140 kos.—Faizí. "228 miles."—Thornton.

4 The route from Ajmír was by Mírtha, thirty miles to the N.W. Jítárán forty-five miles S.W. Thirty miles farther to Sojhat, and from thence twenty to Páli. From thence to Bhagwánpur. He now wished to take the shortest road by Sirohí; but as that route was dangerous, his attendants were in favour of Jálór. The guide pretended to lose the way in the night, and they went to Jálór, and so on to Pattanwál.—Ākbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 20. Faizí.

5 About five miles south-east of Pattan.
Khán with his army and all his amirs and attendants, such as. * * * and a party of the principal Rájpúts, such as Khangár, the nephew of Rája Bhagwán Dás, who had previously marched from Fathpúr to support Khán-i 'azam, but whom caution had restrained from advancing beyond Pattan.

An order was now issued for all the troops to appear fully armed and accoutred. The amirs accordingly brought out their men, and the Emperor reviewed them. Although he had full trust and hope of heavenly assistance, he neglected no material means of success. He gave the command of the centre, which is the place of the Sultán, to Mirzá Khán, son of (the late) Khán-khánán Bairám Khán, a young man of great parts and promise. He also appointed Saiyid Muhammad Khán Bárha, a man of great bravery, and Shujá'at Khán and Sádik Khán to the centre. The command of the right was given to Mír Muhammad Khán-i kalán, and that of the left to Wázír Khán. The advance, composed of a number of brave fellows, was placed under the command of Muhammad Kulí Khán and Tar Khán Díwána. His Majesty kept under his own immediate direction 100¹ horsemen, men who had been picked out from a thousand thousand—a reserve intended to support any division which might be hard pressed. Strict orders were issued that no man was to stray from his place.

Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bálísána towards Ahmadábád. A messenger was sent to apprise Khán-i 'azam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd Jumáda-l āwwal, he reached Karí, a town twenty kos from Ahmadábád. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle.² Orders were accordingly given to attack them, and

¹ This is the number given by Abú-l Fazl, Baddánt (vol. ii. p. 160), and Firishita; but one of our MSS. has “500.”

² Under the command of Boliyú, an officer serving under Sher Khán Fuládí.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 28.
drive them from the road, but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. Leaving the fort untouched, in obedience to orders, the army marched five kos from Karī, where it rested till dawn.

As soon as it was light, the bakhshis drew up the forces, and marched on without drawing rein to a place about three kos from Ahmadābād. Orders were given for every man to arm himself, and the royal armoury was opened, so that every man who had lost or damaged a weapon might choose one to suit him. Āsaf Khān was sent to Khān-i’azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fatḥpūr to the outskirts of Ahmadābād, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks, that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, in amaze and alarm, rushed to their horses. Muhammad Husain Mirzā advanced with two or three horsemen to the bank of the river to ascertain the truth, and it so happened that Subhān Kulī Turk had also gone down to the river with two or three men from our side. Muhammad Husain Mirzā called out to Subhān Kulī, inquiring whose army it was, and he was answered that it was the Emperor, who had marched from Fatḥpūr to punish traitors. The Mirzā replied, “My spies have informed me, that fourteen days ago the Emperor was at Fatḥpūr; and if this is the Imperial army,

1 This is probably figurative. Badānī (vol. ii. p. 166) employs a more common simile, “the sleep of neglect.”
2 The battle was fought on the 6th Jumāda-1 awwal.—Akbar-nāma, vol. iii. p. 26.
3 Some thought a reinforcement had arrived for themselves, and others that it was a force come from Pattan to support Khān-i kalān.—Akbar-nāma, vol. iii. p. 26.
where are the royal elephants which always accompany it?" Subhán 'Alí said, "How could elephants have travelled with us 400 kos in nine days?" Muhammad Husain Mirzá returned amazed and troubled to his army, and drawing out his forces, he prepared for battle. He directed Ikhtiyár Khán to take 5000 horse, and present Khán-i 'azám from sallying out of the city.

When the time for delay drew to an end, the Emperor directed the advance to cross the river, and that Wazír Khán also should cross with the left. This being done, he himself crossed over at the head of his chosen men. Some little confusion occurred in the passage, but the troops all got over together, and advanced a short distance on the other side, when a strong force of the enemy came in view. Muhammad Husain Mirzá, with 1500 Mughals,1 all devoted men of his own, came up and fell upon the advanced force under Muhammad Kulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwána. Simultaneously the Habshí and Afgháns attacked Wazír Khán, and then the fight grew close and warm.

The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness and distress in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the royal forces came up and took them in flank. Saíf Khán Koka made a rash charge and was killed. Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. The royal troops advanced and cut off some. His Majesty with several of his men drew up and stood fast. Muhammad Husain Mirzá had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thorn hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, a Turk named Gádá 'Alí, who pursued him, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner.

Wazír Khán on the left fought well and bravely, but the Habshí and Gujarátí troops made charge after charge, until they became acquainted with the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirzá

1 The name is generally spelt "Mughul" in this work.
and Sháh Mirzá. Then they also turned their backs. Mír Muhammad Khán on the right drove back the sons of Sher Khán Fuládí, and put many of their men to the sword. Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed.

Gádá 'Alí Badakhshí and a servant of Khán-i kalán now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirzá a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Rájá Birbal asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty;" and he spoke the truth. His Majesty spoke a few kind words to him, and gave him into the custody of Ráí Singh. Among the prisoners taken was a man named Mard Azmáí Sháh, who declared himself the Koka of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain. His Majesty struck him to the earth with a spear, and the attendants cut him to pieces with their swords. It was afterwards found out that he had killed in the battle of Sarnál, Bhúpat, brother of Rájá Bhagwán Dás.1

An hour after the victory was won, another large division of the enemy made its appearance, and the vedettes brought the information that it was Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk Gujarátí. He had been charged with the duty of closing the road against 'Azam Khán, but when he heard of the defeat of the Mirzás, he left the city roads and came out into the field. His Majesty ordered a force to advance and assail him with arrows. When he came in sight, some fierce horsemen charged and overthrew the troop which preceded him. Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk in his fright cast a look upon the hill whereon the royal standard was planted, and he (and his men) ran off on both sides of it, in such disgraceful panic that the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives, and used them against them. A Turkomán

1 According to Abd-l Fazl, it was the knowledge of this fact which induced the Emperor to kill him."—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 36.
named Suhráb Beg now recognized Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, and pursued him. Coming to a thorn hedge, the fugitive endeavoured to make his horse leap over, but the animal threw him. Suhráb Beg dismounted and took him prisoner. Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk said, "You look like a Turkomán, and the Turkománs are followers of 'Alí. I belong to the Saiyids of Bokhára, do not kill me." Suhráb Beg replied, "I recognized you and pursued you. You are Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk." Thus having said he cut off his head and returned to mount his horse, but some one had taken it, so he wrapped the head in the skirt of his garment and walked back. At the time that Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk advanced towards the hill on which the Emperor was standing, the Rájpúts of Ráí Singh, who had charge of Muhammad Husain Mirzá, cast the Mirzá off an elephant to the ground, and despatched him with a spear.

