



At this time it was represented to H.M. that Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kacwāha, who held high office, and who had lofty lineage and abilities, had a daughter whose purity adorned her high extraction, and was endowed with beauty and graces; and that it was the wish of her family that she should be united to the prince. H.M. accepted their wish, and made a number of persons joyful. Experienced persons were appointed to make the arrangements, and in a short time the private and public hall (*daulatkhāna*) was decorated. There were glorious feasts and assemblies, and there was a daily market of gifts. There were marriage presents and scattering of largesse according to the usages of the great. On 5 Isfandārmaz (about 16 February 1584) H.M. and the principal men of the kingdom visited the Rajah's abode, and the marriage took place. On the same day the pure form was conveyed to the chamber of fortune, and the bridal night of joy was celebrated.

Verse.

Hail to State and Church, for this glorious wedding
Has taken place and given form to realm and religion.
In dominion's palace they have, for the light of the Shāh's
eyes (Selim),
Decked a bridal alcove like beauteous eyelashes.

My spiritually and physically elder brother S. Abū Faiṣ Faiṣī produced an ode, each line of which gave the date of this great event.

Verse.¹

Hail to the pearl-scattering marriage of Sultan Selim
Which gives glory to the year of hope,
By the fostering care of the sun ² of Aquarius
There has come a conjunction of the moon ³ and Venus.

¹ Each of the four lines yields by *abjad* the date 993.

² The sun enters Aquarius in February.

³ The moon is masculine with the Orientals. Badayūnī's account of the marriage, borrowed from Nizāmu-d-

dīn, may be referred to; Lowe 352. The marriage was really "pearl scattering" according to Nizāmu-d-dīn, for the bride's father Bhagwān Dās scattered pearls and other jewels.



CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE DISGRACE OF MOZAFFAR GUJARĀTĪ FOR THE THIRD TIME.

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At this season, when the Age was in the flash of joy, and mortals were embracing delight, happy-footed couriers came from the province of Gujarat and conveyed the tidings of fresh victories. They raised a high tent for thanksgivings to God, and the tongue of the ruler¹ of the world uttered marriage-blessings. A wise man, who makes the increase of glory the adornment of supplication to God, and whose prudence increases from time to time in this season of the slipping of the foot of discretion, will assuredly be assisted by the celestial superintendents of affairs. The fortune of the Shāhīnshāh tells of this, and this noble volume rehearses somewhat of it.

It has been mentioned that base and wicked men made the worthless Mozaffar an instrument of turbulence, and now, in spite of abundance of men and money, he, time after time, failed and was struck with shame. It was now time that the hare-brained one should awake from his careless slumbers, but as selfishness deprived him of vision, and he considered what was his loss to be his gain, and as fortune had given him some worldly goods and had raised him up in order that he might become intoxicated and fall into the pit of disgrace, he foolishly imagined that these things were the materials of greatness. Many wished-for things come together also in the houses of tradesmen, but they are not the materials of power and grandeur. That is a ray from the Divine halo, and it comes not into the hands by striving.

Verse.

In the garden, the gourd lifts its head beside the cypress.
Such exaltation is but brief.
Between the cypress and the gourd the heavens know
Which head is worthy of sublimity.

¹ I read with the I.O. MS. 236 *karkardār* instead of the *karkard* of text.



Many laudable qualities must unite in a son of man before he be fit for the diadem of ruler and be a suitable throne-occupant. I with my stammering tongue cannot enumerate them. But something may be said, and a sketch may be made. 1st, He must have sublime intelligence in order that he may understand the degrees of noble deeds, and may bring forth the Truth. 2nd, At the time of administering justice he must make no difference between relatives and strangers, between friends and foes, so that the oppressed who have neither force nor gold, may obtain redress, and that evildoers and oppressors may sit in the byelane of failure. 3rd, He must have God-given courage in order that the might of tyrants may not withhold him from doing justice, and that he may not be agitated in time of commotion. 4th, Laboriousness. In ruling the world he must not separate the night from the day, and not prefer ease to toil. 5th, Magnanimity. Silver and gold must have no weight in his heart's antechamber, and he must by liberality and largesse subdue to himself a mercenary world. 6th, A wide tolerance, so that he endure the disagreeables of fortune with an open brow, and he not led by failure into the narrownesses of grief. 7th, Differences in religion must not withhold him from his duty of watching, and all classes of men must have repose, so
453 that the shadow of God may confer glory. 8th, Increasing Love. He must be grieved by men's distresses, and endeavour by kindness to remove them, so that the refractory and crooked in their ways may bind the burden of obedience upon their shoulders, and that the dust of doubleness may be swept from the pleasant hall of his dominions. 9th, He must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and do well what is proper for the time, so that the thornbrake of evil may be rooted out, and the troubled house of the world have repose. 10th, Little passion. He must cast away unfitting desires, and not depart from wisdom, so that wrath may not prevail, and daily-increasing Fortune may show her countenance. 11th, He must take opinions, and not rely on his own knowledge and perception. He must inquire of the able. He must not disclose his secrets to every one, and let him not incur¹ the reprobation of the acute and right thinking, so that loss of Fortune may not accrue to him, but happiness be always

¹ The meaning of this clause is not clear.



conspicuous. 12th, Hatred of sequacity (*taqlīd*). Let the love of inquiry always precede his actions, and the cult of proof be his method, so that he may not be moved from his course by perceiving the view of a multitude, and may not by altercation be made impatient of research.

In fine, as Mozaffar had no part or lot in these qualities, and abundance of desires had made him silly, he did not turn his rein, though his brainless head had twice struck against the stone of ruin, but increased in turbulence. He opened out the collections of treasure, and made a great show. Fly-like slaves of gold gathered round him and he went to the town of Gondal¹ fifteen *kos* from Jūnagarh and stirred up strife. He made friendship with Amin K.² Ghori and the Jām. The landowners took money on pretences, and were always meditating some other purpose. That wicked man (Mozaffar) had seated himself in the ambush of opportunity. When the victorious troops returned, and the receipts³ of the fief-holders became less on account of the disturbances, and there was some disorganization, the turbulent fellow saw that his time had come and stirred up the dust of dissension. The Khān-khānān left Qulij K. along with some able servants in charge of Ahmadābād, and appointed two armies, each to go in a different direction. Medinī Rai, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāi, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Kāmran Beg, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Khwājā Bardi, and others were left in the village of Hadāla⁴ seven *kos* from Dandūqa-Miyān⁵ Bahādur; Maḥmūd Sabzawārī, S. Muḥammad Haravī, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mir Sharafu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg, Bhūpati Rai, were left in Parānti,⁶ eight *kos* from the city; and Saiyid Qāsim and the Saiyids of Bārha were left in Pattan. He himself set off on 12 Āzar, 22 November,

¹ Gondal, capital of the Gondal State and N.-E. Jūnagarh.

² Son of Tātār K. and consequently grandson of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn (M. Sikandarī). The Jām is apparently Satarsāl of the family of the Rajah of Jhalāwār. Elliot V. 538. But it seems that a Jhalāwār Rajah was driven out and migrated to Kac and founded Nawānagar. See J. II. 250.

³ The M. Ahmadī says that little could be obtained from the fiefs, and consequently the sepoy did not get paid.

⁴ 20 m. N.E. Dandūqa. Elliot V. 439.

⁵ Corrected in errata from Biyān.

⁶ Text Berāhi (?). Parāntī is 30 m. N. Ahmadābād (Elliot). The Parrantaje of Bayley's map.

1584, in company with Naurang K., Khawāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and other brave men to chastise Mozaffar. He was in Morbī, and was waiting for the landholders (lit. was keeping his eye on the road 454 of the zamindārs). He was sending evil men in every direction to collect funds, and he caused Rādhānpūr¹ to be plundered.

At this time Mozaffar became distracted by the news of the approach of the imperial army. He went off to Kharārī² (?) and Rājūt³ Kot, which is a large city in Kāthiwar. The Khān-khānān left his camp behind him and went on rapidly. From Bīramgāon⁴ to Kharārī there was no cultivation for sixty *kos*, and the warriors had to carry their provisions with them. Mozaffar was unable to make a stand anywhere, and went off to the mountains of Bardā.⁵ These are high mountains near the ocean. They are thirty *kos* long and ten broad, are well-watered, and produce abundance of wild fruits. Dwārka⁶ lies twenty *kos* to the north of them. The imperialists established themselves in that country. On perceiving this, the landholders came forward in a supplicating manner. They represented that the ill-fated one had come there of his own accord, that they were not in league with him, and that they were loyal. Amīn K. Ghori agreed that he would send his own son to serve. Mir Abū Turāb went and brought the son, and the nursling of his (Amīn Ghori's) wishes was fostered. The agents of the Jām represented that Mozaffar was behaving presumptuously forty *kos* away, and that if some active men were appointed, he would assuredly

¹ Capital of Rādhānpūr State near the Rann and W. Pattan.

² Perhaps the Kharaghora of Bayley's map, west of Veerungāon, i.e. Bīramgāon. More probably however it is the Garidharī of J. II. 258 as there is the variant there of Karārī Dharārī. It is the Gariadhar of Bayley's map, apparently, and is in South Kāthiwar, in the district of Halaria. I. G. XIII. 94.

³ Rājkot, capital of the State of that name.

⁴ Paramgāon in Elliot 438, but it is Bīramgāon in Bayley and the

Veerungāon of his map. It lies W.N.W. Aḥmadābād and not east as stated in Elliot. See also J. II. 242.

⁵ Text Barra. See J. II. 248 and note 3. They are near Porbandar and 12—18 m. from the coast. The highest point of the cluster is Venu, 1730 ft. (I. G. VI. 431), but in account of Nawānagar id. XVIII, 419, Mount Venu is said to be 2057 feet above the sea!

⁶ J. II. 248. It is really W. N. W. of the Bardā hills.



be captured. The Khān-khānān set out rapidly in pursuit of him, but no trace of him could be found. It was stated that he had gone from that quarter to the hill-country of Bardā. The Khān-khānān divided the army into four¹ bands. One was put under Naurang K., another under Nizām-u-d dīn Aḥmad, another was under Daulat K. Lodī. Each band entered a corner of the country. The Rājputs there fought stubbornly and played away their lives. That fertile country was plundered, and abundance of booty was obtained. Though no trace could be found of the wretch, yet the fraud² and tricks of the Jām were discovered. It appeared that Moẓaffar had gone to the Jām's country, had left his son with him, and gone off towards Aḥmadābād. The Khān-khānān paid no regard to this move, and addressed himself to the chastisement of the Jām. He too, thinking that the imperial army would be confused on hearing of the departure of Moẓaffar, collected daring men and advanced. After proceeding four *kos* he awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and came forward with protestations and fawnings. By the intervention of Rai Durgā and Kalyān Rai his wishes were accepted. He sent his son Jaisā, the elephant Sherza, and other presents, and entered into the shelter of good service. The Khān-khānān returned from within ten *kos* of Nawānagar,³ which was his (the Jām's) residence, and hastened to Aḥmadābād. 455 There were rejoicings in Morbī on account of the report of the victory of the imperialists and the flight of the rebel. The latter by the help of the collusion of the landholders came to Aḥmadābād, and a number of wicked mercenaries were collected. The troops which were in Hadāla⁴, united with those in Parāntī.⁵ The other fief-holders also prepared for war. The presumptuous one, from apprehension⁶ that the forces would unite and make

Hed

¹ Only three columns are named. Perhaps the 4th was that commanded by the Khān-khānān in person.

² Cf. Elliot V. 439.

³ M. Kāthiawār, I. G. XVIII. 421.

⁴ Elliot, V. 439.

Parāntī appears to be the Parān-

tīj of the I.G. XIX. 408. It is 35 miles N.N.E. of Aḥmadābād.

⁵ The word is *andesha*, fear or apprehension, but it appears to me now more probable that the word is used here to mean expectation. It is used in this sense at p. 462, line 12. Moẓaffar thought that the troops at Parāntī and Hadāla would join

his position difficult, came near Parāntī. The imperial servants drew up their forces. Madan Cohān, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah 'Alī, Bhupat Deccani, Gīsū Dās Rāthor, Bāgha Rāthor, and others of the vanguard performed masterpieces of valour. Khwajam Bardī and other brave men of the centre joined in the fighting. Mozaffar fled, and though many of the victorious troops were wounded, yet the leaders of the enemy, such as Qurbān 'Alī Bihārāgī, S. 'Abdullah, Ṣāliḥ Miānā, Tamtam Husain, and Gadā Beg, were killed. By the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhīnshāh a great victory¹ was gained. Some of the rebels were killed, and some sent into obscurity, the commotion subsided, and the world's lord on receiving the joyful news increased his devotion and his justice, and added another good omen² to the glory of the marriage (Selīm's).

him, and so he marched in that direction. Morbī, which is mentioned at p. 455 of text as the scene of rejoicings, is the Morvī of the I.G. XVIII. 4, and is the capital of a state of that name in Kāthīāwār.

¹ Cf. Elliot V. 439.

² The victories occurred before the marriage, but the news apparently arrived after that had taken place.



CHAPTER LXXXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 30TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE
SHĀHINSHĀH, VIZ. THE YEAR SHAHEIYŪR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time of joy when the nuptial banquet was full of delights, the variegated spring illuminated the countenance of the age. The garden of dominion acquired new freshness.

Verse.

'Tis the glorious feast of Farwardīn,
The market-day of the rose and the *nasrīn* (wild-rose).
What lacks the world for the nuptials?
The soul is light and the dower is heavy.

