

19. Father A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar
(26th Nov. 1582).

Translated and Edited by REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Father Anthony Monserrate was Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva's companion during the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. They had left Damān for Surat on 13th Dec., 1579, and arrived at Fathpūr Sīkrī on 27th Febr., 1580. Monserrate, who had taken ill at Narwār, reached a week later on March 4th.¹ In February 1581, Akbar took the field against his brother, the Amīr of Kābul, who had invaded his territory as far as Lāhor. Monserrate accompanied the expedition as tutor to the Emperor's second son, Prince Murād. From beginning to end the campaign was a triumphal march. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm kept beating a retreat before his brother, and no serious resistance was anywhere encountered. When Akbar appeared before Kābul, it was empty. Muḥammad Ḥakīm had absconded in the mountains. The expedition lasted till the end of 1581, when Akbar was back at Fathpūr and ordered the *Nau-roz* (March of 1582)² to be celebrated with unprecedented splendour. About April 1582, Akbar prepared to send an embassy to the King of Spain and Portugal, and to the Roman Pontiff. Monserrate accompanied the ambassador, and arrived at Goa, at the end of September (?). They did not go further. Only one ship was to sail for Portugal that year, and it was already crowded. It was, therefore, proposed that the ambassador should wait till the next year. Shortly after, it was rumoured that Akbar had been killed, and the ambassador returned to Fathpūr.³ In the beginning of 1583, Bl. Rudolph Aquaviva, the only Jesuit left at Fathpūr, was recalled to Goa by his superiors, because the main object of the Mission, Akbar's conversion, had long appeared to be a hopeless task.

¹ Cf. DE SOUSA, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, Conq. I, D. II, §§ 46, 59 and *J.A.S.B.*, 1904, p. 51 n. 2. If du Jarric says (*Hist. des choses plus memorables*, II, p. 441) that the Fathers arrived on Febr. 18th, the difference must be due to the change from the Old to the New Style.

² The *Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī* (ELLIOT'S *Hist. of India*, v, 427) says that the *Nau-roz* corresponding with Tuesday, 27th Šafar, 991 (1582, not 1583, as Dowson has it) was celebrated by a festival of 18 days' duration.

³ Cf. D. BARTOLI, S.J. *Memorie Istoriche*, Torino, 1847, Lib. v, p. 185.

In compliance with the instructions of the Provincial of Goa, Monserrate had kept a diary during his stay of two years and a half in Mogor. Between 1582 and 1588 he was busy casting and recasting it into a connected narrative, to be entitled *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. When in February 1589 he was sent to Abyssinia, he took his MS. with him, in the hope of completing it in his new mission-field. The next year, he was a prisoner at Dhafar, in Arabia.¹ In the beginning of his captivity, which lasted six years and a half, he was honourably treated, and was even allowed to complete his writings. His *Commentary* on his experiences in Mogor was finished in his prison at Sanaa, in Arabia, on the feast of St. Damasus, December 1590. Ransomed, at last, in August 1596, he had returned to Goa in Dec. 1596,² bringing back with him his MS. and materials for two works on Arabia. Somehow, his *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* was never sent to Europe. In some strange mysterious manner, the autograph copy, transcribed within the prison walls of Sanaa, found its way to Calcutta in the beginning of last century, and after passing successively through Fort William College, the Calcutta Metcalfe Hall Library, and the Imperial Library, it was discovered in 1906 by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta. I am now preparing it for publication in the original Latin.³ It is a most valuable work, apparently a unique copy of the earliest known description of North India by a European since the days of Vasco de Gama.

An abstract from Monserrate's diary met, however, with more success. Several copies of it had been made at Goa in 1582, and had been sent through different directions to Europe. Some of them reached their destination. A photographic copy of one of these, dated Goa, 26th Nov. 1582, was lately sent me by a confrère in Europe. I publish it here in Portuguese, and in translation. It is entitled *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores*, 'An account of Akbar, King of the Mogores,' covers pp. 7¼ foolscap, and was sent "2^a via." How many copies of it were made at Goa, or how many in Europe, it is impossible to say. The copy before me is unsigned, and the writing is not that of Monserrate. Certain orthographical mistakes warrant me to suppose that the copyist felt occasionally puzzled. From the acquaintance I have made of Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, there is, however, no doubt that, if Monserrate did not himself draft the *Relaçam*, it was derived from his diary, generally word for word.