After the victory, 'Azam Khán and the other officers who had been besieged in the city came out to the Emperor, who bestowed upon the Khán many marks of his approval. To every one of the Kháns he gave promotion or other distinctions, and he had hardly finished with them, when Suhráb Beg Turkomán came up and threw down the head of Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. When the Emperor saw it, he praised him and liberally rewarded him; and then he ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadábad, and occupied the royal abode, which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations. He rested five days in the citadel, and then he removed to the house of 'Itimád Khán, in the middle of the city.

His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign, especially those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of
Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Agra and Fathpur.

After attending to the wants of the poor people of Ahmadabad, he sent Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and Naurang Khan to Broach and Champani, to uproot the power of Shah Mirza. Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kul Mahram, Lashkar Khan Mirbakhshi, and several others, were sent to Ydar, to ravage the country which Ranah Ud-i Singh had abandoned. The government of Pattan was again confided to Mir Muhammad Khan (Khan-i Kalan). Wazir Khan was appointed to Dulaka and Danduka, and he was to support Khan-i 'azam.

When the Emperor had made all his arrangements, he resolved to return home, and on Sunday, 16th Jumada-l awwal, he left Ahmadabad for Mahmudabad, and rested in the lofty and fine palace of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat. Khwaja Ghiyasu-d din 'Ali Bakhshi, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan, and he was appointed divan and bakhti of Gujarat, so he remained behind with Khan-i 'azam. The Emperor travelled by night from Dulaka to Karf, and from Karf also by night to Sitapur. Here a despatch was received from Raja Bhagwan Das, and Shah Kul Mahram, reporting the capture of the fort of Barnagar, and a letter of thanks was returned. He made no other halt till he reached Sirohi, where he gave Sadiq Khan a commission to chastise rebels and robbers. On Wednesday, 3rd Jumada-l awwal, 931, he reached Ajmir, and immediately went to visit the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and made liberal donations to the poor. Next day he departed, and marching night and day, he reached the village of Puna, three kos from Sanganim, in the jagir of Ram Das Kachhwaha. Here Ram Das had prepared an entertainment for His Majesty and all his attendants.

At this station Raja Todar Mal, who had been directed to

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1 About thirty miles east of Pattan.
fit out a thousand boats (kishti) and ghurabs at Agra, had an interview with His Majesty. The revenues of Gujarát had not been paid up satisfactorily, so the Rájá was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer. The Emperor started again at midnight, and rode to Toda, which he reached on the morning of the 6th, and, after resting for a while, he again mounted and reached Basáwar in the middle of the night, where he was met by Khwája-jahán and Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, who had come out of Fathpúr to meet him. At dawn he again started and went to the town of Bajúna, where he remained till the following day. He then ordered his attendants to march into Fathpúr with spears in their hands. He himself followed, riding upon a gray horse, and holding a spear in his hand. Thus he reached Fathpúr on Saturday, 7th Jumáda-l ákhír, having been absent forty-three days.

Events after the Emperor's Return to Fathpúr.

On the 25th of Jumáda-l ákhír, the ceremony of circumcising the young princes was performed, amid great rejoicings and congratulations. The time was now arrived for beginning the education of Prince Salím, so on the 22nd Rajab His Majesty appointed Mauláná Mír Kalán Harawí to be his tutor, and to instruct him in the creed and the Kurán.¹

Muzáffar Khán, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Sárangpúr, in the territories of Ahmadábád, was summoned to Court, and on the 4th Rajab he was appointed wasir or prime minister of Hindústán, and received the additional title of Jumlatú-l Mulkí. The general management of the affairs of the country was committed to his hands.

The debts of Shaikh Muhammad Buharáfí, who was killed at the battle of Pattan, and of Saíf Khán Koka, who fell in the second campaign of Ahmadábád, were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. The total amounted to one lac of Akbar-

¹ The translation of this and other unimportant passages of this section is abridged.
sháhí rupees, equal to 2500 tumáns of Irák. Such a fact has not been recorded of any king in books of history.

Rájá Todar Mal, who had been sent to settle the revenues of Gujarát, having made the necessary arrangements, now returned, bringing the accounts of his settlement, and suitable presents for His Majesty. He was highly applauded. After a few days the Emperor gave him one of his own swords, and sent him along with Lashkar Khán Mír-bakhshí to serve under Khán-khánán Mu’ním Khán, and assist in the conquest of Bengal.

Mír Muhsin Rizví, who had been sent on a mission to the rulers of the Dekhin, returned, bringing with him the presents they had sent to His Majesty.

On the 16th Shawwál the Emperor went to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu’ínú-d dín at Ajmír, for although he had visited it this year on his return from the second campaign in Gujarát, he had now determined upon an invasion of Bengal; and as this campaign might last longer than a year, he might be prevented from making his usual pilgrimage; so he determined to proceed thither at once, and offer up his prayers for divine help in his war against Bengal. He accordingly set out on the 16th Shawwál, 981, and remained till the 20th in the village of Dáír.¹ At this place Diláwar Khán, assisted by the Emperor’s orderlies (yásáwáts), was directed to protect the cultivated land in the vicinity of the camp; and besides that, trustworthy men were appointed to carefully examine the land after the camp had passed, and were ordered to place the amount of any damage done, against the government claim for revenue. This practice became a rule in all his campaigns, and sometimes even bags of money were given to those inspectors, so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the raiyats and farmers, and obviate any interference with the revenue collections. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he proceeded, he arrived at a spot seven kos from Ajmír, on the 12th Zíl-1 ka’da.

¹ "Four kos from Fathpur."—Badáání, vol. ii. p. 171.
Next day he went on foot to pay his visit to the tomb, and from thence he repaired to his palace in Ajmir. There he remained twelve days, visiting the tomb every day, and enriching the poor with his bounty.

_Nineteenth year of the Reign._

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 17th Zî-l ka’dâ, 981 H. (11th March, 1574 A.D.)

After paying his visit to the tomb of the holy Khwâja, who is the helper and protector of kings, the Emperor started on his return from Ajmir on the 23rd Zî-l ka’dâ. Hunting as he went along, he arrived at Fathpûr on the 17th Zî-l hijja.

_Campaign against Patna and Hâjipûr._

Sulaimán Kirâni, one of the amîrs of Salîm Khân Afgân [Salîm Shâh], and ruler of Bengal and Bihâr, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Šurât campaign, in the year 981 H. His eldest son Bâyazîd succeeded, but he was murdered by the amîrs,¹ and the younger son Dáûd was raised to the throne. The Emperor was informed that Dáûd had stepped out of his proper sphere, had assumed the title of king, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khân-zamân built when he was ruler of Jaunpûr. A _fârmân_ was immediately sent to Khân-khânân, directing him to chastise Dáûd, and to conquer the country of Bihâr.

At that time Dáûd was at Hâjipûr, and his chief noble, Lodî, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtás, and set up a claim to independence. Khân-khânân Mu‘nîm Khân marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hâjipûr. Lodî, knowing the destruction of the Afgâns to be certain,

¹ "In consequence of his evil conduct."—Badâuni, vol. ii, p. 173. According to Abû-l Fazl, the nephew and son-in-law of Bâyazîd, whose name was Hânsû, took an active part in his removat. He in his turn was killed by Lodî, and Dáûd was placed upon the throne.—Akbar-nâma.
notwithstanding his hostility towards Dáuíd, made a sort of peace with Khán-khánán. The old friendship and respect which Khán-khánán had for the late Sulaimán Kirání led him to agree that, upon the payment of two lacs of rupees in money and one lac in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jaláí Khán Krorí, he entered into a peace with Dáuíd.