After the lapse of six hours and fifty-seven minutes the light-increaser of the nine heavens cast his rays on the mansion of Aries on the night of Thursday, 19 Rabi'-al-awwal 993, 10 or 11 March 1585. Piety was made brilliant by the embroidery of joy, and there was a new palace of liberality. At the beginning of this august feast the officers of Berār were exalted by doing homage, and obtained princely favours. Berār is one of the southern countries. 456 An account of it has been given in the final volume (the Āin). It was in the possession of Martazā Nazāmu-l-Mulk. From lust¹ and bad companionship he departed from his proper work, and applied himself to the holy service of the spirits. This is a fearful task, and one hardly to be executed by the emancipated ones of purity under the guidance of those who have made the journey. How then can it be accomplished by those whose feet are caught in the skirts of wickedness? In a short time the shining jewel of wisdom fell into the dark ravine of madness, and realm and religion were endamaged. He became disgusted with external things and confined himself to

¹ A. F. here repeats what he had said at p. 407.



communications by writing. Mercenary men took advantage of him and made him an ensample of madness. Ṣalābat K. Carkas (Circasian) obtained sway over his insane disposition, and ruled the kingdom. He set about ruining the fief-holders of Berār. Mir Martaza¹ Sabzawārī, who was the head of that body of men, together with Khudāwand² K. Mashhādī, Jamshēd K. Shīrāzī, Canda K. Deccanī, Sher K. Nohānī and others, collected troops and hastened to Aḥmadnagar. He (Ṣalābat), under the leadership of Nizāmu-l-Mulk's son, did battle with them. Many fell on both sides, but at last the Berārīāns were defeated, and Jamshēd K. was made prisoner. They lost much property, and had no more the power to remain in the country and so turned the face of entreaty to this eternal dominion (Akbar's). The officers of the borders kept them back and represented the case to the august court. An order was issued to the effect that "our court is open to mankind, whoever is helpless and takes refuge there will obtain his desires." At this auspicious time they arrived, and brightened the blackness of their fate. They received various favours, and obtained high office and fertile *jagīrs*. Every day there was a fresh feast, and the records of the Age were filled with eulogy. One of the great officers begged that the daily³ increasing fortune would deign to adorn the feast. The sovereign, the granter of desires,—who is the joy-giver of the spiritual spring,—filled the place with light by his advent.

Verse.

The Shāh sits on the throne and indulges in pleasantry,
His heart seeks wisdom, and listens to cleverness.

On the day of Farwardīn (19th Farwardīn) the world's lord celebrated the feast of the sun's exaltation (*sharḥ*), and implored blessings from the incomparable God.

¹ B. 449.

² He afterwards married A.F.'s sister. See Badayūnī, Lowe 384.

B. 449. See also Darbārī Akbarī 721. Cf. also Elliott V. 441 and 448 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 354.

³ A nobleman had the charge of each day's feast, and the meaning here seems to be that he begged Akbar to be present.

*Verse.*

May his name abide for ever.

May his glory be always like Jupiter (?).

From him I got a good name in the world.

May there be a good fulfilment to him from the world.

During this great festival good servants were exalted by the increase of their rank. Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad K. obtained the government of Mālwa. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was made a Panjhazāri 457 (5000), Rajah Todar Mal a Cārhzāri (4000), Zain K. Koka and Mir Yūsuf K. 2500, ‘Abdul Maṭṭalib K. 1500, Rajah Askaran 1000, Ḥakīm Abu l-faṭḥ 800, S. Farīd 700, Mir Jamāl-u-d dīn 600, Burhān-al-mulk 500. The writer of the noble volume was, without his having given any proof of service, exalted to the rank of a Hazāri (1000). I hope that good service will show itself and vindicate the discernment of the world's lord! All the commanders were distinguished by great favours. Also at this time Amīr Faṭḥ Ullah Shīrāzī was made Āmīn-al-Mulk, and an order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative officers of the empire according to the Mir's counsels, and that he (the Mir) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Mozaffar K. He was to report to H.M. what occurred to his far-reaching intellect. The Mir addressed himself to this important duty with an open mind, and in order to facilitate his proceedings, he submitted certain propositions (*faṣṣle*), and made the exquisite replies thereto his guide. For the sake of information I have given them textually.

Firstly.—The accountants have not rendered clear statements, and have not observed the sacred regulations. They have based this business—which rests upon inquiry and investigation—on conjecture and approximations. In the year when the whole empire became crown-land (*khālṣa*), the officers, on account of excessive work, could not go to the bottom¹ of the business and wrote down large sums as

¹ Text *jazū* a part. The MSS. are not clear, but none of them seems to have *jazū*. I think that the word is probably *jarr* in the sense of "bottom, foundation." Possibly the word is *baḥr*, for this word, which

means ocean, is used in a phrase for "getting at the bottom of things." However *jazū* or *jaz* is right and means that they could not go into details.



arrears. They decided the matter upon the fifth¹ or sixth share of the produce. The cunning got the joy of their hearts, while the honest fell into soul-exhausting trouble. Those who had gone a little astray were kept back from paying by the enormity of the demand. If accounting were done according to knowledge, the former inconveniences would cease. *Secondly*.—It was a regulation that the collectors of revenue should give receipts (*yāfīa*) to the ryots and that they should make a list, and that the clerks should base their accounts thereon. Now, that arrangement (*serīshṭa*) has been given up (lit. has gone from the hand), and whatever the *khālṣa*-collectors write in the names of the cultivators, and which they make the cloak of their embezzlements, is accepted. It is right that in future the two documents² above named should be used. *Thirdly*.—The accounts are made up according to a perfect year (*sāl³-i-kāmal*) or according to *krorbandī*⁴ papers which have been written by hasty and inconsi-

¹ The words "fifth and sixth share", *panjam u shashm bahsh*, occur in the *Āin* in the chapter on the currency of the means of subsistence (with the difference of *tā* instead of *u*), and are translated by Colonel Jarrett II. 57. "The 5th or 6th produce of the soil." A. F. is there treating of tribute, or revenue, and he says that one kind is *maqā-samah* (divided) and is the 5th or 6th share of the produce.

Probably A. F. here means that the accountants reckoned the produce on the demand (here called *baqāya*, i.e. balances on arrears) at a very high figure and then demanded one-fifth and one-sixth thereof.

² *Sanad*. In B. 259 a *sanad* is defined as "a written statement of accounts."

³ A year, I presume, in which there was no loss of crops. A "sixteen-anna year," as it is sometimes called.

In the account of the ten years' settlement, *Āin*, Persian text I, pp. 347, 348, we have on p. 348, line 5, the phrase *harsāl jins-i-kāmal*. This is translated in J. II, 88 by "the year of the most abundant harvest. The whole sentence there is: "The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows." Apparently, it was this system, which was begun on the 24th or 25th year, that caused Fath Ullah to object. See also J. II, 45, and note, where *jins kāmal* is used to mean superior kinds of produce.

⁴ Cf. Badayūni, Lowe 192. The country was divided into tracts, each of which was reckoned equal to producing a *kror* of *tankas*. Badayūni says many *krorīs* died in prison.

derate persons. In consequence of this many have been imprisoned. The just course would be to base the demand, simply and honestly, on a series of years (*pairvasta*¹ *sāl*). *Fourthly*.—Owing to the somnolence of the collectors, the agents (*gomāstāyān*) have been powerful and have robbed² the cultivator.

The Patwārī rejects from his accounts (*qarār wāq'a*) private³ documents and vouchers—commonly known as “crude papers” (*kāghaz-i-khām*). The proper course is that whatever appears in them should be entered in his name and he should be responsible for the contents. If he (the *patwārī*, or perhaps the collector) does not produce what his agents have taken, he should be obliged to refund

¹ I do not feel sure of the meaning of this expression. I think it is explained by the directions to the Bitikēī at J. II. 47 where his duty is stated to be to take from the qānūngo the average decennial state of the village. The original words are, I. 288, *mūāzana-i-dahsāla*.

² Badayūnī, Lowe, 274. Fath Ullah's words justify Badayūnī's remarks.

³ *Nigashthāī mukhassīs u qābis*. *Mukhassīs* is explained in Steingass as “one who appropriates,” and the allied word *mulhāsa* is given in Wilson 352b as having the technical meaning of land assigned to an individual at a quit-rent. There is also the word *mulhāsa* *muqāsa* which has no connection however with *mulhāsa*, but means the balancing of accounts. In Steingass this is spelt with a *ṣawād* *mulhāsa*, but in the Ain, B. 263, the end of Ain II, it is spelt *muqāsa*, and is explained as meaning statements of accounts taken by *ṭahwīldārs* from the *mustāfi*. It was a word much used by the Mahrattas, Grant Duff I. 455 and note. In the text the word

mulhassīs seems to mean private, unauthenticated papers. *Qābis* also has perhaps a technical meaning: see Carnegie, Cutcherry Technicalities, s. v. *ḡabz*. But here, I think, it used to mean private papers, what in Bengal are called *gharao kāghaz*, “home-made papers.”

* This means in the Ain I. 286, 6 lines from foot, “unofficial documents.” J. II. 45. *Khām* also has a technical meaning in revenue language, viz. a settlement made directly with the cultivator. The word *qarār-wāq'a*, which I have translated accounts, seems to be synonymous with *qarār-nāma* which is used at B. 263 and explained to mean “the revenue-collections of the collectors on account of the ryots.” Apparently what Fath Ullah is reproaching is the practice of the inferior agents taking rent from the ryots, and then the *patwārī* not giving the latter credit for such payments on the ground that they are not entered in the official accounts. See the chapters about the duty of the collector et cetera, J. II. 43 et seq.

Otherwise the oppressor will escape from his obligations. Whoever stands in the names of extortionate persons, such as ingoes,¹ maqaddams² and pākārs,³ should be accounted for by individuals. *Fifthly*.—Any over-plus which in this way is brought to light should be credited to the arrears due by the ryot, one by name, or should be carried to account in the next year, and there should be no second demand for it, nor should it be again demanded from the collector. And as the computers of the current revenue (*siyāq navisān-i-hāl*) demand village expenses (*malba*)⁴ which in clerical phraseology are termed *istiṣwābī*⁵ and *akhrājāt*, this also should be deducted from the demand. *Sixthly*.—The fluctuations of cultivation are apparent to every one. If in a village some land fall out of cultivation, one endeavours to increase cultivation elsewhere. Similarly, if a crop be lost or damaged, compensation for this should be sought elsewhere. The accountants⁶ (*ahl-siyāq*) look only to the diminution and tighten⁷ the load of the demand. If they would look to the total assessment, the ryots would be relieved. *Seventhly*.—The *mastawfi* (auditor) holds in deposit one-fourth of the collectors (salary) for the purpose of clearing off arrears. If the arrears result from desertion or contumacy of tenants, and the efforts of the collector are without avail, or if they are the result of his having been untimely removed,⁸ they are not due to

¹ See Wilson's Glossary.

² The headman of a village.

³ More commonly *paikār*, and meaning a middleman, or a sub-collector.

⁴ Text *manba*, but the variant *malba* is right. See Wilson's Glossary where it is spelt *malbā*. The word literally means sweepings. It appears under the form *malwa* in the account of the settlement of Rājnagar. See my history of Bāqirganj, 100.

⁵ The word means reference and inquiry and; also a legitimate demand.

⁶ Apparently the meaning is that the office-men, who are at head-

quarters, only take into account the fact that a certain amount of land has fallen out of cultivation, and charge rent for it, whereas if they would look to the total they would see that they should not charge for this as well as for the land which has been cultivated in lieu of it. See J. II. 44, where the collector is enjoined only to charge for land in actual cultivation.

⁷ *bar-ī khwāhish gushāind*. We should read *kashāind*. The metaphor seems to be taken from loading a beast of burden.

⁸ Text *nā bahangām*, but in the I.O. MSS. it is *tā hangām*.



his fault. If there have been remissness in making demands that reason¹ should be entered on the arrears, on condition that the arrear appear in the revenue-roll.² *Eighthly*.—Some persons are occasionally appointed to assist³ the collector, and their pay is allowed to them for a fixed time. Sometimes, they remain longer and draw their pay for that time, but no such allowance is made to the collector. If their being kept on be necessary, he should be allowed the expense thereof, and the circumstance be reported.

Ninthly.—It would also be just if the (cost of) calling⁴ for the accounts of the former collector and his subordinates were allowed among his expenses.

Tenthly.—After the collectors have been removed, they remain in the *pargana* for the purpose of collecting the arrears. If their pay for that time and for the period before the notification of dismissal has reached them and for the period of travelling (to court) be allowed among their expenses, it would be just. *Eleventhly*.—If the collector's pay, and that of the branding officers, be allowed, after they have been removed, for the period that they are on duty at court, and be included in the amount credited to them under the countersignature of the record-keepers of the attendances (*caukī-navīsān*), this would be a relief to them. *Twelfthly*.—Sometimes the pay of the auxiliaries (*kumākīān*)⁵ has been entered as payable from the arrears left by a former incumbent; and on account of the ryots being non-existent, or not acknowledging the debt, or of their contumacy, these arrears have not been realized. If the collector shall, owing to the contrivance (*kārsān*) of that set (the auxiliaries), have paid the wages, he should get credit for them. *Thirteenthly*.—Officers are arrested because they have not submitted reports. They reply that they did submit reports to the court and got no answer. If the registrars (*vāg'ānavīsān*) would look after this department and would make over the replies to the collectors' agents, such defences

¹ *Wajh*. It sometimes means "pay," and this may be the meaning here. See B. 260 n. 3.

