



traverse another defile before they could come to the top of that winding way. As there were heights (*sarkobhā*) close by, an attempt was made to push forward. It was arranged that the vanguard should get to the top of the defile, and take possession of the heights, while the camp should remain below, and should get through the difficult pass as soon as it was light.) As the *Afghāns* were pressing on them from behind, the *Kokaltāsh* and some brave men turned back. Others thought that the untimely march and pushing forward of the vanguard indicated that the defile had been traversed. So they pressed on, and the proper rules of marching were disregarded. Though efforts were made to make them understand and to turn them back, they were of no avail. The *Afghāns* fiercely attacked them from every side with arms and stones, and the troops in their ignorance and confusion rushed down from the top of the hill to the low ground. In that crowding they lost heart, and elephants, horses and men got mixed up. A multitude threw away their lives, though many brave men stood their ground and valiantly sacrificed themselves. At the end of the day some got through the defile and came on to the low ground. 485 The *Kokaltāsh* was on the point of yielding up his life, but *Jānīsh Bahādur* seized his rein and drew him out. After going some way he, on account of there being no path, dismounted, and after a hundred difficulties got to the camp. Foolish babblers called out that the *Afghāns* are coming after us, and they went on in a disorderly manner. In the darkness the men lost the track, and got into the defiles. The *Afghāns* had stopped to seize and divide the spoil. Next day many of the stragglers lost their lives, and some were made prisoners. In the turmoil as many as 500¹ lost their

¹ Elphinstone remarks in a note to his history: "Abul Fazl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction, but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akbar's army and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bir Bal was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory..... As a proof of the defects I have

ascribed to him, I may mention that although he begins with a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men." *Khāfi K.* says, 40 to 50,000 men were killed. *Ferishta* following the *Tabaqāt Akbarī* puts the number at 8000.

The best or at least the fullest

lives. Among those known to H.M. were Rāja Bīrbar, Ḥasan Patanī Gada Beg, Rāja Dharmkand Sankar, Khān Muh. Mullā Sherī,¹ 'Arab Shaiḥ Khakka, Mullā Ghayūrī, Jān Muh. Bakhshī, Shaiḥ Junaid, S. Ḥamid Farmuli Bahādur, Amān Ullāh S'aid.

On the 7th² the news of the disaster reached H.M. The deaths of loyal servants, and especially the death of Rāja Bīrbar, his spiritual companion, grieved him exceedingly, and his heart turned away from everything. As dignity consists in outward restraint and not in abandonment (to grief), H.M., as the Primate of the spiritual kingdom, preserved external composure. For two³ days and nights he did not take his daily food and drink. By the efforts of Maryam Makānī, and the lamentations of his faithful servants, he was prevailed upon to take food. His design⁴ was to plant the

account of the Yūsufza'ī disaster seems to be that given by Khāfi K. in the *Muntakhab-al-Lubāb* I. 191 *et seq.* He says that every one in Bīr Bal's force was killed, and that Zain K. and Ḥakīm Abul Faṭḥ escaped because they were not there. They remained behind and were in ignorance of Bīrbal's (or Bīrbar) attempt to get through the defile. Khāfi K. says that the number of killed amounted to 40 or 50,000. He appears to call Rāja Dharmkand, Rāja Dhīr. A.F. says little about Rāja Todar Mal's success in chastising the Yūsufza'is afterwards, but the T.A., Elliot V. 452, says, he built forts etc., and reduced the Afghāns to great straits.

The Iqbāl-nāma gives a detailed account of Zain K.'s speech to Bīrbar. It says that more than 2 or 3000 men were killed in the expedition.

¹ A distinguished poet. See B. 610, etc. It would appear from B. 197 that Sherī, though a courtier, satirised Akbar's pretensions to Divinity.

See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 319. There is a long account of the poet in Badāyūnī III. 248.

² A. F. does not tell us what the month was. It cannot have been Isfindārmuz, unless the 7th be a mistake for the 27th, for Zain K. and Bīrbar only began their fatal march on the 6th Isfindārmaz (see text, p. 484). The Ṭabaqāt and Badāyūnī say that the defeat took place on 5 Rabi'ul-awwal 994). This would correspond to 14 February 1586, or nearly to some day of the first week of Isfindārmuz. Zain K. and the Ḥakīm waited on Akbar at Attock.