At least one other copy of this *Relaçam* reached Europe. Prince Frederic von Schleswig-Holstein (Graf von Noer) wrote

¹ Cf. DU JARRIC, *Histoire des choses* , II, Ch. xx, 231-236.

² On Dhofar or Dhafar, cf. E. RECLUS, *L'Asie Antérieure*, p. 905.

³ Cf. *The Englishman*, Calcutta, Febr. 6, 1912.

in 1880: "An excellent report (anonymous) dated from Goa, Nov. 26, 1582, is in my hands. It describes the state of things at Akbar's Court, and is a copy from the Spanish Archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Guayangos."¹

Count von Noer's copy may still be in existence. That of the Spanish Archives appears to have been lost. "When I was at Madrid," writes Sir Clements R. Markham, "Don Pascual de Guayangos gave me a copy of a very interesting Spanish manuscript by an anonymous missionary (probably Aquaviva) who describes the personal appearance and habits of Akbar. It was left at the Asiatic Society, before Mr. Vaux's time, and was mislaid. Don Pascual has also mislaid the original, so that the loss is irremediable."²

From the quotations made by Count von Noer regarding the Kābul campaign, I concluded in 1907 that the "excellent anonymous report" was the work of Monserrate. This point is now placed beyond doubt.³

Markham was mistaken, if he thought that copies of the MS. which he obtained from the Spanish Archives had never been utilized before. We find Monserrate's *Relaçam* quoted in a number of ancient works; but, it is probably due to the fact that the copies were not signed that the name of the author remained unmentioned and unknown.

As far as I know, the first who availed himself of the document which we now publish was Padre Gio. Battista Peruschi, s.J.⁴ He reproduces it *in extenso*, but disposes the materials somewhat differently. His copy must, however, have been more elaborate than mine. It contains occasionally more detailed information, which could have come from Mogor only, the only sources mentioned (cf. *Peruschi*, p. 5) being letters of Mogor, dated 1582 and "1592" [1595?].

Father Luis de Guzman, s.J., was the next to make use of Monserrate's *Relaçam*, and it will be evident, on examination, that he did not translate Peruschi, but had either a Portu-

¹ Cf. COUNT VON NOER, *The Emperor Akbar*, translated and in part revised by Annette S. Beveridge, Calcutta, Thacker, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 331-2. Von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* had appeared in 1880 or 1881.

² Cf. DR. P. A. S. VAN LIMBURG-BROUWER, *Akbar: An Eastern Romance*, translated from the Dutch by M. M. With notes and an introductory life of Akbar by Clements R. Markham, London, Allen, 1879, p. xxxi.

³ Cf. VON NOER, *Kaiser Akbar* (1880), Vol. II, pp. 11-12, 77-78, 81-82; 97-98. Also: *Jesuit Missions to Emperor Akbar*, by E. D. Maclagan, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 47, and my *Jesuit Missionaries in North India and Inscriptions on their tombs, Agra (1580-1803)*, Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press, 3, Portuguese Church Street, 1907, p. 7.

⁴ Cf. *Informatione / del Regno, / e Stato del gran Rè di Mogor, / della sua persona, qualita, / e costumi, e delli buoni segni, e congetture / della*

guese or Spanish copy at his disposal. The extracts in his work are much shorter.¹

Fr. Pierre du Jarric, s.J., made copious extracts from Peruschi's *Informatione del Regno...di Mogor*. This is evident from the faulty spelling of the proper names in both. The whole of Chapter viii of Livre IIII, *Seconde Partie de l' Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales*, Boverdeavs, Millanges, 1610, pp. 429-438, is thus based on Monserrate's authority.² (Latin edn. *Coloniæ-Agrippinæ*, 1615, II, Lib. II, C. VIII, pp. 492-501.)