² *Taujīh*. It appears from B. 260 that *taujīh* has also the special meaning of military accounts. The meaning here is obscure.

³ *Bakamak*: these are the *kumākīāns*, or auxiliaries, mentioned lower down.

⁴ *Talab-hisābī*. Perhaps *talab* here means salaries.

⁵ See B. 232.

would be impossible. *Fourteenthly*.—It would be a comfort to the collector if he got half his pay¹ by assignment.

Fifteenthly.—For the purpose of the work of collection footmen (*piādas*) should be given, equal in number to the troopers, or to the half thereof. If it is indispensable that the former collector be kept under surveillance, respectable men should be appointed to guard him(?). *Sixteenthly*.—Great profit accrues to the Qānūngoes. If a man² from each *pargana* remain at court, assuredly there will be more enlightenment on this subject.

Seventeenthly.—The *pargana* treasurers have to make large
 459 advances.³ Some able and upright men should be appointed to carry on this work. *Eighteenthly*.—The statements of arrears made by former collectors should not be acquiesced in without scrutiny.⁴ *Nineteenthly*.—Whoever⁵ keeps his fief in a good state by attending to the distribution of corn at a time when other estates are suffering loss and are in a bad condition, should, when there is a question of

¹ *Nīma-i-āznās*. I believe the word to be *arnās* or *arinās*, lit. destruction of enemies. Here I think it means salary. See B. 250 and R.A.S.J. for January, 1904, p. 167.

² Perhaps the meaning is that if a *qānūngo* from each *pargana* be brought to court. See J. II. 66 about the *qānūngo*.

³ *Dādanī*, i.e. advances to the ryots. See J. II. 45, where the collector is enjoined to make loans to needy husbandmen.

⁴ Cf. J. II. 44: "He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors."

⁵ This is an obscure sentence, and there is one word "*sarāsārī*" which I have had to leave untranslated. In the text it is joined with *ghalla bakhsh* by an '*izāfat*', but on the I.O. MSS. there is a conjunction "*u*" between the two words. *Sarāsārī* or *Sarsārī* is used to mean summary,

and was applied to summary suits. It also means "average or medium," but neither of these meanings is applicable here. Wilson's Glossary gives *Sarāsārī-sharai* as meaning the average proportion of the crop set apart for the village officers and servants, and probably something of the kind is meant here. The phrase "*ābād gardānīd*" probably means developing estates by increasing the number of tenants, or by improving their condition rather than developing its material condition by raising more crops. At p. 286 line 9 of the Persian text of the *Āin*, Vol. I, the word *ghalla-bakhsh* is used to mean "corn bearing." (See J. II. 44 last line). Perhaps then the phrase *ghalla bakhsh-i-sarāsārī* may mean "the average production of corn." It should be noted that I.O. MS. 236 has *yā mulāhaza* instead of *bā mulāhaza*.



increasing¹ the revenue, have such increase applied to the augmentation of his rank and allowances.

Twentiethly.—A soldier's horse dies, and he immediately buys another, and produces a correct descriptive roll of it; or sometimes he gets a new horse after two years and more. In the first case the soldier suffers loss, and in the second the king's property is injured. Also on account of the distance he cannot² bring the animal to be branded. If his pay be deducted from the date when he ceased to have a horse it will be hard. If they transfer the *arnās*³ to the new horse, and so do not make a deduction from his pay, he will be relieved.

As these remarks had been written with a good intention and from right-thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vizier became a house of delight for the public.

One of the occurrences was the discomfiture of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī. Though, owing to evil ideas and selfish motives, there had been dissension among the imperial officers, and for a time the rebels had been successful, yet as there was the aid of heaven, and there was daily-increasing fortune, the rebels fell into dismay. M'aṣūm hastened off to the place which has been mentioned,⁴ and on account of confusion of plans and the tidings of the approach of the victorious army, he was unable to achieve any success. He chose a strong position and proceeded to build forts. At the place Tirmohinī,⁵ where the Ganges, Jumna and Sākni join, he

The meaning then of the sentence may be, 'Whoever develops his estate, and an increase (of cultivators) is perceived on examining the average condition of his crops as compared with those of others, he should have an increased holding.'

¹ *Taufir*. In Bengal applied to increase of land by alluviation. Here it seems to mean increase of demand of revenue.

² Text *niyārad*, but MSS. have *niyārast*.

³ Here we have this curious word

again. See note 5. The *arnās* was a donation, apparently it applied to the grant of half the cost of a trooper's horse, and probably what is meant here is that the donation or allowance should be transferred from the dead horse to the one bought in lieu thereof.

⁴ Fathābād, and in the direction of Orissa, A.N. III. 449. According to Mr. Long, the banks of the Saraswatī at the Hooghly Tribenī formed the ancient boundary of Orissa.

⁵ Text *ترمعانی*. Apparently the

laid the foundations of two forts.¹ He left there Beg Muḥammad, Ulugh Beg and some evildoers as also some Zamīndārs. He designed that they should be his bulwark (*band*), and he himself took a lower place (*pastarak*). The officers prepared for battle. 'Īsā sent able men and made supplications. As he did not show signs of penitence, they did not give ear to his overtures and addressed themselves to the taking on the forts. There were severe engagements, and every time the enemy ran away in large numbers. On 21 Farwardīn the victorious army arranged a naval battle. In a short time one of the forts was taken, and at dawn they broke down the other and proceeded against M'aṣūm. He could not resist them and took to the river. From the tumult of the rebels and the force of the river his boat was sunk, and a few escaped, half-dead, to land. A second time was he discomfited, and the imperial servants offered up thanksgivings.

word should be Tirmohinī, which, I presume, is another form of Tribenī, mohinī, that is, enchantment, standing for a lock or braid of hair. I think that the Tirmohinī must be Tribenī in the Hooghly district, and which is on the Bhagirathī. It is a well-known place of pilgrimage, and is considered to be the place where the Ganges, Jumna and Saraswatī join. The Sāknī of the text is probably Shaktī, i.e. power, and another name for the Saraswatī, which was regarded as the power of Brahma. There are two Tribenīs, one at Allahabad, and another near Hooghly, and are distinguished as the Yūktabenī, or united braid, and the Muktabenī or free braid. See the Rev. Mr. Long's article in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1846. A. F. mentions a third Tribenī near Qāzihatta in Sirkār Barbakābād. For Qāzihatta see Blochmann J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221. It is in the Rajshaye district below Rāmpūr Bau-

leah. For the Qāzihatta Tribenī see J. II. 120 and the Addenda and Corrigenda, also the Persian text I. 388. There is a place in the Jessore district called Trimohinī (see I.G.) but it does not fulfil the conditions of the meeting of the three rivers. The paragraph about M'aṣūm is translated by Prof. Dowson, Elliot VI. 78, and he quotes in a note a passage from the *Arā'ish Mahfil* in which the meeting of the three streams is represented as occurring some leagues below Dacca. Apparently this passage is founded on the passage on the Aīn, but the author of the *Arā'ish Mahfil* corrects it in the next sentence. See Major Court's translation pp. 60, 61 where Sāt-gāon should be read for Chāt-gāon.

¹ The text does not say two forts, but all the MSS. seem to do so; see Elliot l.c.; and the text requires the word for two, as a little lower down there is a reference to two forts having been taken.



One of the occurrences was the punishment of Tarkhān dīwāna and of Ṭāhir Īlāncaq. They were in obscurity on account of former defeats, and were waiting their opportunity. At a time when the officers were in the sleep of negligence, Ṭāhir went to Tājpūr and stirred up the dust of strife. Timur Badakhshī fought 460 a rash battle and was defeated. This made Ṭāhir presumptuous. Tarkhān dīwāna came to Tānda, the capital, and increased sedition. He sent fireladen reeds into some houses. Shahbāz K. sent Qāsim K. Muḥ. Niyāzī¹ and some brave men to punish him. He was soon a wanderer in the desert of destruction and died in the Morang.² The dust of failure was also scattered on the heads of the others.

One occurrence was the death of Ḥabib 'Alī s. Muḥibb 'Alī (Rohtāsi). When the Bihar officers went to serve in Bengal, Yūsuf Matī Afghan collected few men and committed outrages. Ḥabib 'A. boiled over on account of his youth, and engaged in fight without due preparation. He performed wonders of valour and played away the coin of his life. Muḥibb 'Alī was wild on hearing of this, but the other officers would not allow him to go off. Shāh Qulī—who had long been desirous of approaching the holy threshold—was sent to punish the wretch. In short time the rebels met with their deserts, and the dust of dissension was laid.

One occurrence was the assignment of Bengal to Ṣādiq K. It has been mentioned that the Bengal officers out of conceit and selfishness severed the thread of singleness of heart. Ṣādiq went off with some men in one direction, and Shahbāz went off in another. As ignorance was in the ascendant, the separation was not advantageous. They withdrew their hands from work and indulged in mutual animosity. Khawāja Salaimān³ was sent to them from court to give them advice, and an order was given that it was not right to do one work in two divisions. Acute and well-meaning men should hold a meeting, and the subject should be fully considered among the leaders. Whoever should assume the management of Bengal should surrender Bihar to the other officer. The Khawāja first went to Ṣādiq, who hastily took Bengal without there having been any

¹ Afterwards a distinguished officer. B. 483 and Maḡir U. III. 372.

² The Sub-Himalayan tracts north of Purniah Sarkār.

³ Probably the man who was afterwards bakhshī of the Panjāb. B. 457.



meeting of the two men. Shahbāz, S'aid and others were angry and left without putting the province into order.

One occurrence was that Shahbāz became annoyed with Sangrām. Though the latter had not had the bliss of appearing at court, he never failed to serve the Bihar officers, and such was his good conduct that Rajah Todar Mal had called him his son. When Shahbāz was returning from Bengal, he, from interested motives, set about ruining Sangrām. The latter went into the ravines and prepared for wars. When the affair was somewhat protracted, 461 S'aid chose separation and came to Bihar. Shahbāz caressed Pūran Mal of Gidhaur, who was Sangrām's enemy, and encouraged him to injure Sangrām. A short time afterwards he imprisoned him (Pūran Mal).¹ A Rajpūt, who had formerly been in his (Pūran Mal's service, left him and joined Sangrām. He lay in wait to kill Shahbāz, and one day when a man was conversing with Pūran Mal in Shahbāz's parlour, that confused one took the man for Shahbāz and attacked him with his sword. Pūran M. acted quickly, seized the Rājput and killed him. Shahbāz acted without consideration and put the innocent man (Pūran Mal) in chains.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Īsā K. From the time that a disaster² had happened to the imperial forces, of which some account has already been given, he had been greatly alarmed. He had been bewildered by the arrival of the troops, but when motives of self-interest and factiousness had disorganized the leaders of the army, and they in a short-sighted manner had fallen out with one another, this landholder became somewhat confident and reassured. He out of foresight sent envoys to Šādiq K. and the other leaders, and used soothing words. He agreed that he would send M'ašūm Kābulī to the Hījāz, and that he himself would behave like a good servant. Also that he would send one of his relations to court to serve there, and that he would send there valuable presents. He would also send back what he had taken from the army at the time of the confusion. He was arranging to do all this when suddenly Shahbāz K., S'aid K. and the other officers came away, as

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma makes it clear that it was Pūran Mal who was imprisoned.

² This refers to Shahbāz's disastrous retreat described at pp. 438-39 of text.



has been said. Thereupon that evilly constituted one gave up submissiveness and indulged in extensive desires. The officers out of ignorance left him some territory, and he showed some obedience. He sent off to court the elephants, guns etc. which had fallen into his hands. Though he did not dismiss M'aşūm K., yet he restrained him in some measure from strife-mongering. The farsighted sovereign accepted these things, but he did not approve of the officers coming away in the manner described. Khawāja Sulaimān reported that however much he spoke to Shahbāz K. about staying some days, he in his wrath would not agree to do so. H.M. sent him (Sulaimān) again to that country along with Nāzīr Daulat in order to obtain information about his (Shahbāz's) doings, and to rebuke the officers.

One of the occurrences was the quelling of the disturbances caused by the officers¹ of (Sulaimān) Kararānī. At the time when that country had been a little quieted, and the imperialists, in consequence of 'Isā K.'s being bound by his agreements, were watching the course of events in the neighbourhood of Orissa, that turbulent one ('Isā) stirred up the dust of strife with the help of Sulaimān Sarbānī. A number of Afghans gathered together, and set about plundering. An attack was made upon Šālih s. Wazīr K. and there was a battle in the district of Bardwan. Šālih fought well and then took refuge in a fort in Bardwan. The imperialists⁴⁶² on hearing of this sent a force, and also marched there themselves. When the troops arrived within six kos of the enemy, the latter withdrew from the siege, and addressed themselves to fighting. The imperialists took post on the bank of Mangalkot² river. Just then the (main body of the) army arrived. They were rejoiced to find that the river was fordable by elephants. Meanwhile Khawāja Sulaimān and Nāzīr Daulat arrived from the court, and brought the news of victory. In a short time they erected two earthen forts

¹ Sulaimān Kararānī and his sons were dead, but his descendants, or officers (Auliya Kararānī), made a fresh disturbance. But possibly Auliya Kararānī is a man's name.