³ This is according to the MSS. Text makes the time only 24 hours, and misses out the conjunction between food and drink.

⁴ Meaning that he thought of going there in person. The T.A. says Bīrbar hurried on without consulting Zain K. Evidently he was mainly responsible for the disaster, and one cannot help wondering why Akbar chose a boon companion for such an



royal standards on those hills and to punish the wicked tribe, but at the entreaty of his loyal followers he refrained from this. On the 9th¹ that jewel of the diadem, Prince Sultān Murād, and many devoted servants were sent off. Rāja Todar Mal accompanied the prince.

On the same day the army crossed the Indus and the Kābul river, and encamped at Miṣr.² Agreeably to H.M.'s orders Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul Fath and Qāzī 'Alī of the former army joined the force. Though in the eyes of the superficial a defeat had occurred, and there had been a disaster, in consequence of envy and incapacity, yet in the eyes of the profound it was the beginning of a great victory. From the days of Uluḡ Beg, the Yūsufza'ī tribe, which was more than 100,000 strong, had, by the help of their difficult mountains, practised highway robbery. They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kābul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business, and the chatter (*hamrahānī*) of persons of small capacity, had not attended to this matter. At this time the holy idea was to restrain (the Yūsufza'ī) from injuring people, and from evil ways and to make them obedient and serviceable. An evil habit which is of long standing, and has been inherited 486 from ancestors, is with difficulty eradicated. Clemency is not inclined to sever the thread of life. It does not put to death great criminals. It looks to destiny, and waits for the wondrous working of fortune. When the armies that were sent were appointed, endeavours were made not to be hasty in killing the sons of men, who are fruit-bearing plants, and the sublime foundation of God.

expedition, or why he did not reject the arbitrament of the lots. The *Khulāṣa* T. has a long eulogism on Bīrbar and says that Akbar remarked that his death was the greatest grief he had experienced since coming to the throne. As pointed out by the author of the *Ma'ā Shīr* there is a letter of Akbar to the *Khān-Khānān*, among Abul Fazl's letters, in which Bīrbar's death is bewailed.

¹ This probably means the 9th Rabi'ul-awwal. *Badāyūnī* states that Murād was sent across the Indus because there was a rumour that the Afghāns were going to attack Attock, but that afterwards the prince was recalled, and Todar Mal was sent.

² Apparently some place in the Yūsufza'ī country. At p. 495 of text a Yūsufza'ī leader is described as Miṣrī.



Whenever the victorious generals sent batches of those wayward and crooked-minded ones to court, they were given gold and robes of honour, and were released. Inasmuch as the time of retribution had arrived, the stewards of Fate caused such an aspect of things (as the defeat), and the life-cups of the brave and loyal were spilt in good service, and they earned a good name. The Shāhīnshāh perceived that kindness required the punishment (of the Yūsufza'ī) and that it was proper to erase the record of their existence. In the opinion of the men of the age it was next to impossible to clear the hill country of the tribe, but in a short space a great clearance was made. A large number were killed, and many were sold into Tūrān and Persia. The country of Sawād, Bajaur, and Buner which has few equals for climate, fruits, and cheapness of food, was cleansed of the evil²-doers.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Kunwar Mān Singh. When it was reported that the Tūrān ambassador and Nazir Bé were coming with a large caravan, and that the Khaibar was somewhat impassable on account of the wickedness of presumptuous men (the Raushānīs), he sent S. Farīd Bakhshī to guide them to court. When he came to Jamrūd, Mādhū Singh (s. Bhagwān Dās) and some others were sent by Mān Singh to join him; they entered the Khaibar and joined the caravan at Daka. Mān Singh with a force hastened to 'Alī Masjīd. The Tārīkīs, thinking the force a small one, invested 'Alī Masjīd on a dark night and several of them got to the top of the fort. Brave men stood firm and prevailed against the enemy. Shāh Beg K. and his son also performed masterpieces of valour. The wicked men gave up the investment of the fort and took post on another height. They sate there and meditated evil, but at dawn the brave men drove them off and killed many of them. On the 7th, at the beginning of the day, the (news of the coming of the) ruler of Kashmīr arrived, at midday came the news of the death of Rāja Birbar, and at the close of the day came this joyful news (the victory at 'Alī Masjīd). Next day the Tūrān caravan reached the Serai of Khairābād on the other side of the Indus. On receiving this news H.M. on account of the ruler of

¹ J. II. 393, 2nd para.