Purchas' *His Pilgrimage* will be found to contain several passages from the *Relaçam* quoted through Peruschi or du Jarric.³

Father Francis de Sousa's account of the first Jesuit Mission to Mogor⁴ has little in common with Peruschi's *Informatione*. If he had a copy of Monserrate's *Relaçam*, he did not make much use of it.⁵ Though he wrote at Goa, it would seem, too, that he did not utilize Monserrate's MS. *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. His account of Monserrate's and Aquaviva's journey from Surat to Fathpūr in 1580 is not taken from it, but probably from letters written at the time by Monserrate and preserved in "Nossa Secretaria de Goa." He quotes, e.g., a MS. History of Padre Sebastião Gonçalves.⁶ (Cf. *Or. Conq.*, Vol. I, Introd.)

Greatly inferior as was Monserrate's *Relaçam* to his *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, it was none the less, in default of the latter, a most important document, and it is still sufficiently valuable to justify us in publishing it. It

*ua conversione alla nostra / santa Fede. / Cauata dalla relatione, e da molti particolari / hauuti daquella parti [..]. / In Brescia, / Appresso Pietro Maria Marchetti, 1597. /—I have also the Latin translation: *Historica Relatio de Potentissimi Regis Mogor..*, Moguntia, 1608. The *Relaçam* will be found utilized at pp. 5-31 of the Italian edition.*

¹ Cf. *Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los Religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus*. Alcala, 1601, Vol. I, Chapters xxxvi-xxxviii.

² I may state here as a bibliographical curiosity that the "Seconde Partie" of the Bordeaux edn. in 3 volumes (1608, 1610, 1614) was republished twice at Arras in 1611, "chez Gilles Bauduyn, au coing / du marché, a la fontaine, / M.D.C.XI," and by Guillaume de la Rivière. There is also an edition of Valenciennes, chez Jean Vervliet, MDCXI. The pagination of these three editions is identical. Father C. Sommervogel, S.J., was imperfectly acquainted with some of these editions.

³ Cf. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, London, 1625-26. Pt. IV, Bk. V, Ch. 6, § 3, p. 512. In J. TALBOYS WHEELER'S *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864, cf. pp. 14-24.

⁴ Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C.1, D.2. §§ 43-46, 53-63.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* § 63.

⁶ Only the first 5 books of Pt. I of Padre Sebastião Gonçalves' History are in the private Royal Library of Lisbon $\frac{2}{3}$. The whereabouts of the rest are not known. Cf. *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Madrid, 1899-90, I, xxiv.

will be found to shed light on Monserrate's *Commentarius*, though, on the other hand, it must itself be elucidated generally by means of his larger work.

We have reproduced the Portuguese text as faithfully as possible, not omitting any of its peculiarities and inconsistencies of spelling.

Mr. H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (retired), kindly went through the proofs of our article, and favoured us with a number of valuable corrections and notes.

Ex "Goan. Malab. Epist. 1580-89 (Goa. 13)"

Ex MSS. Soc. Jesu.

ACCOUNT OF EQUEBAR, KING OF THE MOGORES.

Mahamed Zelaldim Equebar, commonly called King of the Mogores, is the sixth descendant of Tamorlam, the same who seized Bayazet [Bajazet, Bāiazīd] by stratagem, and carried him about in a cage, as long as he lived.

This is his genealogy : Mir Timur Lâng, Miranxâ, Abuçaij, Ommarxâ, Qhanmirsâ, Baburxâ, Emmaûpadxâ, Zelaldim Equebarxâ.¹

By nationality and country he belongs to Chaquata [Chaghata].² These are Turks, not Tartars or Parthians [Persians], as some believe. The popular language of the country is Turkish ; yet, it differs from that spoken by the Turks.³ At court they speak Persian, and, though the words and the phrases be the same, still the pronunciation and the sounds differ from the language spoken at the Court and in the country of the King of Persia.

This Province of Chaquata lies between Persia and Tartary to the North, India lying in a manner to the East of it.

It borders on the Osbaquis [Osbeqs, Uzbaks], who are Tartars. Their first king was Cynguisqhan [Chingiz Khân], of whom St. Antoninus speaks.

To this day its Kings descend from him, and the King actually reigning is Abdollaqhan,⁴ who, they say, is as great a sovereign as Aquebar. The capital of the kingdom is called Samarqhan of Boccoirà.