² N.-E. Bardwān, B. 440. It is

not in the I.G. new ed., though it is in the old ed. IX, 313. It appears to me that B.'s N.-E. is a mistake for N.-W. The Mangalkot river is perhaps the Ajai. Mention of this river is also omitted in the I.G.!

over against the camps, so that the enemy might not give trouble at the crossing. On 30 Khurdād (about 10th June, 1585) the officers obtained a victory and had a joyful time. It rained the whole of the night. At dawn the troops proceeded to cross during the rain, and some men and horses were swept away. The enemy formed into battle-array. Šādiq drew up his forces, and entered the fort, and himself went to sleep (!). He left capable men to see that the troops did not disperse. When midday passed, the rebels returned to their quarters, thinking there would be no battle that day. At this time Šādiq resolved on battle. He sent a message to the officers that "The sole thought of the enemy was to turn back, let us now apply ourselves to battle." The brave men accepted this message, and came forward to fight. The enemy was thoroughly confused, and formed into two bodies. One body attacked Wazīr and another assailed Šādiq and Muḥibb 'Alī. Nāzīr Daulat and others distinguished themselves. Šādiq drove off his opponents. At this time it appeared that Wazīr was nearly being defeated. Muḥibb 'Alī and others went to his assistance, and in a short time the enemy was defeated, and a great victory was gained. Nearly 300 of the enemy were slain, and about 100 of the imperialists. 1000 of the foe were slain in their flight. The thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the oppressed offered up thanksgivings.

One occurrence was the death of Dastam Qāqshāl. Who can estimate the marvels of the Shahinshah's fortune, or reckon up his great deeds. Sa'id, Shahbāz, Bahār and other strenuous servants had
 463 tried to put down that evil-doer and had failed. Now, a few men of moderate capacity erased the writing of his existence. When the officers, from defect of understanding, failed to put that country in order, and went off to Behar, that turbulent fellow (Dastam Q.) invested the fort of Ghorāghāt with a large force. Tāhir, Saiful-Mulk and Khwājah Muqīm brought the jewel of skill and courage into play, and made a proper defence. Meanwhile Bābū Mankī came from Sherpūr Murca, and it was reported that Muḥibb 'Alī had arrived. The enemy left the siege and retired to a distance. The auspicious servants came out and fought. Inasmuch as crapulousness soon besets those who have been intoxicated by presumption, and the shameless and turbulent are not long-lived, that shortsighted one fled and was killed, along with many others.



Victory adorned the men of clear vision. The elephant *Son Kallūh* (Golden Pumpkin) and other spoils were taken, and Dastam's son *Khūsh Fāl* was taken. It would appear as if the officers had departed in order that Fortune might show herself without the help of service-sellers, and that a lesson should be given to the ungrateful!

Also, at this time, there was a great gift from the Caliphate (Akbar's court), and many households obtained relief. Owing to the right-thinking of the world's lord, things became cheap,¹ and on this account the government² share pressed rather hardly on the cultivators. H.M. remitted in the provinces of Allahābād, Oudh and Delhi one in 5½ shares of the spring crop, and one-fifth share in the *hawālī*³ of Allahābād. For the autumn crop he remitted one-sixth in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. In the *khālṣa* lands this amounted to 7 kroris, 7 lakhs, 47,062 *dāms*. From this some estimate may be made of the condition of the fief-holders. This bounty relieved the agriculturists, and much gratitude was expressed.

On 16 *Tīr* the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. The needy were satisfied and thanksgivings were rendered. On this day Shah Qulī Maḥram came from Bengal, and did homage. On the 12th Amardād, Šādiq K. came post from Bengal, but as he came without being summoned, he was rejected.

An occurrence was the arrival at court of the *Khān-khānān*. A message had been sent to him that he should come as soon as he was satisfied with the condition of affairs in Gujarat. As by the might of daily-increasing dominion sedition had been put down, and great and small were in tranquillity, he left Aḥmadābād on the 8th (*Tīr*) and did homage on the 24th id.

Rai Singh Jhāla had the bliss of performing the *kornish*. His adventures are somewhat remarkable. He was one of the land-464 holders in Gujarat, and was related to the Jām and to Khangār. He was distinguished for his bravery. One day he was marching about,

¹ Apparently the meaning is that owing to Akbar's beneficial rule grain became cheap, and consequently the peasantry found it difficult to pay in money the government revenue.

² *Dastmazd-i-jahānbānī*. "The wages of rule."

³ That is the home-lands, or lands in the neighbourhood of the city.



and holding a musical procession on account of a marriage-feast. On approaching the house of Jasā (or Jaisā) the cousin of Khangār, he received a message that he must either retire, or stop his music, or fight. Though he had few materials for battle, he set his heart on combat, and by great exertions was victorious. Jasā was slain, and his younger brother Šāhib came forth to take vengeance. He too played away the coin of his life. But though Rai Singh was victorious, and though his enemies were killed, he by the jugglery of heaven disappeared. It is the custom of the Rājput̃s that at the time of battle they dismount from their horses and fight at a distance from them. This is lest the horse become unmanageable and carry the rider out of the field, and so distract his comrades, or lest courage for the combat should not remain, and one should use his horse to withdraw himself from the field. After his victory Rai Singh went up to the horses, and Šāhib's Rājput̃s, who had been left in charge of them, resisted him, and were killed. He too fell, severely wounded, and being half-dead he was reckoned among the slain. At night a *jogī* saw him, took him to his cell, and tended him. When he recovered, he travelled about in the wilds with the *jogī*. His clan were certain that he was dead, though some thought that as the body was not found, he was still alive. His wives all burnt themselves, except his favourite spouse, who would not yield herself to the flames. She lived on with a melting soul. In the end of the previous year, he, after nineteen years, took leave of the *jogī*, and came to his own house. He took again upon his shoulder the burden of social life. Those who had known him recognized him, especially that burnt-hearted sharer of his bed. By the help of the *Khān-khānān* he regained the chieftainship of his district.¹

¹ This story is also told by Nizām-n-d-dīn, Elliot V, 443, and there is a picturesque account of it in Noer's Akbar, translation II, 105-6. Rai Singh's ultimate fate is mentioned by A.F. at Vol. III, p. 524, of the A.N. and is placed by him in the 32nd year, 995, 1587. In Elliot it is said the Rai Singh only disappeared for two years, and this is in accor-

dance with the Lucknow lithograph, but it differs from A.F.'s account who says that Rai Singh wandered about with the jogis for 19 years. However in an old MS. of the T.A. in my possession the period of his disappearance is given, not as two, but as twenty and two years. It also appears that the names of the two cousins who fought were Rayib and



One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Ā'zim to the south country. Garha¹ and Raisin were assigned to him as fiefs, and he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s sole idea was to give tranquillity to the feeble ones of the Deccan, and to improve the rulers thereof. If they would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished, and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons. 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib K., Rajah Askaran, Shīrazī K.; Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Anjū, Burhān-al-mulk Deccanī, 'Abdu-Raḥmān the son of Mūyīd Beg, Hājī 'Abdullah Kashgharī, Subhān Qulī Turk, 'Alī Murād, Shēr Muḥammad, 'Alī Qulī and other brave men were dispatched from the presence. An order was given that every one should go to his *tuyūl* (fief), and arrange for the expedition to the 465 Deccan. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Sharīf and others of the province (of Mālwa) were ordered to join the army. An order was also given that Āṣaf K. should go from Ajmere with some leaders of that province. Khwājah Fath Ullah was made bakhshī and Mukhtār Beg the Diwān of the army. That wise man of the age, Fath Ullah Shīrazī, received the title of 'Azdu-daulah (Arm of the empire), and was sent to guide Rajah 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes. Some other able men were sent with him in order that if it were fitting, they should give advice to the other rulers of the Deccan.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz from Bihar to Bengal. At this time news came that he was objecting to go there and was coming to court to make a representation. Karm Ullah his brother was sent to stay him from this evil idea, and to make him obedient. An order was also given that M. Yūsuf should go from Oudh and take charge of Bihar.

Ṣahīb, and that Rai Singh was wounded, while fighting on the side of one of these cousins. He was not the same person as Rayab or Rayib. There are two Jhalawārs, one in Rajputana, and the other in Kāthīwār. It is the latter that was Rai Singh's country. The T.A. makes Rai Singh be killed just as the

Khān-khānān was going to court, but A. F.'s story is, and it is more likely to be correct, that he was presented to Akbar, and that he was not killed till some two years afterwards.

¹ Both of these are in Central India and in Akbar's time were included in the province of Mālwa. See Jarret II, 196 and 199.



CHAPTER LXXXIII.

EXPEDITION TO THE PANJAB.

Whoever receives¹ a ray from the world-lighting sun, and who reads the inscription on his heart's portico, does not, without some heartfelt cause, abide in one place, but every now and then takes his pleasure in a new spot of delight. Especially is this² so with wise enthroned ones, for the repose of the different tribes of mankind is impledged to such right-thinking and just personalities, and the irrigation of the four-square garden of the world depends upon their justice. In the first place the abode of empire is cleansed from the weeds and rubbish of disturbance by perambulations among the provinces, and direct knowledge is thereby obtained of the condition of things. Evil-doers sink into the abyss of failure, and good men acquire distinction. In the second place remote districts become swept and garnished as well as the home-farm of sovereignty, and are enlightened by the glory of justice. The world-traversing steed conveys the sovereign to those places, and knowledge is thereby increased, the country developed, and diversity changed into unity. The glory of the shadow of God envelopes mankind. Hence the acute sovereign every now and then makes some tract his abode, and constructs there delightful palaces, enchanting gardens, ear-rejoicing fountains, noble temples of worship, and beneficent harbourages. Every one who cannot withdraw his regard from
466 superficialities is astonished to behold the sovereign abandoning those lordly dwellings and traversing fields and deserts. At this time when Fatḥpūr—that glorious diadem of God—was the envy of the age, able and observant men perceived that in spite of H. M.'s great affection for that place, the thought of hunting in

¹ Apparently the meaning is that such persons take a lesson from the sun which travels round the earth.



the Punjab had flashed upon his clear soul. From time to time this thought developed more and more. Men were surprised because they did not see the cause of this, and the far-seeing and experienced were watching for the reason. At this time news came that M. Hakīm the ruler of Kabul had packed¹ up the materials of existence (i.e. had died) on 16 Amardād (12 Shabān 993 or 30th July 1585) and that the dust of disturbance had arisen in Qābulis-tān (Afghanistan). The soldiers of that country were wickedly thinking that they would become wanderers in the desert of failure and would go to Tūrān. This² news was a fresh instance of the far-seeingness of the world's lord, and relieved many from their bewilderment. Seekers after wisdom, both in old and in recent times, are agreed that the hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and a celestial armour for the right-minded and sincere, and for honest traders, and that for the double-faced, seditious, and wicked they are a life-slaying sword and a heart-piercing dagger. The fortunate who take up their quarters in that city³ of God, or who occasionally enter there, are freed from the powerful arm of Time and sit joyfully on the summit of a happy day, and the foolish who meditate contending against this body of men who hold fast to the Divine, or have evil thought concerning them, spike themselves on the edge of a sword, and by their own insistence settle themselves in ruin.

Verse.

"Tis the fate of all who resign themselves to dreams
That they draw⁴ the sword against the sun.

Those who opened far-seeing eyes perceived that the Divine assistance was attached to H.M. and he only felt an increase of affection for them as he considered them to have been labouring under the disease of ignorance. From the beginning of the Shāhin-shāh's reign, every one who from an evil disposition, or from asso-

¹ He was only thirty-one, having been born in April 1554.

² The meaning is that Akbar's desire to visit the Panjab was due to a prescience that troubles would rise there.

³ Allahābād. This is carrying out the metaphor of the fortress and a play upon the name of the city of Allahabad.

⁴ A metaphor for people who do useless things to their own injury.



ciating with the wicked has cherished evil thoughts, or has gone into opposition, has received proper punishment, and has trod the path of failure without the efforts of the managers of empire. Readers of this book of fortune do not require to search for proofs of this. The death of this young man is a fresh instance of it. In his former acts of ingratitude he was young and ignorant, and so he did not suffer so much loss, but a crew of wicked men, who made him a tool for disturbance, brought him to condign punishment. There was a time when he took a lesson, and had recourse to supplication. From ill fortune his evil thoughts increased, and India was again filled with dust. He retired discomfited, and his honour was lost on the field of battle. The gracious sovereign again forgave him and allowed him Afghanistan, as has been related. He ought not to have been able to lift up his head for shame, but in his evil nature, kindness produced badness, and favours made him go further astray. The superintendents of fate made him a wine-bibber and this was a source of diseases for him.

Verse.