But Dáuíd was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlú Khán, who had for a long time held the country of Jagannáth and of Sridhar Hindú Bengálí, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodí his amíru-í umárá, and put him in confinement under the charge of Sridhar Bengálí. When in prison, Lodí sent for Katlú and Sridhar, and sent Dáuíd this message, "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good. And this is my advice: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time."

The power of Dáuíd and of all the Afghánás was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Dáuíd resolved to put Lodí out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his own satisfaction. Katlú Khán and Sridhar Bengálí had a bitter animosity against Lodí, and they thought that if he were removed, the offices of wástír and wástír would fall to them, so they made the best of their opportunity. They represented themselves to Dáuíd as purely disinterested, but they repeatedly reminded him of those things which made Lodí's death desirable. Dáuíd, in the pride and
intoxication of youth, listened to the words of these sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Dáúd became the master of his elephants, his treasure, and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodí had concluded, he banished all care.

When the death of Lodí was reported to Khán-khánán and his circle, which was full of amîṝs of renown, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti, and marched against Patna and Hájípūr. In high spirits he arrived in the vicinity of Patna. Dáúd now deeply regretted the murder of Lodí, who, by his wisdom, and judgment, and devotion, had kept the affairs of Bengal in order. He marched towards Patna, and was at first resolved upon battle; but he afterwards recoiled from trying an action, and resolved to take shelter in his fortifications. Khán-khánán was delighted when he was informed of this resolution, and he already foresaw the conquest of Patna and Hájípūr. Dáúd, without drawing a sword or shooting an arrow, retired precipitately into the fort of Patna, and set about repairing the works.

Khán-khánán, with the concurrence of the amîṝs, proceeded to invest Patna. Upon hearing this, the Emperor determined to personally direct the operations against Patna and Hájípūr. After resting for a few days at Fathpūr, he sent off his camp and elephants by land under the command of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Rizwí one of his chief amîṝs. He placed Ágra in charge of Shahábu-d ḍīn Ahmad Khán Naishapúrī, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday the last day of Safar, 982 H. The young princes went with him. The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen utensils, stud, etc., etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the amîṝs for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats,
and so they started. On arriving at the village of Ratambh, one of the dependencies of Agra, he stopped and sent a letter to KHán-khánán Mu’ním Khán, to give information of his approach. On the 1st Rabí’ ī-l awwal the expedition proceeded. Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore.1 Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops. [Punishment of a brahman guilty of incest with his daughter.]

On the 23rd of the month the Emperor reached Illahabád, which is situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. This is a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindús, and contains some fine buildings. It is celebrated in all parts of the world as a holy place of the Hindús, who resort thither from all parts. On the 25th he reached Benares, from whence he sent on Sher Beg Tawáché in a boat to KHán-khánán Mu’ním Khán, to apprise him of the Emperor’s arrival at Benares. At that city he remained three days taking rest. On the 28th he reached the village of Korí, a dependency of Saiyíd-púr,2 at the confluence of the Gumtí3 and Ganges, and there anchored.4 Here he was waited upon by Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, who had brought down the army by land. He now determined that until he received accurate intelligence from KHán-khánán, he and the young prince and his wives would go and stay at Jaunpúr.5 So he left the army at this encampment, and went up the Gumtí in boats to Jaunpúr.

On the 2nd Rabí’u-s sání he reached the village of Yahyá-púr, a dependency of Jaunpúr. Here a despatch arrived from KHán-khánán, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he sent on the young prince and ladies to Jaunpúr, and

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1 “In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science and poetry,” etc.—Badání, vol. ii. p. 176.
2 Badání for Saiyíd-púr has Jaunpúr, and is probably right.
3 Here called in the M.S. “Güdá” and “Gúrī”; by Badání “Gúdí,” and by Abú-1 Fazl “Kúdí.”
4 The expedition encountered three violent storms, and several boats sank.—Akhar-mdma, vol. iii. p. 64.
5 The T. Aśfī writes the name indifferently “Jaunpúr” and “Jaunpúr.”
then departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th the boats fell down the Gunti to the Ganges, and Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla. On the 6th it encamped in the plain of Gházipúr, and the Emperor went hunting. ** On the 7th he halted at Gangadáspúr, and here he was met by the eunuch 'Itimád Khán, a distinguished noble, who had been rendering good service in the siege of Patna, and who now made a full report of all the occurrences to His Majesty, and urged him to hasten forward. His Majesty thereupon directed Saiyid Mírak Ispahání, one of his principal attendants, who was learned in charms, to seek an augury in his books by sortilege. The augury was favourable, and a few days proved its truth.

On Tuesday, the 8th Rabí’u-s sání, he encamped at the ferry of Chaunsá, and here a despatch arrived from Khán-khánán, reporting that 'Ysá Khán Níází, an Afghán renowned for his courage, had made a sortie with elephants and a large force from Patna, and had attacked the besieges. 'Ysá Khán was slain by Lashkar Khán, one of the Emperor’s men, and a great number of Afgháns fell. This news was sent on to the princes.

On the following day Diláwar Khán was ordered to transport the army over at the ferry of Chaunsá, and on the 10th the army encamped at the village of Domní, belonging to Bhojpur. Kásim 'Alí Khán, was now sent to inform Khán-khánán of the near approach of the Emperor, and to inquire what he advised to be done. The Khán advised the Emperor to advance as hitherto, himself by boat and his army by land; and he requested that some horses might be sent to replace those that had been rendered useless by the rains. Horses and arms were accorded.

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1 “News arrived on this day of the conquest of Bhakar.” This is in the text, but has been placed here as a note. Badáýí’s version is, “News arrived of the death of Sultán Mahmúd of Bhakar, and of Muhibb ‘Alí Khán’s obtaining possession of that country.”

2 The weather continued very stormy; heavy rains fell, and the waters were much out.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 76.
ingly sent. Khán-khánán and the other amirs advanced two kos from Patna to meet His Majesty, who, on the 16th Rabí‘u-s sání, reached his destination, and took up his abode in the tents of Khán-khánán. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made.

On the 17th Akbar called a council of war in the tents of Khán-khánán, when he observed that the siege had now lasted a long time, that he was resolved upon reducing the place, and upon crushing the defenders, so that they should be unable to make any further resistance either in the city or in the country. He thought that the best course to pursue was to first reduce the fort of Hájípúr,¹ which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna, and that their operations must be directed to that object. The Kháns greatly applauded this scheme. At that same council Khán-‘álam was sent off with three thousand men in boats, with the materials required for a siege. Rájá Gajpati, the samundár of that country, who had many armed adherents, was directed to support Khán-‘álam.