Temurlang, from whom this king descends, was born in a village called Taragay, near to a town named Xarsabs, which means Green Town.⁵ He was of low pedigree, and became

¹ Akbar's genealogy is as follows: 1. Qutbuddīn Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān; 2. Jalāluddīn Mirān Shāh; 3. Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā; 4. Sultān Abū Sa'id Mīrzā; 5. 'Umar Shaikh Muḥammad; 6. Zahīruddīn Muḥammad Bābar; 7. Nasīruddīn Muḥammad Humāyūn. Cf. BLOCHMANN'S transl. *Āin*, I, table facing p. 578. Monserrate omits No. 3 and inserts Khān Mīrzā before No. 6. At fol. 138a. of his *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, he remarks that the *Tīmūr-nāma* does not agree with the list which he proposes and had obtained from Akbar himself and from the tutors to Princes Salīm and Murād. Faria y Sousa, *The Portuguese Asia*, London, 1695, Vol. II, Pt. I, Ch. xi, p. 68, has the strange theory that Akbar was the son of Humāyūn's queen and an elephant-driver.

†

RELACAM DO EQUEBAR.¹

REI DOS MOGORES.

[Fol. 484r
LII.]

Mahamed Zelaldim Equebar · , Rei uulgarmête dito dos mogores, He sexto neto De / Tamorlam · aquelle, q̃ tomou · a bayazeto,² por manha, E o trouxe · em quãto uiueo · , Em huà gayola./

A ordem da geracam · he esta . Mirtimurlâng · Miranxâ, Abuçaij, Ommarxâ, qhanmirsâ, / Baburxâ, Emmaûpadxâ, Zelaldim Equebarxâ. /

A sua nacam · e patria, he Chaquata · os quaes sam turcos, e nam tartaros: , nem Parthos · , Como algũs cuidaò / a lingua Popular Da naçam, he turquesca, Porem he diferente, da q̃ falam os Turcos. Na corte falaò, parse. / E aindaq̃ os uocabulos, e fraze he a mesma, a pronunçiaçam, e som he diferente, do da linguaem q̃ falã / na corte, e terras DelRei de persia./

Esta prouincia do chaquata, jas entre a persia³ E a tartaria pera o norte, E fica lhe, a india quasi pera / a banda Do leste. /

Tem por uizinhos, os, Osbaquis, q̃ sam tartaros; cuiuo primeiro Rei foi, Cynguisqhan · De q̃ fala sancto /Antonino/.

Do qual ainda ha geracam, de Reis, e o q̃ agora Reina se chama Abdollaqhan · o qual dizem q̃ he tam/ grande sñor como o Aquebar. A cabeça do Reino se chama, Samarqhan de boccorà.

Temurlang · Donde este Rei descende, foi natural, de huà aldea, q̃ se chama, Taragay · fermo De huà Cidade/ chamada Xarsab³, que quer dizer Cidade Verde, foi homem Baixo,

¹ First: *Aquebar*.

² The MS. seems to have: *bayafeto*.

³ The MS. has apparently: *as persias*.

² From the name of Chingiz Khān's second son, Chaghatai Khān.

³ de Guzman understood this to refer to the people of Chaghata.

⁴ " 'Abdullah Khān, chief of the Uzbaks, was the son of Sikandar Khān, son of Jānī Beg Khān, a descendant of Jūjī Khān, son of Chingiz Khān . . . He ascended the throne of Samarqand and Bukhārā in A.D. 1582.' " Cf. KEENE's *Orient. Biogr. Dict.*, 1894, p. 8.

⁵ Compare with Monserrate's *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 123a. 1: " In pago Taragay Quexensis urbis, quæ ob amœnitatem, et agri hortorumque viriditatem Xaresabz dicebatur, patre Xacathæo, ac simulachrorum cultore, ordinis equestris, ac quattuor equitum tribuno: matre pari nobilitate natus."—*Xarsabs* represents Shahr-i-Sabz; *Quex* =