After much madness he fell into pains difficult of treatment, and the cup of his life was over. In spite of his high birth and noble lineage he by association with the base and with flatterers gathered no flower from the tree of existence, nor did he catch any fragrance from the spring-time of dominion. When he died, the bazaar of the seditious became flat and the double-faced turned to unity. H.M. was seized with sorrow at this time of joy, but he recognized the power of fate and sought for a remedy, and wended his way to the abode of resignation. He engaged in comforting the children, and gave attention to the consoling of high and low in that country. As some Afghans were from foolishness in terror, and thought of taking refuge in Tūrān, and were making the Mirzā's children the instrument of their own ends, an order was rapidly sent by the hands of Wali Beg Zu-alqadar and Fath Ullah that the timid should be encouraged, and be restrained from such evil ideas. He also instructed them to say that the deeds of the past had been erased from his heart and that nothing flowed from it except forgiveness. An order was also given that Kuar Mān Singh should proceed



rapidly to Kabul with some troops and should tell all, high and low, of H.M.'s justice and love. He was also to comfort the *Mirzā's* survivors and all other men whether Turks or *Tājiks*. In accordance with his former thoughts about comforting the *Kābulis*, H.M. beheld, after the manner of the heavens, that the repose of others depended upon his own activity, and like a star, perceived that their tranquillity must result from his movement. (Accordingly) on 11 *Shahriyār* (22 August 1585), after one watch and two *gharis* of the night had passed, H.M. set off for the Panjab and reached the camp near *Daulatābād*. He sent off *S. Ibrāhīm* and some others to guard the capital, and on the 22nd took some repose near *Sarai Abād* on the bank of a tank which *Rajah Todar Mal* had made. The *Rajah* scattered largesse and presented gifts, and offered up thanksgivings. At this stage the *Khān-khānān* took leave to return to *Gujarat*. On the 31st H.M. halted at *Delhi* and visited the tombs of the saints. He spent most of the day in distributing benefactions at the tomb of *Jinnat Āshayānī* (*Humāyūn*). On that day *M. Yūsuf K.* did homage. When *Shahbāz K.* was sent from *Bihār* to the eastern districts, the *Mirzā* received a fief in *Bihār*. When an order reached him, he sent off men to that country, and came himself post to H.M. After arranging the business, he took leave. At dawn the house of *S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī* was glorified by the *Shāhīnshāh's* visit, and he attained his long-cherished wish. The royal standards proceeded by *Sonpat* and *Pānīpat* and on 13 *Mihr* reached *Thānessar*. As the evil designs of the *Kabulis* now became bruited abroad, H.M. in his abundant kindness dispatched *Mir¹ Šadr Jahān Muftī* and *Banda 'Alī Maidānī* to that quarter in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people. The august cortège proceeded by *Shāhābād* and *Ambāla* and halted on the 18th at *Sirhīnd*. He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which are famed for their beauty. A noble assemblage took place there. On this day news was received that the *Rānā* was nearly caught, but that on account of supineness he had managed to escape. On the 4th *Jagannāth*, *J'afar Beg*, *Sayid Rājū*, *Wazīr Jamīl*, *S. Saīf Ullah*, *Muḥammad K.*, *Jān Muḥammad*, *Sher Bihārī* and some others proceeded rapidly

¹ B. 468. He was a favourite with *Jahāngīr*, and the *Iqbāl-nāma* speaks

of him as a *panchazārī*. See *Maasir* III. 349.

and at the end of the day reached his house. Apparently one of the companions of the Rānā gave him information and he took refuge with his family in the defiles. His house and household were plundered. From foresight they did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt. When they had gone some way they turned towards Dūngarpūr. They came thoroughly to understand the Rai of that country, and who was a double-faced person by profession. They took from him a large sum of money and much cattle by way of present (*sāwarī*, i.e. tribute etc.) and then turned back. The Rānā wanted to come out of the hills and to stir up strife in the country, but as the army suddenly arrived, he had to retreat with failure.

Also at this time Daudā the son of Surjan ended his days, and the world became cleansed of a stain. Also S. Ism'ail died. He was the grandson of S. Selīm Fathpūri, and propriety shone from his countenance. From bad companionship he fell from pure ways into habits of drinking, and so madness took possession of his soul; and he had grievous ailments.

Verse.

Let not the wise man be sunk in wine,
For this flood ruins wisdom's palace.
They drink wine to produce¹ death :
They do not drink for pleasure and intoxication.

469 On account of his being grevously afflicted they left him behind at Thanessar, and he died² in much pain on the 16th. He left a warning to the wise.

Also at this time the news came that Kuar Mān Singh had crossed the Indus with an army and that a body of his troops had come to Peshawar. Shāhbeg was terrified and took to flight, and the Afghans came in tribes to make their submission. On the 24th H.M. crossed the Sutlej at Mācīwāra by a bridge, and halted his army near Dihakdār. He went on by Hādīābād, Jalandhar, and Sultānpūr. On 1 Ābān he made a bridge over the Biāh at Jalālābād and crossed his troops. He himself crossed on an elephant. On this day the solar weighment took place, and high and low

¹ az *pūtark-i-hastī* in order to bid farewell to existence.

² Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 358.



rejoiced. Congratulatory writings enlivened the eye and heart, and on the territories of Bīrwāl (?) and Ambāla he partook of the sport of hunting. On the 6th he reached Kalānūr and enjoyed himself in the garden which is known to the world as the scene of the Accession. There was daily worship of God. On this day he sent Ḥakīm Āli and Bahāu-d-dīn Kambū to Kashmīr. Yūsuf K. the ruler of that country always considered himself as one of those who had been elevated by the Shāhīnshāh, and continually kept himself in remembrance by sending presents. He represented the distance as a reason for his not coming in person. Now that H.M. had come to the Panjab, it occurred to him that he should send one of his servants to summon him (Yūsuf), as some of his letters expressed a desire to come and do homage. Y'aqūb his son got other thoughts on account of his father's having been sent for (i.e. he became suspicious). He fled¹ from the camp and went to his home. Accordingly, the envoys² were sent to give good counsels to Yūsuf and to rebuke and waken up the fugitive. If Yūsuf could not come himself, he was to send Y'aqūb.

One of the occurrences was the death of S. Jamāl.³ He was of a noble Indian family, and his sister was in H.M.'s harem. He was distinguished for courage and politeness. On account of his good qualities he was made an Amīr. He fell into bad company, and his good qualities became tarnished. He stained his character by drunkenness and follies. As his condition grew daily worse, he was left behind at Lūdīāna, and on the 8th (Ābān, i.e. October 1585), 470 he departed from this evil world. He was a warning to others.

Verse.

It is indispensable that a man should choose a wise, far-seeing and loving friend, and make his walk and conversation his model.

¹ Ḥaidar Malik says Y'aqūb fled from Khawāspūr (a station between Lahore and Attock).

² Ferishta says in his account of Kashmīr that when Yūsuf heard of the dispatch of the envoys he came as far as Tatta to meet them, and received a robe of honour. But some

Kashmīrīs told him that if he went to Akbar's Court, he would be put to death, and his son would be made king, so he dismissed the envoys and returned to Kashmīr.

³ Badayūnī, Lowe 358. Jamāl's sister was superintendent of the Harem, B. 425.

Some able men of former ages, who had become addicted to drink, observed seasons and moderation, and used wine as a medicine. They did not give themselves up to the indulgence; nor made it a source of brain-disorder and infatuation.

On the 14th H.M. crossed the Cenāb by a bridge in the territory of Parsarūr (the Pasrūr of I.G.), and encamped near Siālkot.

One of the occurrences was the insanity of S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān of Lucknow. From bad companionship he took to drink, and for a long time displayed folly. In these days the veil was lifted from his actions, and he talked foolishly in the quarters of Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath. In an access of madness he struck himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. Men gathered round him and took it from him. His wound was sewn up in the courtyard, and he was taken care of. Though physicians declared that the Shaikhzāda's wound was mortal, H.M., from his secret-knowledge, pronounced that he would recover. Superficial observers thought that this was only soothing words, but the far-sighted knew that this meant that he would recover. Though for two months and fourteen¹ days he took (only) two or three spoonfuls of soup, there was no change in his condition. The pulse-knowers and the examiners of urine gave him up. The Shāhin-shāh continued to give the good news of a recovery, and prescribed *pālūsh-i kharbūza*.² As soon as he ate this, there was an improvement, and he recovered daily, so that in a short time he became well.

On the 24th the army encamped near Rasulpūr. Šādiq received Multan and Bhakkar and took leave from this station. On the 27th he crossed the Bihat (Jhelum) by a bridge, and on this day he left the army to hunt deer. The deer of this neighbourhood are superior

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma and the I.O. MSS. have "four" instead of fourteen.

² *Kharbūza* are water-melons, but it is not easy to say what *pālūsh* is. *Pālūsh* پالوش is said to be an inferior kind of camphor, and one that is adulterated. It is also written *pālūs* and *bālūs*. As *bālūs* it is described in the Ain, B. 79, as the worst kind of camphor and as mixed with pieces of wood. It is not likely that

Akbar prescribed impure camphor. Perhaps we should read *pāpūs* پاپس which is defined in Vullers I. 330 as a kind of food consisting of day bread soaked in butter and syrup. Or, perhaps, we should read *ba-alūsh* instead of *pālūsh*. *Alūsh* is a Turkī word meaning provisions from the king's table, and it may be that Akbar prescribed this food together with melons.



to all others for size and courage. He enjoyed the sport for a week and then returned. On 7 Āzar he encamped at Rohtās, and on this day he climbed the hill of Bālnāth and interviewed some of the ascetics. From here Qāsim was sent on to level the roads up to the Indus. Afterwards he was to make the Khaibar and the 471 road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this. In this place Fath Ullah and Walī Beg arrived from Kabul, and it appeared that the Kabulīs had been tranquillised by the graciousness of the Shāhīnshāh, and that those who had been terrified had applied their hearts to obedience.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of H.M. Miriam-makānī. On account of her great love for H.M., she could not remain (*niyārastand*) in the capital (Delhi?). H.M. was delighted at this news; he received her on the 11th Āzar = 23 November and brought her with all respect to her lodging. Many were of opinion that the august standards should not go beyond Rohtās. But as H. M.'s design was to settle Zābulistān (Kabul) and to chastise the Afghans (i.e. the Raushānīs etc.), he went on, and on the 25th (7 December 1585) encamped at Rawalpindi.¹

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the disturbance caused by Mozaffar Gujrātī. When the Khān-khānān went off to pay his respects to H.M., that wretch thought the field was open to him, and raised the head of sedition. He thought that he might plunder Ahmadābād. The Jām advised him, saying that he could not go there quickly, and that he should not imagine so great an enterprise to be easy. He should first set his mind at rest about Amin K. Ghorī, and punish him if he would not co-operate with him. After that he should attack Jūnāgarh. He (the Jām) would join him with a choice force, and so Gujarat would easily fall into his possession. By these idle speeches he got him to attack the town of Ambarīlī,² and Mozaffar obtained some successes in the territory

¹ For an itinerary of Akbar's marches see Noer's Akbar, trans. II. 131.

² امبریلی. In the T.A. we have Amarūn or Ambarūn, and this is mentioned in Bayley p. 232 as the place when the tomb of Dāwar-ul-

mulk is. In the Mirat Sikandarī, which is Bayley's original, p. 127, the place is called Ambarūn and is stated to be on the borders of Kach, and 10 kos from Morvī. But the place mentioned by A.F. appears to be different, and to be the Amrelī of

of Amīn K. The latter represented to the officers of Gujarat that he had not the strength to fight with Moẓaffar, but that if he received some help, the insurrection could be easily put down.

On the 2nd, Qulij and some strenuous men prepared in Aḥmadabad for battle. Saiyid Qāsim and Khwājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent to that quarter. Beg Muḥ. Toq̄bai Amīr, Maḥibb Ullah, Saiyid Salīm and others were sent in advance. When they had gone thirty kos, Moẓaffar lost confidence and hastened off to Kāthiwāra. When the men sent in advance joined Amīn K., he acquired courage and new strength. He represented that if he had one thousand more horse, he could come from behind, and the imperial army from another direction, and pursue Moẓaffar. Accordingly, Qulij K. and others were sent, other leaders were sent by another route. Amīn K. came to the town of Rāj̄kot, which was Moẓaffar's asylum, and plundered it. The ill-fated one went off to the Ran¹ (Runn). That is a saline tract, where there is continually the ebb and flow of the tide. It is 200 kos long and 30 to 50 kos
 472 wide. It dries up at the end of the hot weather. When fresh water passes away from that country, it becomes saline.

The officers halted near the shrine of Dāwaru-l-mulk.² There Amīn K. joined them, and the Jām came forward and made protestations (of Loyalty). Both landholders were soothed and allowed to depart to their homes. They left their sons to serve in the army. The commotions ceased all at once. After the completion of the business, the Khān-khānān arrived. He had, on the way, arranged somewhat the affairs of Sirohī and Jālor. The Rai of Sirohī soon came and paid his respects, but Ghazni³ of Jālor remained aloof.

J. II. 258. It was a large district in Sarkār Sorath.

¹ In the Ain, J. II. 249, much smaller dimensions are given. Apparently the description there is of the lesser Rann, while here it is the northern and greater Rann which is described; see I.G. XI, 84-85. There is also an interesting account of the Rann in Lyell's Principles of Geology.

² It is at Amrūn. T. Akbari, 444.

See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 231, for an account of the saint.

³ Bayley's Gujarat, 15. He was S. Malik Khānji. Bayley has the form Ghaznavī. Blochmann calls him Ghazuṇ, 493 and 622. As Blochmann points out, p. 494, Ghazni's son Pahār was executed by Jahāngīr for matricide: see Jahāngīr's Memoirs, translation, p. 353. I believe it is this execution that is referred to by Terry.



But when he saw that the foot of resolution was firmly planted, and that escape was difficult, he submitted. As he did this because he could not help himself, he was not allowed to enjoy¹ his lands, and was taken along (with the Khān-khānān). Jālor was given to others.