Next day, the 18th, Khán-‘álam crossed the river, embarked immediately, and went to lay siege to Hájípúr, while the troops marched by land.² In order to see the field, His Majesty mounted a battery of Sháham Khán Jaláír, which was upon a hill on the bank of the Ganges, and from which Hájípúr was visible. As, however, he could get no certain information of what was passing, in the evening he sent a party of men in three boats toward Hájípúr to gain intelligence. When the enemy saw these boats approaching, they sent eighteen boats full of fighting men against them. But the three Imperial boats prevented them from advancing, and by hard fighting cut their way through, and joined Khán-‘álam. Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor.³ Fath Khán Bárha, commander of

¹ A fort which stood opposite to Patna; the Ganges, about two kos in width, flowing between them.”—Akbar-námá, vol. iii. p. 73.
² He went up the Gandak.—Akbar-námá, vol. iii. p. 75.
³ Fátih Sirhindí follows this account; but Abd-‘l Fazl’s version is somewhat different. See infra.
Hájípúr, and many Afgháns, were slain, and the place fell into the hands of Khán-álam. The head of Fath Khán Báráhá and the heads of other Afgháns were thrown into boats, and sent to the Emperor. After offering his thanksgiving for this victory, he sent the heads of Fath Khán and of the others to Dáúd, that he might see with his own eyes what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Dáúd's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight.

On the same day, the 16th, the Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and he ascended the Panj-paháráí, which is opposite the fort. This Panj-paháráí, or "Five domes," is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages. The Afgháns, who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress, saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in their despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the Panj-paháráí, but they did no injury at all to any one.

When Dáúd saw the Imperial forces swarming in the plain, and when he was informed of the fall of Hájípúr, although he had 20,000 horse, abundance of artillery, and many elephants, he determined to fly, and at midnight of Sunday, the 21st Rabí'u-s sánt, he embarked in a boat and made his escape. Srídhar the Bengálí, who was Dáúd's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Bájá Bikramájít, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him.

Gújar Khán Kirání, who was Dáúd's minister, brought the elephants out, and fled by the rear of the city. On that dreadful night, a foretaste of the day of judgment, the inhabitants were in a state of bewilderment and despair. Some endeavoured to escape by the river, but through the crowding and struggling many of them were drowned. Others endeavoured to fly by land, but were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and streets. Some in their despair cast

1 His title was "Ruknu-d daula."—Badáuí, vol. ii. p. 181.
themselves down from the walls, and others perished in the moat. When Gújar Khán came to the Punpun river, he passed his elephants over the bridge; but the fugitives in his rear so pressed and crowded upon the bridge that it broke down, and numbers were precipitated into the water. Those who came up afterwards threw away their arms and clothes, and cast themselves naked into the river.

Late at night, when the flight of Dáúd was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light Khán-khánán having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "Mulk-i Sulaimán zi Dáúd raft" (983).

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khán-khánán in command of the army, while he himself dashed off with a detachment in pursuit of Gújar Khán and the elephants. When he reached the Punpun, he swam over on horseback, and the amirs and soldiers followed his example. Then he gave orders for every officer and man to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. The amirs, driving Gújar Khán before them, secured Dáúd's elephants, and brought them to His Majesty. On reaching the pargana of Daryápúr, twenty-six kos from Patna on the banks of the Ganges, they drew rein, and it was found that nearly 400 elephants had been taken. His Majesty halted at Daryápúr, but ordered Shabbáz Khán Mir-bakhshi and Majnún Khán Kákshál to continue the pursuit. They went on to the river Balbhúnd, seven kos from Daryápúr.

1 A river which runs from the south, and falls into the Ganges near Patna.
2 On the right bank of the Ganges, sixty miles east from Patna.
3 Abú-ı Fazl makes it thirty kos.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 78.
4 "Two hundred and sixty-five."—Ib.
There they learned that Gújar, worn out and half dead, had passed over the river, and that some of his men had been lost in the water. Shahbáz Khán and Majnún Khán then returned.

On Monday, the 21st, Khán-khánán, according to orders, came by water to wait upon His Majesty, bringing with him the royal boats and attendant establishments. The Emperor stayed at Daryápúr six days. He appointed Khán-khánán to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances twenty-five or thirty per cent., he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khán-khánán and the other amirs. Next day he marched to the town of Ghiyáspúr on the bank of the Ganges. There he rested four days, employed in the pleasing occupation of viewing the elephants captured from Dáúd and his Afghán. From thence he determined to go on to Jaunpúr rapidly. Leaving the command of the army as usual with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, he started at midnight of the 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 982, mounted upon an elephant. In the morning he halted at an encampment of the royal forces between Daryápúr and Ghiyáspúr, where he witnessed some elephant fights.

At this stage Muzaffar Khán, who was formerly a clerk, but now an amir of reputation, was sent along with Farhat Khán, one of the late Emperor’s slaves, and now enrolled in His Majesty’s service, to besiege the fortress of Rohtás, a very lofty and strong place. And he gave orders that after its capture it should be placed under the command of Farhat Khán, and that Muzaffar Khán should return to Court. On Friday, 3rd Jumáda-l awwal, he proceeded to Patna, and spent a short time

1 Muzaffar Khán, who was appointed prime minister (see supra), had been since removed from office, for reasons which will appear in an Extract from the Akbar-náma, infra. Abd-ul Fazl says he was sent on this campaign to Rohtás in disgrace.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 81.
in examining the buildings of Dáúd. 1 From thence he started to make the best of his way, and on Saturday, the 4th, he reached the village of Fathpúr Sahína, which is twenty-one kos distant, and on Monday, 6th Jumáda-l awwal, at mid-day, he arrived at Jaunpúr. Mirzá Yúsuf Khán arrived with the army on the 7th. The Emperor remained at Jaunpúr thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpúr, Benares, the fort of Chunár, and sundry other maháls and parganas directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the management of them to Mirzá Mírak Rízwí and Shaikh Ibáhím Sikrí. On the 9th Jumáda-s sání, 982, he departed from Jaunpúr, and went to Khánpúr, where he stayed four days. Here he was waited upon by Kázi Nizám Badakhshí, who [being graciously received and appointed to office] afterwards achieved a high position among the nobles.

A despatch now arrived from Khán-khánán, reporting the capture of the fort of Garhí. 2 When Dáúd fled from Patna, he went to Garhí. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tánda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhí that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khán-khánán marched against Tánda, and arrived near Garhí. 3 As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghánus fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhí without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khán-khánán and the other amirs. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th Jumáda-s sání, at the town of Iskandarpúr, where he received intelligence of the fall of Tánda.

After taking possession of the fort of Garhí, the Imperial

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1 "It is a curious fact that in this place there are thatched houses called chhapparband, which, although they are covered only with wood (chod posh), are worth 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each."—Bádáúni, vol. ii. p. 182.
2 See Vol. IV. p. 367. Also Extract from Ak-ndma, infrd, respecting Garhí and Tanda.
3 He had previously made himself master of Surajghar, on the Ganges, about eighty miles from Patna; of Mongír, with the help of Rájá Sangrám of Gorakhpúr and Púran Mal Rájá of Kidhúr; and of Bhágalpur.—Akbar-ndma, vol. iii. p. 84.
forces marched on towards Tánda, which is the capital of the kingdom (of Bengal). Khán-khánán’s explorers at first reported that Dáúd intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khán-khánán thereupon summoned his amírs, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces, and advanced in great force against Tánda. When Dáúd’s spies carried him the intelligence of Khán-khánán’s advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patna, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th Jumáda-s sání, the capital of Tánda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people.