[*Fol. 486r.*] qhabul, q̄ estam nas cõfins da P'sia/ E India, E tiueram varios encõtros · cõ os patanes, te q̄ se ensenhorearam, De todos os q̄ morauaò do indo,/ pera dentro, nas terras De qhabul, E cõtinuãdo, a guerra na india cõ os patanes, Desta banda do Rio · Baburxâ, Auo do Equebar, lhe foi ganhando. todo, o industan, E os encãtoou em/ Bemgala · Merto Baburxa voltaram, os patanes, sobre, Emaũxâ, seu filho, // E fizeramno recolher, com pouca honrra, a qhabul. Vendosse desaposado, foi pedir socorro a el/Rei da Persia, o qual lhe deu, hum seu capitam, mui ualeroso, com 12 mil hoès, cõ condiçam q̄/ siguisse sua seita; Deu se Emaũxa tam boa manha, cõ estes, 12 mil homeñs, E cõ a sua gente q̄ tornou/ a cobrar tudo o q̄ tinha perdido, recolhendosse os patanes, pera as terras, De Bemgala, morrêdo,/ Emaũ socedeo no industan, Equebarxa. q̄ agora Reina E depois De apaziguar alguàs alteracoès cõtinuãdo a guerra, com os patanes, venceo o seu Rei em huà batalha, E ensenhoreou se De bemgala,/ chamauasse este Rei ultimo Dos patanes tam bem dauid Como o Rei Cristam, a q̄ seus antepassados,/ ganharam as terras do industan./

O estado das cousas, Do Equebar, neste anno presente, he estarem reuoltas, ã feicam, q̄ antes se/ pode cuidar q̄ uam pera mal q̄ pera melhor, Porq̄ em Bemgala, estam aleuãtados, 10 mil mogores, E/ uinte mil patanes, Em cambaia lhe obedecem mal, Cutubdican, capitam De baroche, E xaebqhan capi/tam, De Amadabâ, q̄ sam homeñs De grande Importancia, assi de geracam, como de Poder,/ De gente, valor, esforco, E experiẽtia. Ainda q̄ nam, se tem De todo Declarado, tem se por certo,/ q̄ esperam boa occasiam Pera Arrebentarem, E unirem se cõ Amiqhan, pretensor Dos Reinos ./ De cambaia, tem tambem grande sobre osso, no principe De qhabul, seu Irmaò./

Cutubdican, foi o q̄ veio correr as terras, De damaò sem licenca Do Equebar., como affirmou,/ muitas vezes, cõ iuramẽto, a cõta de reuoluer, (ao q̄ parece,) a amisade, Do Equebar, E cõmunica/cam cõ nosco, Porem leuousse dellas, p̄ seu mãdado, q̄ estes sam tam sagazes, q̄ atee q̄ amadu/rem bem a cousa, correm cõ suas obrigacoès em quãto, nam

Spanish of Father L. de Guzman's *Hist. de las Misiones*, I, 241, col. 2, it will be seen that he did not follow Peruschi.

⁵ Qutbuddin Khān. Cf. *Āin*, I, 333. After the conquest of Gujarāt he had been appointed to the Sarkār of Bahroch.

⁶ Shihāb Khān was in Gujarāt from the 22nd to the 28th year of Akbar's reign. *Āin*, I, 332. His full name was Shihābuddin Ahmad Khān.

⁷ Amin Khān Ghorī, once a ruler of Surat. Cf. ELLIOT'S *Hist. of India*, v, 438, 440, and *Āin*, I, 516.

execute their designs. Cutubdican invaded Damaò on the plea of putting a stop to certain quarrels between our people and the Mogores, who wanted perforce to occupy certain lands near Damaò, but ours killed some of their people and made them desist. He spread the news that the Portuguese sought to invade the country and seize upon Surrate, whereas, in reality, instead of defending the King's interests, as he pretended in excuse, he wanted to avenge certain private wrongs received from the Portuguese.¹

When Equebar joins his forces, and has no rebels to oppose him, he is very powerful. Besides the troops which his captains bring into the field, he must have 5,000 war-elephants,² 40,000 cavalry, and an infinite number of infantry. He has many captains who can muster 12,000 or 14,000 horse³ and many elephants; others of 6,000 or 4,000 horse, and below that number.

In his campaign against his brother, the Prince of Qhabul,⁴ he left 10,000 men in garrison in Cambaia, and 12,000 in Fatipur with his mother. To the frontiers of Bemgala he sent against the rebels a foster-brother of his, one of his relatives,⁵ with 20,000 horse, and some 4 or 5 captains, each with 6, 5 or 4 thousand horse, besides some infantry and camp-followers for the baggage. In all the towns he left the necessary garrison, and took with him about 50,000 picked men, besides an infinite number of infantry and camp-followers.

