



to Tīrāh. When Qāsim K. was killed, the Tārikīs rebelled and the Khaibar route became unsafe. Qulij K. went off to administer Zābulistān (Afghanistan) and to punish them. Mubārak K., Jalāl K., Sher K., Naḡr K., Mīr ‘Abdu-r-razzāq Mu‘marī and many others followed him. When he had settled Kābul he proceeded towards Tīrāh. He crossed difficult passes from Bāzarak and approached that country. The Afrīdī leaders renewed their promises of loyalty, and on the allegation that their cultivation would be destroyed by the imperial troops, he (Qulij), out of his simplicity, went to Begrām. He wished to enter the country (of Tīrāh) by the Ilam¹ pass, but on account of the difficulty of the ravine he could not do so. From there he proceeded to Kohat, thinking that he would attain his object in that way. The difficulty of the route kept him back, and he thought of going by Bangash. He came to Kharmāba. There was a slight engagement, and after being victorious, he laid the foundation of a fort. The Tārikīs erected a stockade (shākh-band) and prepared for battle. Owing to the wondrous fortune (of H.M.) the inhabitants pointed out a secret path. The general left Mubārik K., Shāh Muḥammad, M. ‘Alī Islāmābādī and others there and went on rapidly by this route. During the whole night and till midday horse and foot traversed difficult passes and arrived in the country. When Jalāla became aware of this, he exerted himself to close the road, but could not come up. He failed and without a struggle retired to difficult defiles. The army destroyed the stockade and passed by this route with the baggage. On account of the insecurity of the routes, and the deficiency of provisions, the victorious troops were put to trouble. Takhta Beg, Mīr ‘Abdu-r-razzāq Mu‘marī and other heroes were sent to Begrām to bring provisions. On 3rd Khurdād, Āhanposh—which is a central and strong place in Tīrāh—was made the site of the camp. As there was delay in the coming of the persons who had been sent, return was made to Kabul. This going from side to side and this returning were not approved of by H.M. On the 20th it was reported to H.M. that Mathurā Dās² Qūrbegī had died. Honesty and valour had brightened his forehead;

¹ *Ilam gazz*, perhaps the Ailum of Elphinstone I. 129. Or it may be a ferry on the Kabul river as Shah-

Alam is another name for that river.

² B. 523. He was a Khatri.



when the misconduct of the army of the Deccan became known, an order of censure had been issued and instructions given; Mathurā Dās was sent by relays of horses, and many verbal messages were entrusted to him. Near Mulkāpūr robbers attacked his baggage. He engaged with them; when the robbers dispersed, he attacked them on foot, and was killed by a spear. One day before this, at the time of eating, when a shoulder-blade was brought before H.M., he said: "The bone shows that one of our favourites has been killed." Next morning, a new proof was given of his knowledge of hidden things. At this time Shāhpūr became founded. When Prince Sulṭān Murād's mind was relieved somewhat of the guarding of Berār he, together with M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān, Rājah 'Alī K., Shāhbāz K., Jagannāth, Rai Durgā and other officers made an expedition to the centre of the territory. He established himself on the 25th¹ six *kos* from Bālāpūr. In a short time a choice city was constructed and it became known to the world by that name (Shāhpūr). At this time a wicked man who had given himself out as Burhān was executed. When his fraud was discovered, the landowners put him into prison. When he showed signs of repentance he was released by H.M., and treated with favour. The base fellow took to the same crooked courses and fled. The landowners in the northern hills seized him and he met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tūrān. In the year when H.M. came to the bank of the Indus and an order was given for levelling the Khaibar road, a great commotion arose in Tūrān, and 'Abdullah K. wisely sent Mir Qoresh with a supplicatory letter and presents, and made promises of peace and friendship. The gracious sovereign received these, and by sending Hakim Hamām delivered him from his consternation. When Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq and Mullā Husaini, who came, one after the other, with conciliatory letters, died of sickness, the Tūrānians again became uneasy. On the 26th Khawāja Ashraf Naqshbandi was sent 704 with choice presents and Sh. Husaini of Lucknow was appointed as custodian (*taḥwīldārī*), and a friendly letter was written. It is here given without addition or diminution.