Again the Emperor was delighted with this good news. He determined to go on to Dehlí, and he arrived there on the 1st Rajab. He made a pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints and holy men; he also visited the tomb of his father, and he dispensed his bounty among the needy, and offered up prayers suitable to his position. To give his escort rest he remained at Dehlí some days, and employed himself in hunting. In the beginning of Sha’bán he started for Ajmír, and hunted as he went. At the town of Nárnaul he was waited upon by Khán-jahán, who came from Lahore to see him. The Emperor was much pleased to see the Khán, and gave him some princely marks of his approval. A few days afterwards ‘Azám Khán also came from Ahmadábád expressly to offer his congratulations. In the beginning of Ramazán, the Emperor reached Ajmír, and hastened immediately to pay his visit to the tomb. Out of the spoils of Bengal he presented to the nakára-khána of the Khwája a pair of drums which had belonged to Dáúd. He also dispensed the usual gifts.

It now came to his knowledge that Chandar Sen, son of Mál Deo, was oppressing the raiyats in the neighbourhood of the forts of Joudhpúr and Siwánah, and was creating disturbances.¹ His

¹ This intelligence was brought from Siwánah by Rájá Ráí Singh. — Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 87. Siwánah is about sixty miles S.W. of Joudhpúr.
Majesty sent Tayib Khán, son of Táhir Khán Mir-i farághat the governor of Dehlí, and Súbhán Kulí Türk, with a suitable force, to chastise him. When they approached, the rebel withdrew with his followers 1 into dense jungles and places hard of access. But some of the fugitives were caught and put to the sword, and the royal troops returned with considerable spoil. In the middle of Ramazán the Emperor started on his return to the capital, and on the same day Khán-i 'azam departed for Gujarát. The Emperor arrived at Fathpúr on the last day of Ramazán.

It had become manifest that much of the cultivable land of Hindústán was lying uncultivated; and to encourage cultivation, some rule for dividing the profits of the first year between the Government and the cultivator seemed to be required. After careful consideration, it was arranged that the various parganas should be examined, and that those which contained so much land as being cultivated would yield a kror of tankas, should be divided off and given into the charge of an honest and intelligent officer, who was to receive the name of kört. The clerks and accountants of the Exchequer were to make arrangements with these officers, and send them to their respective districts, where, by vigilance and attention, in the course of three years the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the revenues recovered for Government. To carry out these views, a number of the most honest and trustworthy servants of the State were selected, such as ** and appointed to the office of kört. The amírs also were called upon severally to appoint kórtí, who were sent into the country upon their responsibility.

At this time Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, Jalál Khán Korchí, and some other amírs, were sent to effect the reduction of the fort of Síwánah, belonging to the son of Ráí Mál Deco. The fort was besieged for a long time, and Jalál Khán Korchí, one of the officers of the Court, was killed there. After that Shahbáz Khán Kambú was sent there, and he took the place in a very short time.

1 "by way of Rámpúr."—Ák.-námá. Rámpúr in Tonk, seventy miles S. from Jaipúr.
A statement was now received from the ministers (wukālā) of Sultán Mahmúd of Bakar, reporting that Sultán Mahmúd was dead, and that they had no confidence in Muhíb 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán. If, therefore, his Majesty would send one of his officers, they would render up the fort into his charge. His Majesty accordingly sent Mír Kísú Bakáwal-begī, who had received the title of Kísú Khán.

In this year a great pestilence (wabá) and famine occurred in Gujarát, and lasted for nearly six months. From the severity of these calamities, the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled the country, and were scattered abroad. For all this, grain rose to the price of 120 tankas per man,¹ and horses and cows had to feed upon the bark of trees.

Khwája Aminu-d dín Mahmúd Khwája-jahán, who was wasír-i mustakill of the territories of Hindústán, died at Lucknow.

Twentieth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 29th Zí-l ka’dá, 982 H. (13th March, 1575).

Defeat of Dáud Khán by Khán-khánán.

After the conquest of Tánda and the flight of Dáud to Orissa, Khán-khánán devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the country. Then he sent Rájá Todar Mal with some other amírs towards Orissa, in pursuit of Dáud. He appointed Majnún Khán Kákshál to the government of Ghora-ghát. When the Khán proceeded to Ghora-ghát,³ Sulaimán Mangalí, the jángirdár of the place, and one of the bravest of the Afgháns, collected a force to resist his taking possession. Some sharp fighting followed, and Sulaimán was killed, and the wives and children of him and of other Afgháns were made prisoners. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Káksháls. Majnún Khán married Sulaimán’s daughter to his own son

¹ "Jawdár rose to the price of 120 black tankas per man."—Bádání, vol. ii. p. 186.
² Forty-eight miles S.E. of Dínájpúr.
Jabbáří. He then went on to Ghorá-ghát, and after dividing the whole of the country among the Káksháls, he made a report to Khán-khánán.

Rájá Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of Dáúd, when he reached Madáran, was informed by his scouts that Dáúd was engaged collecting men in Dín-kasáří, and that his forces were daily increasing. Todar Mal stopped at Madáran, and wrote a full report from thence to Khán-khánán. On receiving it, the Khán sent Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás with reinforcements for the Rájá. Upon their arrival, all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowálápára, ten kos from Dín-kasáří, with all speed. When Dáúd heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dharpúr.

The spies now brought in information that Junaid, son of Dáúd’s uncle, a man of high repute among the Afgháns for bravery and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the Emperor, but fled from Ágra to Gujarát, and afterwards came from Gujarát to Bengal, was now at Dín-kasáří, seeking to form a junction with Dáúd. Rájá Todar Mal, with the approval of the other amirs, sent Abú-l Kásim Namáki and Nazar Bahádur to attack Junaid. These men, making light of the matter, neglected the precautions necessary in warfare, and were defeated by Junaid, thus bringing disgrace upon themselves.

Rájá Todar Mal, on receiving the news, with the approval of his amirs, marched against Junaid; but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into the jungles. Todar Mal therefore stopped at Midnapúr. Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás died here after a few days’ illness. He was an able man, and his loss was a great cause of weakness in the Imperial forces.

In concurrence with the remaining amirs, Rájá Todar Mal returned from Midnapúr to Madáran. Here Kiyá Khán Gang,

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1 In the Hágli district between Bardwan and Midnapúr. See Blochmann’s *Khín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 375.


vol. v.
being offended with the other amirs\textsuperscript{1} without reason, went off into the jungle. Todar Mal reported the fact to Khán-khánán, and remained for some days in Madáran. Hereupon Khán-khánán sent Sháhám Kháń Jaláír and ** to support Rájá Todar Mal. When they joined the Rájá at Bardwán, the Rájá left them, and went out into the jungle after Kiyá Kháń, and having pacified him, brought him back with him. From Madáran they marched to Jitúra. There they were informed that Dáúd, with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banáras,\textsuperscript{2} and was engaged in preparations for war.