By the help of God he (the Khān-khānān)² was delivered from a great danger. Near Sirohī it occurred to him that he would enjoy the pleasure of hunting, in company with his ladies. In the eagerness of youth he became somewhat separated from the army, while pursuing the sport. Having ridden much, and it being very hot, he took a rest under a tree. One of his huntsmen opened the hand of oppression and laid hold of a cow. The Rajputs of the neighbourhood came forward to fight, and the Khān-khānān got up to take part in the melee. Some servants who were near at hand joined him. A great contest ensued, and things were nearly coming to a crisis. But in that hopeless position they got the victory, and the Rajputs were punished.

At this time Khangār the ruler of Cutch died, and was succeeded by his son Bihārā.³ Though the Jām has more men and lands, Khangār is regarded as the chief ruler, and permission is taken from him on the occasion of successions, etc.

¹ I am not sure of the meaning. The word is *taṣarraf*. I think that the next sentence means that Jālor was given to others.

² The Khān-khānān was then under thirty. It surely is he, and not Ghaznī, that A.F. is referring to, though one would hardly have expected the K.K. to be travelling with his harem.

³ The Bihārā Khangār of Bayley, 17, and the Khangār of B. 419. Khangār was Zamindār of Cutch, and according to the Ain, J. II. 250, his residence was at Bhūj. I.G. VIII. 151. At p. 55 of Bayley Khangār is spoken of as the ruler of Gīrnār.



CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE ARRIVAL AT COURTS OF THE SONS OF HAKĪM M. AND OF THE
KABUL SOLDIERS.

The reports of the Shāhīnshāh's justice, of his search for truth, and of his appreciativeness broke the chain which made lovers of their native land apprehensive of exile. Not a day passed without a set of remote foreigners gathering the bliss of homage (*kornish*), and of having their various wishes gratified. For this reason it was the wish of the high and low among the inhabitants of Kabul that they might come to court and obtain the desire of their souls from the everlasting dominion. But fidelity and loyalty held the foremost place. When the Mirzā died, there was some disturbance, and every one was trying to save himself. Farīdūn K. restrained the Mirzā's sons, and the simple-minded Turks, from going to court. He was always saying that H.M. knew from the Kabulis of the seditiousness of the Mirzā, and would punish it. He considered his own bad behaviour, and so his idea was to ally himself with the ruler of Tūrān. By his cajolery he misled many short-sighted persons, and the majority were nearly being persuaded to adopt this course. At this time holy firmans arrived, one after the other, and the projects of the wicked were broken up. Farīdūn was meditating to take the Mirzā's children with him and to fly to Transoxiana. Far-sighted and right-thinking persons took to keeping a watch over him. At this time the sound of the approach of the victorious army rose high. Farīdūn too turned from his former thoughts, and had recourse to supplications. But, from shortsightedness and topsy-turvyness of ideas, he could not abide in one mind. At last Kuar Mān Singh arrived, and the thoughts of concord took possession of him. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some brave men crossed the Indus, and marched forward, and Shah¹ Beg went from Peshawar to Kabul. The peasantry submitted, and when the victorious

¹ B. 377.



army halted at Bīkrām, Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Muhammad 'Alī, Hāmza Beg and other brave men pushed forward. The Khaibar route, which had been closed by the turmoil of the Tārikīs (the Rāushānīs), was reopened, and the turbulent banditti crept into the corner of failure. The party reached Jalālābād, and produced tranquillity by acting justly. 'Alī Muh. Asp and all the well-affected Kabulis became adherents. Bakht Nisā¹ Begam was there, and was delighted on hearing the news. The Mirzā had sent that chaste lady with his beloved son Afrāsīāb to court in order that she might make intercession and apologize for his deficiencies. He also sent with her Hasan² and Husain the twin sons of Shahrukh M. Upon the unavoidable event (M. Hākīm's death) Afrāsīāb turned back as he was near at hand (had not gone far?). Farīdūn, in his evil thought, tried to turn back the Begam also. At this time the imperial officers arrived, and the picture of evil intentions was obliterated. On 29th Ābān Mān Singh hastened to Būtkhāk, and M. Kaiqubād, who was 15³ years old and Afrāsīāb who was 14, joined him with many of the soldiers. Their faces were illuminated by the hope of the Shāhinshah's graciousness. At dawn they came to Kabul, and by open-handedness and sweet words the hearts of men were won. On 4 Āzar, Kuar Mān Singh made the charge of the country over to his son Jagat Singh and to Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn. He himself proceeded with the Mirza's belongings and the country-leaders to the sublime threshold. On the 25th he did homage at Rāwalpindī. The newcomers were treated with suitable respect. First, Afrāsīāb. Kaiqubād, and Walī,⁴ the Mirzā's sister's son, were admitted to an audience, and then Farīdūn, Āli Muh. Asp, Shāh Beg, Gadā Beg, Tāsh Beg Qūcīn, Takhta Beg, Qāsim Parwāna,

¹ M. Hākīm's sister, the wife of Khawāja Naqshbandī. Her husband died before M. Hākīm. Jahangir calls her Najibu-n-nisā. She died in the third year of his reign, aged 61. She had two sons.

² B. 313.

³ The variant 11 is supported by I.O. MSS. and the Iqbāl-nāma. Probably 15 was adopted by the copyist because Kaiqubād was the

eldest son and therefore older than Afrāsīāb. This difficulty is got over by the apparent fact that Afrāsīāb was not 14, but 4, as shown in the Iqbāl-nāma.

⁴ S. Bakht Nisā. Text has Diwālī but this is wrong. See Tāzūk Jahāngīrī, p. 272, which tells of his marriage to a daughter of Prince Daniel. See also Maasir M. III. 456.



Moẓaffar Koka, Jānish Bahādur, Tātār Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Ulug Beg, Nūr Muḥ., Khwāja Khizri, Dost Muḥ. Turnabi, Khākī Galabān 474 Atāliq, Qāsim Koka, Khwāja Yāqūt (an eunuch), Ātam Bahādur, Khwasham Bahādur, Ḥaidar 'Alī 'Arab, Qāzī 'Izzat Ullah, Farrukh¹ Beg Maṣawwir (painter) and others received suitable robes and horses, and trays of muhrs and rupīs. Various favours were conferred on them. Farīdūn, who was of an ungrateful nature, and whose trade was turbulence and disloyalty, was made over to Zain Koka in order that his disposition might be studied.

On 2 Dai H.M. encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl and near there held a *qamar gāh* hunt. Here Ḥakīm 'Alī and Bahāu-d-dīn arrived from Kashmīr. The ruler thereof, from pressure of flatterers, and the strength of his country, did not take the road of good service. Though after the manner of double-faced persons, he indulged in protestations, he neither showed an intention of coming to kiss the threshold nor of sending his son Y'aqūb. His ignorance increased. The royal wrath—never inappropriate—was aroused, and an order was issued that the victorious army should awake him from his slumbers.

¹ Presumably the Calmāq mentioned in B.108. The Iqbāl-nāma

says, he is unrivalled at the present day.



CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ARMY FOR THE CONQUEST OF KASHMĪR.

The sole idea of wise kings is day by day to refresh the garden of the world by the streams of justice, and assuredly this design is accomplished whenever extensive countries come into the hands of one who is just and of wide capacity. And when an empire has been civilized by an enlightened and just ruler, and the people thereof—small as well as great—sit in the shade of tranquillity, it is unavoidable that such a prince should cast a profound glance on the deeds of neighbours who have taken the path of dissimulation. He must look closely in order to perceive if their former conduct can be brought into line with love and order, and if they can be induced to treat their subjects properly. If they do not, then justice requires that they should be punished, and their land taken from them. Especially, if they, after having been treated with various kindnesses, take the path of presumption, and turn away from cherishing their people, and sit down in self-indulgence. Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmir, and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the Ruler, H.M., on 9 Dai, 20 December 1585, dispatched M. Shāhrukh Bahādur,¹ Rajah Bhāgwant Dās, Shāh Quli Maḥram, Mādhū Singh, Mubārak K. and many Aḥadīs, under the charge of M. Āli Akbarshahī, Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Cak and other strenuous and brave men. Amīnu-d dīn² was made bakhshī. Also on this day, Zain K. Koka was sent off to guide aright the Yūsufzais, and to conquer Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. 475 This large tribe formerly lived in Qandahar and Qarābāgh. From there they came to (the district of) Kabul, and became powerful. M. Ulugh Beg Kābulī massacred³ them by a stratagem. Those who

¹ The conjunction in text before Bahādur is wrong.

² Amīnu-d-dīn, it seems, was made by Akbar Yātishbegī or Captain of

the Watch. See Jahangīr's Tūzuk, translation pp. 13, 14 and note.

³ Elphinstone's Cabul II. 10.



remained took refuge in the Lamghānat. Afterwards they settled at Hashtnagar.¹ It is nearly one hundred years since they settled in Swād and Bajaur, and lived there in the practice of robbery and turbulence. In this land there was a tribe that had the title of Sultānī, and claimed to be descended from a daughter of Sultan Sikandar.² The Yūsufzais for some time zealously served them, and then became ungrateful, and took possession of the choice lands. Up to the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles, and from love for their native land are unable to leave.

During the Kabul commotion the heads of the Yūsufzai submitted and had recourse to fawning. They expressed shame for their former wickedness and made promises of service. One of them, Kālū by name, was treated very graciously. In a short time however, they returned to their former ways, and applied themselves to robbery and oppression. Kālū himself fled from Court. Khwāja Shamsu-d-din caught him near Attock and sent him back. The gracious sovereign treated him kindly. Inasmuch as kindness is of no benefit to an evil nature, he again absconded, and took refuge in his former dwelling, and led astray other landholders. H.M. dispatched Hasan K. Patni, Rajah Mukat Man, Jānīsh Bahādur, Askaran Pancānan, Hira Pradhan, Rām Cand, S. Kabir, Faulād and others³, under the command of the Kokaltāsh. 'Arab Khānjahānī was made bakhsī. The whole idea was that the crooked tribe might be guided aright, and that the black-hearted ones who did not accept counsel should be punished. Faridun K. was made over to the author.

Also, during this year⁴ Ism'ail Qulī K. was sent off to Balūcis-

¹ Text اښتغر Aštghar. I presume Hashtnagar is meant, but it is Aštghar in Maasir II. 363, and in I.O. MS. 236.

² That is, Alexander the Great. The tribe Sultānī does not seem known now. Perhaps A. F. means the Kafirs. Cf. account in text with J. II. 392-393 and in Elphinstone's Cabul. App. C. A. F. does not state, as quoted by Elphinstone, that

Alexander's descendants were connected with the Yūsufzai. The tribe Sultānī seems to have derived its name from that of its rulers, of whom the last, apparently, was Sultan Wais. See Elphinstone, p. 11, and Asiatic Quarterly for April 1901.

³ I have omitted some names.

⁴ There is the variant *wālā* "time."



tān. When the news came that this people had gone the way of disobedience, and did not perform service, he was nominated for this important task. Rai Rai Singh, Abu-l-Qāsim Tumkīn (Nama-kīn) and many other brave men accompanied him. Ḥāshim was appointed bakhshī. Also, on this day Kuar Mān Singh was sent off to **476** Kabul, in order that he might civilize that country by justice. Sai-yid Ḥamid Bokhārī, Bakhtiyār Beg, Muḥ. Quli Beg, Ḥamza Beg and many men of note accompanied him. An order was given to him that when he came near the Khaibar he should halt for some days and chastise the Tārikīs, and make the road safe, so that pedestrians (*parwindagān*) might feel at ease. The sovereign arrived at Atak-Benares on 12 Dai, 23 December, after travelling 305 *kos* and a little more in 4 months and 1 day and in sixty-five marches. At dawn of the following day he reached the quarters of Zāin K. Koka and Kuar Mān Singh, who were in the neighbourhood, and renewed his valuable counsels. On the 15th he sent Farīdūn K. to the Ḥijāz as, mayhap, the stain of his misconduct might be washed out there, and he might gather the materials of bliss. He embarked on the Bihat in a boat and was taken to Bhakkar. From there Ṣādiq K. sent him off by river, and had him conveyed to that place of pilgrimage. Though the farsighted among the courtiers represented that if he did not relieve such a rebel from the burden of existence, he should put him in prison and read him a lesson there, H.M. adhered to the tenour of his summons and did not listen to this suggestion.

Ḥājī Siyandak, Aḥmad Beg and others kept an eye on those who had gone first. When they learnt how kindly they had been received, they left Kabul for the holy threshold, and on the 20th had the bliss of a reception, and were treated with princely favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to attack the Yūsufzai. The homes of this rebellious crew are in the hill-country of Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. Many of them live in the plains. The Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have the Kābul river, and the northern hill-country. The length of their territory is 30 *kos*, and its breadth 15-20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts.

As the Kokaltāsh went on to Bajaur without paying any attention to the plains, H.M. dispatched on the 25th (Dai) Qarā Beg,

Ziā-al-mulk and some others under the command of S. Farīd bakhshī. They made a good attack and then returned. They reported that there was a great deal of work to be done in the plain, and that another army should be appointed in order to root out the thorn of rebellion. After that it should enter the hills from another side and join the Kokaltāsh. Accordingly, on 4 Bahman S'aid¹ K., S. Faizī, the poet laureate, Sher Khwāja, 'Alī Muḥ, Alif, Qāzī 'Alī, Ṣāliḥ diwāna, Fath Ullah Sharbatdār, Ayūb Beg, Y'aqūb Beg, 'Abdu-
477 r-Rahmān Beg², S. Abu-l-Barkāt³ and others, together with 300 horse belonging to the author, were sent off.