On entering the enemy's territory, he left on this side of the Indo 3,000 men, on the other 1,500. His second son was sent ahead with 15,000 horse and 1,500 elephants, whilst he kept a large force of the best soldiers. Leaving the Prince at the foot of the mountains, a distance of three stages from Qhabul,⁶ to guard with 2,000 men his treasure and those of his household, he scoured the country and entered the

¹ These events, which occurred at the end of 1581 and the beginning of 1582, are related at length in Monserrate's *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 93a. sqq.

² The statement attributed to Monserrate by the Provincial of Goa that Akbar had 50,000 elephants stationed for warlike purposes at various centres of his empire (cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 63) is neither in this *Relaçam* nor in his *Mong. Leg. Comm.* We find it, however, in Peruschi, p. 16. Monserrate does not say either that Akbar took with him 5,000 elephants on the expedition against Mīrzā Hakīm, but that he kept 5,000 at his own expense. Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 51b. 2.

³ I do not find in the *Āīn* commands of 12,000 or 14,000. Akbar's three sons had commands ranging between 10,000 and 7,000. Cf. *Āīn*, I, 238.

⁴ Peruschi gives Febr. 1582 as the date when Akbar started on his campaign against Kābul. This is wrong and impossible. Monserrate says: 6° Idus Febr. 1581, i.e., 8 Febr. 1581. Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 44b. 2. Dowson says that Badāūnī and the *Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari* go wrong in their chronology from the 22nd year of Akbar's reign. (Cf. ELLIOT, *Hist. of India*, V. 246.) He considers, e.g., the *Ṭabakāt*,

podem, alfazer [*sic*], E fes isto ao som De/ acudir a huàs brigas, q̃ os nossos tiueram · sobre huas terras De damaò q̃ quieriam comer os mogo-/res por força, as quaes os nossos lhas fizeram, desemparrar, matando lhe alguà gente lancando fama, / q̃ quieriam os portugueses, correr as terras, E tomar Surrate, sendo, na verdade, por se uingar De/ certo agrauo, particular q̃ tinha, dos portugueses, recebido, E nam por respeito de seruir nisso a seu Rei/ como deu por desculpa./

Estando o Equebar vnido, com suas forcas, E sem a- 6
leuãtados, tem grande poder porq̃ afora a gēte/ De seus capitaes, tera sinquo mil alifantes de peleia. E quarenta mil caualos, E gente de pee infinita./ tem muitos capitaes, De 12, 14 mil caualos. E muitos alifantes, outros de seis E de 4 mil, E dahi/ pera baixo./

Quando foi sobre seu Irmaò O Principe De qhabul Deixou nas guarnicoès De cãbaia 10 mil/ homeñs, em fatipur com sua may · 12 mil na fronteira de bembala, cõtra os aleuãtados, mãdou, /hum seu colaco, E parente, com uinte mil cauallos, E outros .4. ou sinquo capitaes, quem de seis, quẽ/ sinquo, quem De 4 mil caualos, afora alguà infantaria e bagaje, E em todas as Cidades Dei/xou a guarnicam necessaria, E elle leuaua .50. mil hoès escolhidos pouco mais ou menos, afora/ a infantaria E bagaje, q̃ hera infinito./

Entrando polas terras, Do immiguo, deixou a borda do Rio indo desta banda .3. mil hoès/ E da outra banda mil E quinhētos. Deu a dianteira, ao filho Do meyo com quinze mil ca-/ualos, E quinhentos alifantes, E ficou elle, com huà grande batalha da melhor gēte do/ exercito, E deixou o principe cò 2 mil hoès ao pee da sserra tres jornadas, De perto/ De qhabul, cõ o tisouro, E cõ toda sua casa, correo as

to be 1 year late for the 27th regnal year, under which Nizāmu-d dīn. Ahmad chronicles the Kābul campaign, and whereas Nizāmu-d dīn writes: "The beginning of this year [27th regnal year] corresponded with Sunday, 15th Šafar, 989," Dowson notes: "This should be 990 (11th March 1582)." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 421—427. Father Monserrate's date "8 Febr., 1581," which admits of no doubt, shows that Dowson's corrections and the chronology of the *Akbar-nāma* from the 22nd regnal year should be reconsidered. Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad took part in the Kābul expedition. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 424.