¹ Eight miles south of Bālāpūr, and now in ruins. B. XXII. note.

Bālāpūr is in Berār. I.G.I. 458. See also J. II. 229.



CHAPTER CXXVIII.

LETTER¹ OF THE SHAHINSHAH TO 'ABDULLAH K. UZBEG THE KING
OF TÜRĀN.

Boundless thanksgivings are due to the Initiator who, by the marvels of His eternal power, has by so many glorious sciences, that is, the categories of His Wisdom, brought forth the varied universe from the privy-chamber of secrecy to the Court of manifestation, and has subdued, disciplined, and soothed the tribes of mankind and bestowed on them unity² of sentiment; at one time, by spiritual rulers, that is, the holy spirits of prophets and of our great apostles—upon whom be peace—and at another, has by the dread power of temporal monarchs, who are the princely pillars of the courts of His Majesty, given them the adornment of external unity. Therefore, let worlds of blessings be given to the spirits of the caravan-leaders on the highway of purpose who have conveyed spiritual travellers and worldly pilgrims from the desert of misery and the wilderness of contrariety to the metropolis of right direction and friendship, and have then departed to the privy-chamber of eternity. And may universes of sublime aids and celestial succours attend those great men who preserve the present time from the disturbance of strife and the accidents of fortune and expend all their lofty genius in keeping the whole of mankind, whether home or foreign, in peace and tranquillity, and in improving this evil dwelling-place (the world).

At the time of enjoyment when the season was auspicious and our heart glad and we were in the pleasant country of Kabul, we read with delight those choice pages of friendship, which were

¹ This letter is the first in the letters (*Inshā*) of A. F., though in point of time it is not the first letter to 'Abdullāh K. The letter also appears in Gladwin's *Classic Selections I.* Calcutta 1823.

² *Wāḥdat-i-irādī*. The word *wāḥdat* is used both to express Unity and Unitarianism.



the masterpiece of the pinacothek of concord, (Here follows a string of compliments about 'Abdullah's letter and his expression of amity.' They occupy about seven lines.)

705 What you have written with a pen perfumed with brotherhood on the subject of our mutually exerting ourselves to strengthen the foundations of Peace, and to purify the fountains of concord, and of making this Hindu¹ Koh the boundary between us, has most fully commended itself to us. Clearly, there is no nobler thing in the outward universe and social state than Love and Harmony, for the due ordering of the classes of human beings is linked and bound up therewith. Whenever this idea is manifested in the ranks of sovereigns—who are pillars of the courts of Majesty—it shall assuredly be fruitful of blessings, and procreant of beauties here and hereafter. By it thousands of souls and tribes shall take their rest in the cradles of safety! It² would have been fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship, seeing that since the commencement of the unfolding of the morning of auspiciousness, the whole of our righteous practice has been—contrary to the ways of most of former rulers—to follow the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind. As³ your Highness has entered upon this subject, it

¹ According to Bāyazīd Biyāt (I.O. MS. 216, p. 59a) Akbar changed the name of these mountains from Hindu-kush to Hindu Koh in 994 (1586), but it would appear from this letter that 'Abdullah used the term in his letter, and it is not likely that he would borrow it from Akbar.

² I am indebted to the commentator whose notes are given in the Newal Kishor edition of the *Inshā* for an explanation of this passage. Evidently 'Abdullah K. had read Akbar a lecture about friendship and pacific dispositions, and Akbar replies by hinting that such remarks were unnecessary as he had always been peaceful. The remarks there-

fore should rather have emanated from him (Akbar).