At the first stage, to which this humble one had gone to take leave of his brothers, H.M., from his favour to the humble, cast the shadow of his graciousness upon him, and exalted him by various kindnesses. A qūrkhāṣa⁴ (special collection of ensigns) was assigned to the force, in order that by doing homage (*hornish*) thereto, it might be fortunate. The troops were to march behind this. The rendezvous was at Nardān.⁵

On the 7th (Bahman) Mīr Sharīf Āmulī⁶ was sent to Zābulistān as amīn and ṣadr of that province (Kabul). On the same day Qāsim Beg Tabrizī was raised to the post of Mīr 'Adlī (Judge-advocate) of the camp. H.M. said, "Always implore God, and seek to do His will, and unite recognition (of God) with prayer, and keep free from cupidity and cowardice, which cause the wise to waver, for many pure souls are turned from the recognition of the truth by the deceitfulness of the world, and the prosperity of oppressors. Nor should you in the administration of justice (*dāwarī*) decide matters by witnesses⁷ and oaths, but should make inquiry with profound dis-

¹ He was a Gakhar, and a brother of Kāmal K. B. 486.

² So in text, but I.O. MSS. have Shaiḥ, and this is probably correct, and the person meant seems to be A.F.'s son.

³ We see from this that two of A.F.'s brothers were in the force. For Abul Barkāt see B. XXXIII.

⁴ B. 50, note 4. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 451, that this reinforcement was sent off on 2 Ṣafr

994 = 13 January 1586. Apparently the qūrkhāṣa was attached to A.F.'s squadron.

⁵ This name is doubtful. The MSS. seem to have Tardān or Tarwān. The name appears against p. 513 of text, as Nārūn.

⁶ A noted heretic: see B. 176 and 452.

⁷ These remarks seem to be embodied in the instructions to the Mīr 'Adl and Qāzī in J. II. 41. No de-



crimination, and study the lines of the forehead. If difficult questions be too hard for you, report them to me. Regard self-indulgence as wrong, and attend to duty, in season and out of season."

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rajah Bīrbar to Swād. When it became known that if the work were left to those first sent, it would take long to finish as there were many recalcitrants, and it was difficult to get through the mountain defiles, it was resolved that another army should be sent under the charge of an experienced servant. Inasmuch as the head of this confused and ambitious one (himself) was filled with thoughts of battle, he represented to H.M. that although his serving in his presence was the elixir of fortune, yet he wished to make trial of foreign service—which was the testing place of loyalty. I too, who had been raised by H.M. from the lane of contempt to a conspicuous post in the world, wished to lighten my shoulder somewhat. I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service, and also shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety. Should I lose my brief life, I would acquire an eternal good name. H.M. perceived in my demeanour the marks of sincerity, and accepted my prayer. This gave me new vigour. He said that he would send with me some experienced soldiers, whose opinions I should follow in the matters of camping and engaging. At the end of the day when it was the time for taking leave, H.M. said it had occurred to him that lots should be cast between me and Rajah Bīrbar, so that without reference to either's wishes the Divine decree might be elicited. Inasmuch¹ as

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pendence, we are there told, should be placed on witnesses.

¹ It is characteristic of the Lucknow editor that he has no note on this passage. That it is obscure and in need of comment is shown by the variety of readings. The text is از اینجا که خواہش دیگر بود نقش بسیار برگرفته آمد. A variant which occurs also in the Lucknow ed. has خواہش نقش دیگر. I.O. MS. 236 has نقش بسیار برابر گرفت. I.O. 235 has, apparently, نقش بسیار را برگرفت. Neither

has آمد āmad. My impression is that Abul Faḡl is playing upon the words دیگر divers, بسیار many, and کم less. Naqsh bisyār is probably the same as Naqsh besh, which I take to mean a big, i.e. lucky, throw. The latter phrase is given in Vullers s.v. naqsh and in the Bahār 'Ajām, and is stated to be the opposite of naqsh kam; kam may perhaps be gam, lost, or wanting, but I think not, for kam may also mean evil or unlucky. The Darbārī Akbarī in the course of

there were divers wishes the big throw failed, and all at once the little throw came out in his name. Both of us entered upon a prolonged sorrow. As there was no help for it, I left the broken thorn of grief in my heart, and seated myself in the caravanseray of meditation. That man who was fitted for battle or for banquet (*babazm u razm*) went off by heaven's decree on 12 Bahman, 21 January 1586. Qāsim Khwāja, Gadā Beg, Hājī Siyandūk, Aḥmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn and other distinguished persons went with him. Next morning at dawn, H.M. on returning from hunting visited the Rajah's camp and exalted him by various favours.

In a short time they swept the plain. Whoever was refractory was punished, and whoever submitted had his honour and property preserved and the troops went off elsewhere (?). The victorious army then addressed itself to the conquest of Banīr (Buner) and proceeded by the ravines. When they had passed through some defiles they came to Dūk.¹ Here the Afghans proceeded to offer battle; and there was a hot engagement. A large number were made prisoners, and many also were killed. Sher Khwāja and others displayed much valour. As it was evening, and the road was not clear, they turned back and came to the staging-place. When they learned that there was no road that way (the one by which they were advancing when they were attacked by the Afghans), they returned to the plain in order to march by another route.

At this time Hākīm Abul Faṭḥ was sent off to Swād with a force. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had represented that by God's favour he had crossed through difficult defiles, and had got possession of Bajaur, and of the most of Swād, but that the troops had been harassed by the continual forced marches (*takādū*). The Afghans were assembled in the Karākar (?) pass between Swād and Bunēr. If some brave men were sent to him, the enemy would soon have his deserts, and the whole country would come into possession in an

a long and discursive article on Birbar says, p. 301, that the angel of death pointed out Birbar's name. Perhaps this means that the author read raqm-i-yam "the letter of death" for raqm-i-kam or that he read raqm-i-gumnāma, e.g., "the letter of

his disappearance." Vullers s.v., *kam*, II. 879^a, says the word is used to express an unlucky throw and quotes a couplet from Nizāmī in support of this view.

¹ Dukī is Hindkī for a hill. Erskine's Bābar 152, n. 3.



excellent manner. Accordingly on the 19th, Hasan Beg, S. 'Umri, Ahmad Qasim, Tūfān Beg, Mullā Ghīyūrī, Mohan Dās, were sent along with Cerūs¹ and *shamsherbāzān*² (swordsmen) under the command of the Hākīm. He ordered that if the soldiers previously³ sent were in the plains they should quickly join the Kokaltāsh, and hasten by the Malakand⁴ pass, which was the nearest way. At the end of the day H.M. visited the Hākīm's tents, and gave him excellent counsels.

In a short time the forces gathered together and hastened on **479** by the prescribed route. Also at this time news came that the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān, and Nazar Bé, who had long held Balkh in fief, had nearly arrived with a large caravan. On account of the Tārikis they had trouble in coming through the Khaibar, and so Mubārak Nohānī, Ghāzī K. and other brave men were dispatched under the command of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī to conduct the visitors.

One⁵ of the occurrences was the pacification of Bengal. When the idea of the expedition to the Panjab occurred to H.M., the news came that Wazīr K. was unable to carry out the duties there alone, and that the rebels of that quarter were bestirring themselves. Accordingly Shāhbāz K.'s younger brother was sent to bid him go from Behar to that country. When H.M. arrived at the bank of the Bihat, it was represented to him that Shāhbāz K. was possessed by a great desire to come to Court, and that he was on his way thither. H.M. sent off *sezāwals* to turn him back nolens volens, and to send him on the above service. They met him near Jaunpūr and withheld him from carrying out his wish. On 20 Bahman he sat down to guard Bengal, and won hearts by soothing words and by the open hand. In a short time the Afghans had recourse to supplication, and the dust of dissension was laid, and the weak com-

¹ I presume these are the Cerūs of India mentioned at vol. II. 287 as being always in attendance on Akbar, and whom he employed in the fight between the Sanyāsīs at Thānesar. Or they may be the men from the Eastern districts who use shields called *cirwah*. B. 252.

² B. 252, and whom he calls gladiators.

³ That is, those sent with Bīrbar.

⁴ I.G. XVII. 72.

⁵ This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 79.



forted. He sent off troops to Bhātī to punish ʿIsā K. Owing to the wondrous fortune of H.M., ʿIsā had not the courage to fight, and the territory which Šādiq had surrendered according to the peace, came into possession. The conquests extended up to the port of Chittagong, and things were satisfactorily arranged. ʿIsā sent rare presents, and used conciliatory language. He represented that as Maʿšūm had, from ill-fatedness, taken the path of ingratitude, he (Maʿšūm, apparently) trembled for himself, and wished to do good service at a distance (ghaibānī, i.e. without waiting on Akbar, or Shahbāz). He was now sending his son to Court. The answer was given that it would be good if he (Maʿšūm) would go to the Hijaz, and come from there to Court. Many Afghans also abandoned Qutlū. He too used cajoleries, and Shahbāz, in his simplicity, accepted these, and gave him back Orissa.

Also, at this time a force was sent to the country of Kokra.¹ This is a tract between Orissa and the Deccan. Mādhū Singh the zamindar there was behaving presumptuously, in reliance on the difficulty of crossing an intervening mountain. The imperialists hastened thither and proceeded to plunder. Much booty was obtained. He had the good fortune to offer tribute, and to obtain repose under the shadow of unequalled dominion.

Also the Magh ruler—which is near Pegu—sent large presents, including elephants, and made propositions of concord. This was one of the marvels of good fortune, for there was no great officer
480 except Wazīr K. Neither was there a fleet, which is the chief means of making war in that country, whereas the enemy had a large supply of war-boats.

One of the occurrences was the coming to Court of Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmir. When the army marched to conquer Kashmir, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, and also as some of the landholders there used amicable language.

¹ See B. 479 3 where Kokra is said to be the old name of Chutiā Nāgpūr. B. refers to the Fifth Report, old ed. 417, and to the Tāzūk J. 154, 155 where the country is called Kokhra, and described as

belonging to the provinces of Bihar and Pannah. The reference to the Fifth Report is to James Grant's account of the province of Bihar. He writes Kokerah.



The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow, and the winter had come to an end they would advance through the passes. As the retribution of the wicked is a thing that does not endure delay, an order was given that during (the season of) the fall of snow and when the enemy were off their guard, they should proceed by the Pakli¹ route, where less snow falls. They were obliged to give their minds to this. On this news, Yūsuf K. resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near the river Nain Sukh² (the delight of the eyes). In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war. The force that was sent had passed Bārahmūla by six *kos* when the daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar) became conspicuous. The ruler of Kashmīr erased from his mind the idea of that plan, and he recalled the men he had sent! Under the influence of the talk of short-sighted advisers and of slaves of gold he fell into the heavy slumber of neglect. The difficulty of crossing the passes, the arrival of snow and rain, and the fact of the victorious army's belonging to a hot country made him still more somnolent. Self-indulgence and miserliness stained him with the dust of neglect. When the opportunity had gone out of his hands, he learnt that the strenuous servants had set themselves to conquer the country and had arrived near Pakli. The dust of commotion rose high, and various opinions were brought forward. Whoever casts away far-sightedness, and who in times of prosperity has no thoughts about adversity, shall assuredly arrive at the evil day of the success of the enemy, and the foot of his desires shall strike against the stone of despair. After a little while he in much giddiness again thought of fighting. From time to time, topsyturviness of thought made him still more silly. When the troops aided by Providence had traversed heights and hollows and had come near Būlyās,³ Yūsuf K. awoke from his presumptuous slumbers, and tried

¹ Commonly called Pakhlī. It was west of Kashmīr, J. II. 347 and 390. It was a Sarkār and is stated by A. F. to be in general tributary to Kashmīr. It is now known as the Hazāra country. I. G. XIX. 318.

² A tributary of the Jhīlam "oppo-

site the T.B. (at Rārū) is a gorge along which the Nain Sukh, 'Eye's delight' rushes with a loud noise to meet the Jhīlam." (Murray's Handbook of the Panjab). The river is now known as the Kunhār.

³ The expedition of M. Shahrūkh

to amend his insubordination. As there was no way of preserving his kingdom except submission and going to do homage, he emerged from the pass of Kuārmast,¹ under pretext of wishing to examine the (intended) battle-field with a few men, and sent a skilled envoy to lay open his secret intention. The officers had been exceedingly harassed by the severe cold, the dearth of provisions, the difficult roads and the rain and snow. They received the envoy and then sent him back, and Yūsuf came with a few confidants of the army on 4 Isfandārmaz (about 14th February 1586). They treated him with respect, and had a conference. They then formed the design of returning.

- 481 When the news came to court, an order was issued that Yūsuf's coming was approved of, and that he would be welcomed with princely favours, but that the idea of the officers about returning was not right. If Yūsuf were not meditating any fraud and was treading the highway of truth, the right thing was that the army should enter the delightful country (of Kashmīr), and, after having taken it, should make it over again to Yūsuf. The officers, willing or unwilling, had to advance. The Kashmīr leaders in their perverted fashion, and from somnolence of intellect, appointed Ḥusain K. Chak as their head, near Kuārmast, and set about fortifying the defile. Just then Ya'qūb, s. Yūsuf, joined them, and they left their new chief, and clove to him. There was daily fighting in the Pass. Madhū Singh, Amīn-ud-dīn and others cleared it, and Ḥasan Beg

and Rajah Bhagwān marched against Kashmīr from the west, and followed the bed of the Jhīlam and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of Kashmīr. The Būlyās of text is the Bhūlbās of Badāyūnī, Lowe 363, the Bhūliyas of the T. A., Elliot V. 452, and the Bhūlbās of the Tuzuk, J. 292. B. 479 refers to this passage in a note, but he is mistaken in supposing that Jahāngīr says that Bhūlbās is 2½ kos from Bārāmūlah. Bhūlbās or Bhūlyas is evidently the Peliāsa, formerly Bolyasaka, of Dr. Stein's map of An-

cient Kashmīr and lies on the right bank of the Jhīlam. It is several stages west of Bārāmūla and some 50 miles away from it. At p. 293 Jahāngīr says that it was at the Pass of Bhūlbās that Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf, fought with the army commanded by Rajah Bhagwān Dās. At p. 294 Jahāngīr mentions his entry into Barahmūla.