⁵ 'Aziz Kokah's mother was Akbar's wet-nurse, and, though often offended by his boldness, Akbar used to say: "Between me and 'Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." In the 25th year of Akbar's reign, he was promoted to a command of 5,000, got the title of A'zam Khān, and was sent to Bengal and Bihār to quell the disturbances which had broken out there. Cf. *Āin* I, 321, 326. One of his sons and daughters had married a daughter and son of Akbar's, as we find in the Jesuit authorities. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 86, n. 2.

⁶ Jahāngīr, then "14 years old," was left at Jalālābād. Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 80a. 2.

city of Qhabul without striking a blow. His brother offered some resistance, however. He fought the vanguard of the younger prince, which consisted of 40,000 horse;¹ but, when he saw the elephants and other cavalry, on which he had not counted, come to the rescue, he lost heart and hid himself in certain very high mountains. On the other side of the Indo there are some independent mountain-chiefs disposing of 12,000 or 14,000 horse, who came all of them to offer him their services and were ready to accompany him.

The horses of the Moors are Turkish or Osbaquis; they have others from Tartary, which are strong, but without beauty and brightness of colour.² The King and the great Captains have Arabs, many of them, and of excellent quality. The gentoos ride country-breds, for they do not fight on horseback, their weapons being short lances like darts, and rodels or circular shields. When they come upon the enemy, they jump down, and do what they can with their short lances. The Moors fight with Turkish bows, with which they do harm while they beat in retreat. Their arrow on the string, they face about to the left and shoot, while their horses gallop on at full speed. Their infantry is armed with muskets, and sometimes with bows and arrows, or with sword and shield. But, they are a low, craven set, and do much less than the cavalry, which is the back-bone of the army.

On the expedition he took with him 28 field guns, none for siege operations. Each of them was the size of a hemisphere.³ These were in the van. He had also with him 50 elephants, each with four musketeers, placed on certain appliances, like children's cradles, with a balcony which they can turn in any direction they like. These musketeers discharged bullets of the size of an egg.

The war-elephants have their forehead covered, some with plates of metal, others with rhinoceros-hide,⁴ others with cotton-tow, and their conductors have side-arms, or breast-plates, or cuirasses and coats of mail, and they have with them some companions with bows and arrows and muskets. The elephants go in the rear, and when there is danger, a body of them is detached by one side or the other, or both, according as they are wanted to drive the enemy off. They are never placed in the van, because they prevent seeing the

¹ A clerical error. Read 4,000. Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 78b, 3, where we read that Mirzā Hakīm attacked with 15,000 men the vanguard of Pahārī's forces, led by Nuram [Naurang] Khān, son of Qutbuddīn Khān; but he withdrew on the arrival of Mān Singh.

² Peruschi writes (p. 17): "I Mori, cioè Mahomettani, *Bacheni*, & altri popoli, che confinano co'i Tartari, usano caualli, che fanno uenire di Tartaria." It is likely that he took the first syllable of Osbaqui to be an article, and thus obtained *Bacheni*, or did he find *Balcheni* in his original?—On horses and the places they came from,

[Fol. 486v.] terras E entrou pacificamēte E sem// Resistencia na cidade, De qhabul, porq̃ o Irmao postoq̃ fes/ rosto, E peleijou com a uãguardia Do infante q̃ heram 40 mil cauallos . como uio Arrebenar o so-/ corro dos alifantes, E caualaria de q̃ naò sabia Desacorcoou, E fugio, E embrenhou se, em huàs serras/ mui altas, Da outra banda do indo, Na serra ha algũs senhores, absolutos, de 12 . 14 mil caualos, / os quaes todos se uieram a oferecer, E acõpanhar./

Os caualos Dos mouros sam turquiñs E osbaquís E outros, 7 caualos da tartarea, fortes, mas pouco airosos, / nem lustrosia da cor, elRei, E os capitaès grandes tem cauallos arabios, muitos, E mui boñs os gētios ca-/ualgam em os caualos da terra, porq̃ nam Peleiam em cima Delles, porq̃ suas armas sam lâ-/cas curtas a maneira de dardos, E Rodelas ou broqueis, E como chegam os immigos poēsse no chaò/ E fazem o q̃ podem com suas lancinhas, os mouros peleiam com arcos turquescos, cõ os quaes fazem ho mal/ quando se retiram, porq̃ embebem o arco, E uirando sobre o braco esquerdo, atiram, corrêdo o cauallo, / cõ toda a forca, a infantaria pelleia com espinguardas, E alguàs vezes cõ arcos E frechas, E outra cõ espa-/da E rodella, porem he a gente baixa é de pouco animo, E he muito menos q̃ a caualeria q̃ he a força/ Do Arraial./