Rájá Todar Mal halted, and sent swift messengers to inform Khán-khánán of the position of affairs. Khán-khánán then left Tánda to march against Dáúd, and he formed a junction with Rájá Todar Mal. Dáúd had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afgáhans entrenched their camp.

On the 20th Zí-l ka’dá, 982,\textsuperscript{3} the armies met.\textsuperscript{4} After the array was formed, the Afgáhans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khán-khánán ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (zarb-szan) and light guns (zambúrak), which were mounted on arábas in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afgáhan attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afgáhans who were in the advance. Gújar Kháń, with his division in

\textsuperscript{1} With Khán-khánán in particular.—\textit{Akbar-náma}, vol. iii. p. 98.

\textsuperscript{2} Attack and Cuttack, at the two extremities of the Empire, both have the word Banáras (Bouares) added to their names in the \textit{Tubakát}.

\textsuperscript{3} This date shows that Abú-l Fáız is right in placing the battle in the nineteenth year of the reign. Several lines are occupied with the names of the amirs in command of the various divisions of the two armies.

\textsuperscript{4} “at Bujhora.”—Baháúní, vol. ii. p. 194. The MSS. of the \textit{Akbar-náma} have “Takarét.” The name is not given in the MSS. of the \textit{Tubakát}, nor in the \textit{Akbar-náma} of Fáizí Sirhindí. Mr. Blochmann finds the locality of the battle in the Trigonometrical Map of Orissa, in two places called Mughulmári (Mughal’s fight), and “Tookaroe,” a village about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmári and Jalacsar (Jellisore), and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, lat. 21° 53’.

The battle extended over a large space. Baháúní (vol. ii. p. 195) speaks of three or four kos, i.e. about six miles.”—See \textit{ân-i Akbarí}, vol. i. p. 376.
excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khán-khánán’s advanced force upon the Altamsh. Khan-i ‘Alam, who commanded the advance, held his ground, and was killed. The Altamsh division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Khán-khánán did all in his power, but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gújar Khán attacked and wounded Khán-khánán, and as the latter had no sword, he returned Gújar Khán’s cuts with slashes of his whip. In this juncture Khán-khánán’s horse took fright; and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him. The Afgháns pursued Khán-khánán for half a kos, when Kiyá Khán Gang attacked the Afgháns, and showered arrows upon them. The Afgháns were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Khán-khánán got his horse under control, and rallying his men, led them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gújar Khán, and brought him down: When the Afgháns saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in their flight. Rájá Todor Mal, Lashkar Khán, and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Sháham Khán and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Dáúd. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Khán-khánán now became visible, and the death of Gújar Khán came to the knowledge of Dáúd. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khán-khánán encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, to have his wounds tended, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword. Lashkar Khán Mir-bakhshí, who had

1 Altamsh is a Turk word meaning “sixty,” and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general.—See supra, p. 364.
rendered such good service, died of his wounds before the army moved.

Conclusion of peace with Dáúd. His interview with Khán-khánán.

After his defeat, Dáúd fled to Katak Banáras (Cuttack), in the centre of Orissa, and Khán-khánán, who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his amírs determined to pursue Dáúd.1 Rájá Todar Mal and * * * were directed to proceed after him, and it was agreed that Khán-khánán himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted. The Rájá and his amírs accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-gháti.2 After resting there a while, the scouts brought in the intelligence that Dáúd and the Afgháns, with their wives and children, were shut up in the fort of Katak Banáras. Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the men were resolved upon fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. Rájá Todar Mal sent a report of the state of affairs to Khán-khánán,3 and the Khán set out for Katak Banáras, never resting till he came within two kos of that place. Then he held a council with his amírs, and having pitched his camp on the banks of the Mahánadí, which is half a kos from Katak, he began to collect materials for a siege.

Dáúd had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gújar Khán, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khán-khánán with a message to this effect: "The striving to crush a party" of Musulmáns is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this

1 "A large number of Afghán prisoners were put to death by order of Khán-khánán."—T. Afrí.
2 Abú-l Fazl calls the place "Bhadrak." The "Bhadruck" of Thornton, north of Cuttack. Badáúni and Faizí Sirhindí follow the Tábakdt, and have "Kalkal-gháti."
3 According to Abú-l Fazl, the Rájá's men were despondent, and he was obliged to call for support.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 107.
wide country of Bengál sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel.” The amirs communicated this to Khán-khánán, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal,¹ upon the condition that Dáúd himself should come out to meet Khán-khánán, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.²

Next day³ Khán-khánán ordered a grand Court to be held, and all the nobles and attendants to be present in their places in fine array, and the troops drawn up in arms in front of the tents. Dáúd came out of the fort, attended by his Afghán nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Khán-khánán. When he approached it, Khán-khánán, with great courtesy and respect, rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Dáúd loosened his sword from the belt, and holding it before him, said, “I am tired of war since it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you.” Khán-khánán took the sword, and handed it to one of his attendants. Then gently taking Dáúd by the hand, he seated him by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. Food and drink and sweetmeats were served, of which the Khán pressed him to partake.

After the dishes were removed, the terms of peace came under discussion. Dáúd protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khán-khánán brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Dáúd,

¹ “Rájá Toödar Mal, who well understood the true position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet (to prevent the armistice), met with no support.” He refused to take any part in the settlement.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 108.

² The terms were that Dáúd was to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to Court and do homage in person, but for the present some relations were to be sent as hostages. His nephew Shaikh Muhammad was the hostage.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 108.

³ 1st Muharram, 988 (12th April, 1678).—Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 108.
said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you as my tankhudh has been granted to me. I now gird you afresh with this war-like sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khán-khánán started on his return.

On the 10th Safar, 983, he reached Tánda the capital, and sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khán-khánán, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

While Khán-khánán was occupied at Katak Banáras, the sons of Jalálu-d dín Súr, in concert with the zamindárs of Ghorá-ghát, attacked and defeated Majnún Khán, drove him to the neighbourhood of Tánda, and captured the fort of Gaur. Mu’ín Khán and Majnún Khán provided for the security of Tánda, and awaited intelligence of Khán-khánán’s success. When his return became known, the insurgents scattered and hid themselves in the jungles.¹

Building of an 'Ibádat-Khána.