¹ The Kotāl Kūarmat کوارمات of the Tuzuk 294. Jahāngīr says it is steep and is the last pass on the road. Apparently it is what is described in Murray as the Barmūla Pass.



Ahādī and some Rājputs acquired deathless fame by sacrificing their lives. Forty men of distinction among the enemy were killed. The foe was dismayed and scattered.

At this time the landholders of Karnā¹ were induced by the address of Shaiḡh Ya'qūb, Kashmīrī, to come forward and make submission. It was agreed that a force should enter Kashmīr through their villages. Upon this the Kashmīrīs came forward with entreaties and proposed a peace. They represented that their ruler had gone to court, and that so it was right that the dust of dissension should be laid. They proposed that the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhīnshāh, and that the mint, the saffron, the silk,² and the game should be imperial. A superintendent (*dārogha*) should be appointed for each department, and then the army should return. As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yūsuf, the ruler of Kashmīr. The charge of the saffron and silk was made over to Qalandar Beg, that of the mint to Khwājah Mirakī, and that of the game to Multā Mozaharī. Though H. M. did not approve of the settlement, he had regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmīrīs and accepted³ the agreement.

One of the occurrences was the injury to the good service of

¹ كرنال in I.O. MS. 236 and in Iqbāl-nāma. It is the Karnāha of Stein's map, and is a tract lying north Bhūlbās. The Karnās or karawānas were originally chaghtais. See T. Rashīdī, *Introd.* 76 and *App.* 491.

² *Abresham*. Perhaps this means woollen shawls. They are the chief product of Kashmīr and the T. A., *Elliot* V. 452, and *Badāyūnī* mention shawls and not silk.

³ Cf. *Elliot* V. 452 and *Badāyūnī*, *Lowe* 363. It appears that the imperial officers were influenced by the news of Zain K. Koka's defeat. Mr. Lawrence in his excellent book on Kashmīr speaks, p. 193, of Ya'qūb's having defeated Akbar's army with great loss in 1582. Evidently, this refers to Rajah Bhagwān Dās's ex-

pedition. Akbar's first attempt on Kashmīr was made much earlier, viz. in the fifth year, when he despatched Qarā Bahādur there. He was defeated by Ghāzī K. A. N. II. 129.

There is a detailed account of the proceedings between Yūsuf and Akbar's officers, and of Ya'qūb's fights with the latter in Haidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. It appears that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb fought vigorously, and the Moghul army suffered terribly from the cold etc., and were glad to retreat on any terms. Haidar says nothing about the engagement to give the produce of the saffron, etc.



Zain K. Kokaltāsh. When he was sent off to conquer Swād and Bajaur, he began by addressing himself to the conquest of Bajaur. There were 3,000 house-holders of the Yūsufzai there, and they were haughty on account of the difficulties of the passes. The army entered by the way of Dānishkol,¹ and the army had not time to see the routes. Jānesh Bahādur and some other brave takers of cities (*Shahrgīrān*)² made an attack, and punished a great number. When the fortunes of the Yūsufzai became bad, Ghāzī K, Mīrzā 'Alī, Tā'ūs K, Nazir and other leaders wished to submit, and all over, the thorn of turbulence was uprooted. From there he proceeded to

482 Swād. 40,000 householders lived there. When the army reached the river-bank, the daring ones of the country rose up to fight, the vanguard gave way a little, but the brave *altamsh* came forward, and on seeing this, the vanguard reformed. A hot engage-

¹ J. 2. 392. Elphinstone, Cabul, II. 36 speaks of Dānishkol as a river. A. F. says in the Ain that it is a road from India. He also mentions it at III. 526 of the A. N.

² شہرگیران *Shahrgīrān*. So in text, but the word is unusual, and is probably incorrect. Major Raverty in his Notes on Afghanistan, p. 259, gives a much more probable reading. He has *Shahr-i-Gibar*, "the city of the infidels", and says that the reference is to Bajaur which is locally called a *Shahr*, and which was regarded as inhabited by infidels. Bābur calls them infidels, and so justifies his slaying 3000 of them. See also Raverty's p. 117, where he speaks of a cleft or gorge being called *Gibar* and also of a fortress being so called.

Major Raverty says, p. 257 of his Notes, that the disaster to Akbar's army took place in the Karakar and Malandaraiz Passes, and adds that the army was on its way from

Swāt, which they were unable to hold, into Buner, in order to join Akbar at Attock. At p. 262, in a note, he says that the Afghans of Swāt will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Shāhkot Pass. Shāhkot is marked on Fincastle's map to the south of Chakdara and the Swāt river, and east of Arnandara. I daresay the Afghans are right in saying that Zain K. did not enter the lower Swāt valley, and it is very possible that Shāhkot was the scene of the final disaster. In his report to Akbar Zain K. had stated that Buner was the only place that remained to be conquered. He probably did not cross the Swāt river, but kept along the south side via Karakar, etc. I don't think his object then was to return to Akbar. He was trying to subdue Buner.



ment ensued, and the enemy was defeated and put to flight. The Kokaltāsh laid the foundations of a fort in Chakdara¹, which is the centre of the country, and set himself to chastise the other inhabitants. He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven stockades.² With the exception of the Karākar defile and the district of Buner, the whole country had been subdued by him. But the soldiers were somewhat worn out by the hill-marches and the frequent conflicts. The Kokaltāsh asked for reinforcements, and H. M. nominated Rajah Birbar, Ḥakīm Abūl Faṭḥ and others. When they joined, the dust of dissension and double mindedness (*durangē*, lit. two colours) rose up. Previously, there had been hot words between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, and the latter and the Ḥakīm were also not on good terms. By the jugglery of fortune they, in spite of their lofty natures, entered the narrows of envy. They could not brook any partnership in the royal favour—which embraces far and near. They could not comprehend this. The adoption of such feelings, besides leading one into the depths of enduring pain, and producing lasting sorrow, is a contending with the incomparable Deity; and results in making oneself the reproach of high and low. From the time when the armies of the plain set off to assist the Kokaltāsh, the Rajah's head and heart were disfigured by wrinkles, and he indulged in such remarks as these to his confidants: "It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain with the Ḥakīm, for the support of the Kokah. When shall the things end?" On the march there were daily, improper expressions used to one another. When they reached Malakand, the Kokaltāsh received them and behaved with cordiality. He set himself to cross the army and the baggage over the Pass. The night wore³ on to day there. Ḥakīm Abūl Faṭḥ went off with some followers to

¹ I. G. X. 122, but the Fort is on the north side of the Swāt river, and not on the south as the I. G. seems to state. It guards the wire bridge, which used to be the site of a ferry. Chakdara was attacked, and was the scene of much fighting in July 1897. See Churchill's story

of the Malakand Field Force, and Viscount Fincastle's Frontier Campaign, both published in 1898.

² Text, *lashkar*, but should be *sangar*, as shown by I. O. MS. 236, and the Ma'āshir II. 364, two lines from foot.

³ "Shab-hamanjā ba rūz āward."

the fort of Chakdara. The Rajah was angry at this departure and fell into evil thoughts. At dawn they assembled at the fort. The Kokaltāsh arranged a feast, and invited the newcomers. The Rajah ventilated his resentment and would not go. He said that all the able men should gather round the royal Qūr¹ and hold confidential talk there. The Kokaltāsh suppressed his anger and came to the Rajah. Other leaders came there too. The proper thing was to have made over the Qūr to the Kokaltāsh and to have assembled in his quarters and held a council. In that meeting the Rajah and the Ḥakīm came from hard language to mutual abuse. By the forbearance of the Koka, things quieted down somewhat. After some unfitting altercation, the Kokaltāsh said :

483 "The hill-work is nearly finished, and the rebels of Karākar and Buner have come forward in a submissive manner. But they have not advanced from words to deeds. I have asked for reinforcements in order that I might leave a body of men in the fort, and then march to punish the malcontents. The fresh army should undertake this task. I and the old army will remain in the centre of the country on guard. Or they might elect to remain at Chakdara and he would go and punish the hillmen." The Rajah and the Ḥakīm replied that they would accept neither proposition. The orders were to attack the country, not to guard it. They should all combine to chastise the enemy and then hasten by that road together to court. The Kokaltāsh replied : "Why should we leave disorganised a country which has come into our hands after so much fighting? Nor is it advisable to go by that route which is so full of heights and hollows. If you don't accept either of my propositions and are resolved to march, it is far better to go back by the way we came. On that side there are troops stationed, and the enemy will have no power to interfere with us. They would not listen to this, and stuck to their first idea. The Kokaltāsh, from an ill-timed submissiveness, put the rules of command on one side. He was afraid lest those eloquent courtiers should make disagreeable remarks (about himself) and that the much-occupied Shāhinshāh would be

For this phrase see Vullers and Bihar-i-Ajam s. v. Shab.

¹ The qūr was with the reinforce-

ment. Bīrbar used this as evidence that he was supreme.



displeased with him for a time. They were afraid lest they should not be able to accomplish the work by themselves, and that they should be disgraced. By the jugglery of fate it was determined to make an unsuitable march, and a discussion arose about arranging the troops. The Rāja and the Ḥakīm declined, from the apprehension already mentioned (of failure) to take the command of the right and left wings. The command of the right wing was given to Ḥasan¹ Patanī and of the left to Qāzī² ‘Alī. The van was put in charge of Ḥasan Beg Gurd. After much talk the Ḥakīm took his place in the *altamsh* (the reserve of the advanced guard). On 2 Isfandārmuz (12th February 1586) they set off for Chakdara towards Karākar,³ and when they had marched five kos they encamped at the village of Kāndāk (?). Next day, as the road was full of defiles (purtang) they left the right wing as a rear-guard, and encamped half a kos from the defile. The plan was that on this day the guard should make a slight attack and then retire. At dawn when that body (the main army) came to the pass (kotal) a battle began. From time to time victory showed her face, and in a short space the defiles were traversed and much booty was obtained. Thousands of prisoners were made. When the *altamsh*, which was chiefly composed of Kabulis, heard the news of plunder, they rushed forward, and they were followed by many others of the troops. The Kokaltāsh, who had taken up his stand, was helpless and had also to advance. There was a confused conflict. The Afghāns came from behind and plundered. Ḥasan K. Patanī made a stout fight, but was wounded, and had to retire. The work of the advancing troops became arduous. On perceiving this the Kokaltāsh turned his rein,⁴ and planting his foot firmly took part in the conflict. That day and night and the most of the following day there was hard fighting. The Kokaltāsh himself shot down four chiefs, and the Afghāns gave way a little. Although the end 484 of the day brought the joy of victory, yet the loads of the camels

¹ B. 467.

² Apparently Qāzī ‘Alī Baghdādī.

³ Karikar pass is marked on Mr. Churchill's map, "E. S. E. Chakdara."

⁴ That is, he turned back to the

rear guard with which the right wing had been amalgamated. The latter had been commanded by Ḥasan Patanī, but he had been wounded.



and bullocks were plundered; what was on the elephants and mules was brought into camp. Next day they advanced six kos and halted near Khānpūr (Raverty's Notes, 262). The Koka took charge of the rear-guard, and after fighting all the way reached the station. He went to the Rāja's tent and had a consultation. He recited in eloquent language the previous discussions, blamed the haste that had been shown, and spoke of his own better judgment. The question was what should be done now. As little of the road remained to be traversed, his audience did not take into account the heights and hollows. So they all replied that the proper course was to get through the defile and then to halt for some days and then renew the punishment of the rebels. The Kokaltāsh represented that the defiles in front of them were the worst of all, and that to go by such a route would be to cast away their honour. The proper course was to build a wall at the station where they were, for it was fairly spacious. There was no danger of their being attacked from the heights,¹ and there was abundance of water and grass, and plenty of food. Here they should stand firm and afterwards inflict punishment on the presumptuous rebels who had taken possession of all the heights. Another course was that as they had in their hands the enemy's families and much of their property, they might write soothingly to them, and take from them promises of obedience. They might return the prisoners, keeping some as hostages. If this proposition also be not approved, they could halt for a time and send news to court. An army would come from there and guard the top of the Pass.

As heaven's decree was otherwise, the others stuck to their own opinions, and thought what was in reality their loss was their gain. On 6 Isfandārmaz (16th February 1586) they proceeded towards the Balandārī² Pass. The Koka prudently took upon himself the charge of the rear-guard, and a harder battle than that of the previous day ensued. When they had marched a little way, and it became evening, the camp (urdu, here perhaps the main body of the army) thought that what was but the beginning of a great defile was the top of the pass. So they halted. But when the Koka came up, it became known that it was necessary to

¹ *āsīb-i sirkob*. Text wrongly has *asp*.

² J. II. 391.