Leuou a esta guerra uintoito pecas De campo, E ñhuà de bater, a maior dellas hera huà meia espera, / estas hiam na dianteira, leuou tambem . 50 . alifantes, cõ cada hum, 4 spinguardoès, sobre hunś/ certos aparelhos E maneira de berço de mininos, com sua uaranda q̃ podiam iugar p̃ra onde quisesẽ/ E lancauam hum pelouro, como hum ouo./

Os alifantes de peleia hiaò cõ suas testeiras, alguàs cubertas De laminas, outras De couro dãta/ outros De estofados dalgodam, E os q̃ os governauam, armados de armas brancas, ou de laminas/ ou de couracas, E saias De malha, algũs cõpanheiros, com arcos, E frechas, E espinguardas, os ali-/fãtes vem na retaguarda. E quando ha aõto lancam huà manga dellas, por hum corno, ou por outro/ ou por ambos segundo a necessidade, pera fazer retirar os immigos E nunca os poem diãte da/ batalha, parte porq̃ tolhem a uista

cf. *Āin*, I, 132-133. "Droves after droves arrive from Tūrān and Irān, and there are now-a-days twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty."

³ "Erant autem octo et viginti, castrensia tormenta, sed ad quantiendos muros inepta, quorum maximum Hemisphæram (ut vulgus militarium ait) non æquabat." Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 44a. 2.

⁴ The *anta* (Port. and Span.) is the Brazilian tapir, an animal not found in India. Compare with Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. Ganda, and see App.

enemy, and, when they are wounded, they turn upon their own people, throw them into disorder and trample them to death.

Though they do much harm even when unarmed, swords are fixed to their trunk, and daggers to their tusks. With their proboscis they seize the enemy and either fling them aloft, or strike them to the ground, or cast them under their feet, where they pull and rend them in twain. Equebar never engages all his forces in battle. If he shows himself with 5,000 men, he has 20,000 lying in ambush, and others behind them. If the van is victorious, those in the rear come and improve the situation. If they are defeated, the rear-guard sustains the brunt of the enemy, whilst those who are routed make safe and rally. He has also in his army many Baloches, mounted on camels,¹ and fighting with bows and arrows. When he marches through his own territory, the army goes along without order, all kinds of handicraftsmen and merchants following in their wake, so that when they pitch their tents, the camp looks like a well-planned city, and nothing is wanting for managing the people, no more than if they were at Agrâ or at Fatipur. When he mounts his horse, the guard on duty that day wait on him, forming a line of a league in length, a line of cavalry, another of elephants.² The king advances at a stone's throw from the army, a party of mounted scouts going in front, while behind comes a battalion of cavalry followed close by the elephants. Near the king there is always a body of musicians playing trumpets, *anafis*³ and kettle-drums,⁴ but on the march they beat only one drum.

The lands which he conquers he does not properly bestow on any one, nor are there hereditary estates among the Mogores. All the lands belong to the King. The rest of the people is subject to the Lords and Grandees to whom he gives the lands, with a certain salary, and they remain on them as long as he pleases. When he thinks good, he removes them and appoints them to other places, always having regard to the number of soldiers whom each one has in his service. A captain of 12,000 men receives a province or district, which, over and above his pay, will easily maintain that number of people. The Lord then distributes the

¹ The *Āin* I, 143—148, devotes several chapters to camels.

² "Dum Rex moratur, duobus ordinibus in seriem, ab aulæ vestibulo, ad ducentos ferme passus, distincti, altero quidem elephantum, armis, quibus a telorum iniuria, sint tuti, diligenter obsectorum, altero, equitum sagittariorum, et pilatorum, levis armaturæ (nam ferro tectis et munitis equis ac militibus caret) Regem operiuntur, ac prætereuntem, suo quisque loco, atque ordine salutat." Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 45b. 1. It would seem, then, that the