The Emperor had from his early youth taken delight in the society of learned and accomplished men, and had found pleasure in the assemblies of men of imagination and genius. He always treated them with the greatest respect and honour, and frequently graced their heavenly meetings. He listened to their discussions of nice points of science, of the ancient and modern history of religions and people and sects, and of all matters of worldly

¹ Abú-l Fazl says that Mu’ín Khán went to Ghorá-ghát, and suppressed the insurrection.—Akbár-náma, vol. iii. p. 140.
interest; and he profited by what he heard. His great favour for such men, led him at the time of his return from Ajmír in the month of Zí-l ka’da, 982, and in the twentieth year of his reign, to issue his commands for skilful architects and clever builders to erect in the gardens of the royal palace a refuge for súfís, and a home for holy men, into which none should be allowed to enter but sâiyids of high rank, learned men ('ulamá), and shaikhs. In obedience to the Imperial commands, skilful architects planned a building, containing four halls (aiwán), and in a brief period completed it. When this happy abode was finished, the Emperor used to go there on Friday nights and on holy nights, and pass the night until the rising of the sun in the society of distinguished men. It was arranged that the western hall should be occupied by sâiyids, the south by the learned ('ulamá) and the wise, the northern by shaikhs and men of ecstasy (arbáb-i hál); all without confusion or intermixture. The nobles and officers of the Court, whose tastes were in unison with those of men of greatness and excellence, were to sit in the eastern hall. His Majesty graced each of the four halls with his presence, and enriched those present with his gifts and bounty. The members of the assembly used to select a number of the most worthy among those present to be presented to His Majesty, and to receive from him handfuls of ashrâfs and rupees. Those, who from evil fortune did not participate in the royal bounty in the evening, used to sit down in rows before the 'ibâdat-khâna on Friday mornings, and receive handfuls of ashrâfs and rupees from His Majesty's own hands. This assemblage used frequently to last beyond mid-day on Fridays. Sometimes, when His Majesty was tired, one of the attendants of the Court, in whose kindness and gentleness he had confidence, was deputed to perform this duty. * *

In this year Gulbadan Begam, daughter of the Emperor Bábábar, and aunt of Akbar, piously undertook the journey to Mecca. When Gujarát was annexed to the Imperial dominions, he determined that every year one of the officers of his Court
should be appointed Mír Hájí, or Leader of the Pilgrims, to
conduct a caravan from Hindústán, like the caravans from Egypt
and Syria, to the holy places. This design was carried out, and
every year a party of enlightened men of Hind, of Máwaránu-n
nahr, and Khurásán, received provision for their journey from
the royal treasury, and went under the appointed leader from
the ports of Gujarát to the holy places.¹ Never before had any
monarch provided for the annual departure of a caravan from
India, nor had any one furnished means to the needy, to enable
them to perform the pilgrimage. Gulbadan and Salíma Sultán
Begam² now obtained the Emperor's permission to go the
pilgrimage, and received from him a sum of money for the
expenses of the journey. All the pious poor who desired to
join in the pilgrimage obtained the means of travelling.

Arrival of Mirzá Sulaimán.

Mirzá Sulaimán had been ruler of Badakhshán since the time
of the Emperor Bábar. He had a son, Mirzá Ibráhím, a fine
intelligent young man, who was taken prisoner in battle and
killed by the adherents of Pír Muhammad Khán Uzbek, in the
year that Mirzá Sulaimán invaded Balkh. Mirzá Ibráhím left
a son, Sháh Rukh by name, whom Sulaimán carefully brought
up, and to whom, in spite of his tender age, he gave several
districts of Badakhshán.

When Sháh Rukh arrived at years of discretion, and Mirzá
Sulaimán grew old, some designing people incited the youth
with stories of his rights. But the Mirzá's wife was a clever
woman; she kept a sharp watch over Sháh Rukh, and pre-
vented any outbreak. But when she died, these same people
stirred up Sháh Rukh's ambition to be ruler of Badakhshán.
He came from Kunduz to Koláb, and being supported by his

¹ "After five or six years, this arrangement was set aside."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 218.
² "Daughter of Nuru-d din Muhammad Mirzá, who was married to Bairám
Khán" (see supra, p. 266).—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 213.
party, the whole of Badakhshán, from Hisár Shádmán, to Kábul, fell into his hands, and he wanted to send his grandfather to join his father.

Mirzá Sulaimán fled in great distress to seek assistance from Muhammad Hakím Mirzá. But he did not meet with the reception he expected, so he begged to be sent on to the Indus. Hakím Mirzá did not comply with this trifling request. He sent him a party of pretended guides, who left him at the first stage and fled to Kábul. But Mirzá Sulaimán, trusting in God, continued his journey, and although he was sometimes opposed by the Afghánis, and had to fight his way, and was wounded by an arrow, he at length reached the Indus. Thence he wrote to the Emperor, who sent him 50,000 rupees, horses, and necessaries, by the hand of Khwája Áká Khán, and after some days Rájá Bhagwán Dás came to the Indus with an escort, and conducted him honourably to Lahore.

At this time a *farrán* was sent to summon 'Azam Khán from Gujárát, and he arrived at Court with speed and alacrity. Some cavillers and fault-finders made insinuations about his management of affairs, and the Khán, in defending himself, passed the bounds of prudence and respect, and made use of unseemly words, which brought upon him the displeasure of the Emperor. Thereupon the Khán, forgetful of his duty, retired to his garden at Agra, shut himself up alone, and refused admission to everybody.

Mirzá Sulaimán, after staying a few days at Lahore, started for Fathpúr. On reaching Mathúra, twenty *kos* from Fathpúr, the Emperor sent several nobles to meet him, and to arrange for his meeting the Emperor on the 15th Rajab, 983. All the nobles and officers were sent out to the distance of five *kos* from

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1 He had his daughter with him.—Badáání, vol. ii. p. 214.


3 On the 4th Rajab, 983 H.

4 Abá-i Fázíl (Ákbár-náma, vol. iii. p. 126) says the charge was about the branding of the horses; but Badáání (vol. ii. p. 214) states that there were complaints also against his revenue, military and general administration. They agree that he was sent into retirement.
Fathpúr to receive him. And when intelligence of his having left this stage was brought, the Emperor himself went out on horseback to meet him. Five thousand elephants, with housings of velvet and brocade, with gold and silver chains, and with white and black fringes on their necks and trunks, were drawn up in lines on each side of the road to the distance of five kos from Fathpúr. Between each two elephants there was a cart (arábá), the chittas in which had collars studded with gold and housings of fine cloth; also two bullock-carts, which had animals that wore gold-embroidered headstalls.

When all the arrangements were made, the Emperor went out with great pomp and splendour. Upon approaching, the Mirzá hastened to dismount, and ran forward to His Majesty; but the Emperor observing the venerable age of the Mirzá, also alighted from his horse, and would not allow the Mirzá to go through the usual observances and ceremonics. He fondly embraced him; then he mounted and made the Mirzá ride on his right hand. All the five kos he inquired about his circumstances, and on reaching the palace he seated him by his side on the throne. The young princes also were present, and were introduced to the Mirzá, and after a great entertainment, he gave the Mirzá a house near to the royal palace. On this occasion an order was issued to Khán-jahán, the ruler of the Panjáb, to take 5000 horse and proceed to Badakhshán in attendance on the Mirzá, to recover the country and restore it to him, and then to return to Lahore.

Death of Khán-khánán Mu'ñím Khan.

When Khán-khánán, with his mind at ease about Dáuíd, returned to Tánda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tánda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal,¹ and he ordered

¹ He was influenced by two reasons. It was on the side of the river nearest to Ghórká-ghát, the seat of the rebellion, and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings.—Akbar-náma, vol. iii. p. 140. Faizá Sirhindí.
that all the soldiers and *raiyyats* should remove from Tánda to Gaur. In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tánda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave,¹ and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached to such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river.² Every day the deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khán-khánán, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days, in the month of Safar, 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Sháham Khán Jaláír in command,³ and made a report of the facts to the Emperor. Khán-khánán had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khán-jahán, who had been supreme governor of the Panjáb, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amiru-l umará*, commended the *raiyyats* and people to his tender care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly-caporisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government. Khán-jahán, furnished with full credentials, then departed to assume his authority.