³ I am not sure if I have understood this sentence. But I think that the recurrence of the word *bādī* seems to show that the clause refers to Abdullah. "I should have begun the subject, but as you have done so, then I beg to draw your attention to the following acts of mine." The pronoun *mā* "our" in the tenth line does not occur in the I.O. MSS. or in the Lucknow ed., and is, I think, wrong. The Lucknow commentator says, *wādī* in the phrase *bādī-īn wādī* refers to the path of peace, and it may be that it refers to this as well as to "the subject" of



is proper that at this time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Irān, relying upon former ties, sent Yādgar Sultān Shāmlū to us and asked for help, we did not consent. Also, when Shāhrukh M. petitioned that he might have a fief in Kābul, or Kashmīr, or Sawād, Bajaur and Tīrāh—which are cold¹ countries—we did not grant his request, having taken into consideration the proximity (of 'Abdullah), but gave him a fief in the province of Mālwa. Also we summoned the Mīrzās of Qandahār to court and committed the charge of that country—which belonged from of old to the imperial territories—to old servants of ours, lest the Tūrān troops should attack that quarter under the idea that it appertained to Persia, and also² that there might be a great commingling of your territories and ours. Also a wicked vagabond raised the head of disturbance in the hill-country of Badakhshān and claimed to be the son of Shāhrukh M. and was joined by the landholders there. Though he sent petitions and asked for help, we did not attend to him, and at last he became a vagabond in the desert of ruin.

As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when proposals of peace had once been made, they should be carried into effect. In fact, if the cordial expressions conveyed by messengers and letters be acted upon, what could be better? Or let a place be fixed and let us there have a feast of concord, and let us there discuss, without the intervention of any go-between, matters of religion and state, and things temporal and spiritual! It has come to our hearing that a number of fly-like creatures have made our being in the Panjāb their text and have spoken things contrary to the foundations of friendship. Alas, that things which never entered into our minds, should have been mentioned! or that actions should be contrary to one's avowals!

'Abdullāh's remarks. I have taken *ān wālā qadr* to mean 'Abdullāh, but possibly it refers to the princes of past times who trod the path of peace. I.O. MS. 236 has *bāshand* and I.O. MS. 275 has *bāshad*, and lower down Akbar refers to 'Abdullah as '*ān wālā shaukat*.'

¹ This is put in because naturally Shāhrukh would have preferred a cold country.

² The word *niz* occurs in the MSS. though not in the text. Possibly the word *khallat* has to be taken here in the sense of confusion.



Although the climate and the hunting in this country are agreeable to us, we have determined ¹ to proceed to Agra the capital, in order that the mouths of praters may be closed. What you have written about there being a cloud on your heart with reference to the matter of Shāhrukh M. is a thing which gives rise to meditation, for if in the souls of great rulers who are the contemplators of divine lights, and the exponents of the ways of purity, the dust of rivalry settle, what can be the case with other classes of mankind? Especially when the cause of them is his (Shāhrukh's) youth and ignorance. Why should these not be obliterated by the waters of pardon? He by his self-will had committed faults against our family, and in retribution therefor became a bewildered one in the desert of exile. When he took refuge with us, and signs of repentance were visible on his forehead we passed over (his offences). As to what you have hinted, seeing that the coming of Shāhrukh M. and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥakīm to our court are merely instances of our love for the noble family, why should you regard their approach in this light? What, on account of love and friendship, you have detailed about your victories has pleased us for we have considered these successes as the result of your good qualities. As to what you have written in the letter brought by Maulānā Ḥusainī to the effect that your son in consequence of tender years had made improper requests, and about your being vexed at this lest it should cast dust on the skirt of our friendship, and with reference to your lengthy apologising on his account—the courier was drowned on the way before his arrival and so the purport of the letter did not become known. We were sorry for the catastrophe. The ties of ancient relationship and the associations of renewed love are not such that, if it be granted that something should occur, any dust of vexation should settle on the skirt of friendship. Children are sportive with their real fathers, especially with your Majesty; if they behave in the same way to those who stand towards them in a similar relation, what marvel is it? Auspicious children who make the pleasing of their father their object, exert themselves to preserve the relationship. The glorious compacts and agreements—which

¹ Akbar did not abandon Lahore for Agra till the 43rd year of his reign and after 'Abdullāh's death.