¹ *As gaur ba gor*: the two words being written exactly alike. A neat though misplaced pun.

² "Of the many thousand men that were sent to that country, not more than a hundred were known to have returned in safety."—Bádáúñ, vol. ii. p. 217.

³ Upon this appointment, Bádáúñ, in his caustic way, quotes the proverb—"In the treeless land the shrub *Palma Christi* is a tree."
Twenty-first year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Zî-l hijja, 983 H. (11th March, 1576 A.D.)

Mirzâ Sulaimán’s Journey to Mecca.

* * The Emperor had determined that Khán-jahán should march with the army of the Panjáb to recover the country of Badakhshán, but fate ruled otherwise. Khán-khánán, the ruler of Bengal, was removed by death, and the Emperor deeming the retention and administration of that country more important than the conquest of Badakhshán, sent Khán-jahán thither. When Mirzâ Sulaimán saw this change of fortune, he sought leave of the Emperor, through the officers of state, to go on the pilgrimage. The Emperor complied with his request, and furnished him with 50,000 rupees in cash, besides other things required for the journey. He sent with him, to attend upon him in his journey to the coast, Muhammad Kalîj Khán, one of the chief nobles, who had been appointed governor of Surat. When the Mirzâ went on board ship, twenty thousand rupees more were given to him out of the revenues of Gujarát. The Mirzâ performed the pilgrimage in the same year, and afterwards returned and recovered his kingdom of Badakhshán.

On the 7th Zî-l ka’da, 984, the Emperor set off on a visit to Ajmír. He hunted as he went, and on the 4th Zî-l hijja he encamped at ten kos from Ajmír. He afterwards, as usual, walked five kos on foot to the tomb of the saint, and after going through all the observances of the pilgrimage, he gave away two thousand rupees in charity.

Twenty-second year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 20th Zî-l hijja, 984 H. (11th March, 1577 A.D.).

While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmír, the intelligence was brought to him that Dáúd Afghán had flung away the treaty
which he had made with Khán-khánân, had risen against the
royal authority, and had marched against Tánda. The Imperial
officers in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they
could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hámípúr
and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khán-jahán
had taken his time in going there in consequence of his army
being at Lahore. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Emperor
sent a letter by Subhán Kulí Turk to Khán-jahán, directing him
to take with him all the amírs and fáqîraárs who had abandoned
Bengal, and to march against Dáuíd. In twenty-two days
Subhán Kulí travelled nearly a thousand kos,¹ (!) and delivered
the farman to Khán-jahán. The Khán took the field, and ad-
vanced into Bengal. He had an action with three thousand men
whom Dáuíd had left in charge of Garhí, and took the place.
Nearly fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs
were made prisoners.

Whilst the Emperor was staying at Ajmír, he sent Kunwar
Mán Singh, a brave and able man, with five thousand horse,
against Ráná Kîká.² He also sent Kázá Khán Badakhshí, * * *
and other ambitious young men with him. Ásáf Khán was
appointed Mir-bakhshí of this army. His Majesty presented
Kunwar Mán Singh and all the amírs and sardárs of the army
with robes and horses. After fitting out this army, he started
to return home on the 20th Muharram, and reached Fathpúr on
the 1st Safár, 985 H.

After his arrival at Fathpúr, messengers arrived with the in-
telligence that Khán-jahán, after the capture of Garhí, had
advanced to the vicinity of Tánda. There he found that Dáuíd
had evacuated Tánda, and had taken up a position in the village
of Ak.³ On one flank was the river, on the other a mountain,

¹ Badáüni (vol. ii. p. 227) confirms this.
² "Against Kokanda and Kombalmír, the territory of Ráná Kîká."—Badáüni,
vol. ii. p. 228. Kombalmír is in the Arávalli mountains, about forty miles north of
Udípúr.
³ Or Ak-maháäl or Ágá-maháäl, afterwards called "Ráj-maháäl" by Rájá Mán
Singh, when governor of Bengal. The ancient name was Rájá-griha.
and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khán-jahán marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwája 'Abdu-lla, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghán entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall, the Emperor’s anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khán, the governor of Patna and Bihár, to assemble all the troops in his province, and to march to the assistance of Khán-jahán. In a few days, a letter arrived from Khán-jahán, with the news that there had been a battle with the enemy, in which the royal troops had fought bravely, and had won a victory, in which they killed the commander of the enemy’s army, who was called Khán-khánán.

Defeat of Ráná Kiká by Kunwar Mán Singh.

Ráná Kiká was chief among the Rájás of Hindústán. After the conquest of Chitor, he built a town called Kokanda,¹ with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwára. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Mán Sing² drew near to Kokanda, Ráná Kiká called all the Rájás of Hinduwára to his aid, and came out of Gháti Haldco ³ with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Mán Singh, in agreement with his amirs, put his troops in array and marched to the battlefield. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle raged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rájpúts in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.⁴ Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more

¹ This is the spelling of our MSS., of Badáání and of the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-náma. Todd calls the place “Gogoonda.” Blochmann (Ām-i Akbārī, vol. i. p. 339) writes it “Gogandah.”
² Mán Singh was supported by Asaf Khan, and marched from Ajmír by way of Mándalgarh.—Badáání, vol. ii. p. 230.
³ Or Haldí-ghát.
⁴ The Rájpúts of the royal army were commanded by Rájá Lon Karan of Sám-bhar.—Badáání, vol. ii. p. 331.
than 500 Rájpúts of the enemy’s army were sent to perdition.¹ The enemy lost Rámeswar Gvalliári and his son,² and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rána Kíká fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rájpúts, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Mán Sing wrote an account of his victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rána Kíká, and again returned thanks to the Almighty (sic). Rána Kíká fled into the high hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Mán Sing and his amirs with robes and horses.

Khán-jahán’s campaign against Dáuíd.

When the battle fought by Khán-jahán became known to the Emperor, he sent five lacs of rupees by dák-chauki towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Ágra, for the use of the army. * * *

Gajpatí was a zamindár in the neighbourhood of Hájípúr and Patna, who had been enrolled among the partisans of the Emperor. When Muzaffar Khán went with reinforcements to Khán-jahán, leaving this country void of troops, he collected a party and attacked Farhat Khán and his son Mírak Ráwí, who were at the station of Árah. In the fight which ensued Farhat Khán and his son were killed. Great disturbances followed, and the roads were closed.

¹ Badáuní was in this battle, and gives a detailed account of it. The Imperialists had a hard victory, and were much indebted to their Hindú auxiliaries on this, as on many other occasions. But notwithstanding this and the enlightened policy of the Emperor, the Muslim generals could not repress their contemptuous hatred of the infidel. Badáuní (vol. ii. p. 231) relates that he was with a party of the advanced force, and in the middle of the fight he asked Aáaf Khán how they were to distinguish between their Rájpúts friends and foes. They were told to shoot at a venture, let the consequences be what they might. “So,” says he, “we kept up the discharge of arrows, and our aim at that mountain-like mass (of men) never failed.”

² Named “Sálibahán” (Badáuní, vol. ii. p. 233). The Jai Mal referred to was the hero of Chitor.