² Elphinstone describes this pas-

sage as a curious instance of A. F.'s adulation and inconsistency.



Tūrān's having sent choice pigeons of that country along with Ḥabīb¹ pigeon-fancier (*kobūtarbāz*), who was famous among pigeon-sportsmen, sent for him and that family of delight (the pigeons), before the ambassador had had the honour of an audience, and gathered happiness. Also on this day Naẓr Bé and his sons Qambar Bé, Shādī Bé and Bāqī Bé did homage by prostrating themselves at the holy threshold and so had their foreheads glorified. 487

One of the occurrences was that the ambassador from Tūrān had an audience. When the world-conquering standards reached the bank of the Indus, and the design of marching to Zābulistan became conspicuous, and the Khaibar Pass, which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camels, had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in the country of Tūrān. From fear of a rapid march of the World's Lord, the gates² of Balkh were generally kept closed. 'Abdullāh K. the ruler of Tūrān had the enlightenment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour, and tendered supplications. He sent Mir Quraish, who belonged to a noble family of Saiyids, with choice horses, strong camels, swift mules, animals of the chase, and choice *postlīns* (dressing-gowns) and other rarities of the country. He also sent an affectionate letter and pulled at the chain of friendship. As H.M. was somewhat troubled in his mind on account of the disaster of Rāja Bīrbar, the ambassador for some days did not have an audience. This was disconcerting to him, and when H.M. learnt this, he had compassion on the visitors and gave permission for an audience. On the 21st (Isfīndārmuz = 1 March 1586), there was a princely festival in the Diwānkhāna which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating³ himself at the holy threshold. He produced before H.M. the rarities of that country (Tūrān).

One of the occurrences was the recall of Prince Sultān Murād.

¹ Doubtless the Ḥabīb of Shahr-sabz of B. 302. Ḥabīb is also referred to in terms of great praise in a letter of Akbar to the Khān-Khānān in Part I of A. F.'s letters, in which his arrival with the pigeons is described.

² *Darwāzā*. Perhaps this only means the approaches.

³ *Basujūd-i-qudsī āstān*. "By prostration at the holy threshold." But either this is a mere flourish or A. F. has forgotten or omitted to explain what he has said above at the

Rāja Todar Mal represented as follows: "On the day when H.M. was going to take the field in person, the task had, at the entreaty of the grandees, been made over to the nursling of fortune, Murād. It is proper that auspicious sons should be sent to conquer distant countries, and to subdue great rulers, and that the present work should be made over to a servant." H.M. accepted what was said and recalled the Prince. He sent off Kunwar Mān Singh—who was near Jamrūd¹ and was meditating the punishment of the Tārikis—on this service, in order that he might carry it out, in accordance with the views of the Rāja (Todar Mal). Mān Singh established his camp on the bank of the river (the Indus) in the direction of Buner and near Ohand,² which was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently! He established a fort there and set about civilising the country. Rāja Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills (Koh-i-Lungar)³ which belong to Sawād.

foot of p. 272. There he says that such was Akbar's reverence for the family of the Prophet that he would not allow his descendants to put their heads at his feet or rub their foreheads at the threshold of fortune. Now he has just told us that the ambassador was of a noble Saiyid family, and his name shows that he belonged to Muḥammad's tribe of the Quraish!

¹ Forts in the Punjāb near entrance to Khaibar. See I. G. and Murray's Handbook to the Punjāb.

² Text has *nazdik-i-Sind* "near the Indus." But this is a mistake for *nazdik-i-Ahund* (Ohand or Ohind) as I.O. MS. No. 238, and Chalmers' translation, see Noer's Akbar, translation II. 182, show. For Ohind see Jarrett II. 404 n. 6. It is N. E. Attock and on right bank of Indus. It was a Buddhist city. See Elliot I. 48. Raverty T. N. 78

note says the proper spelling is Uhand. He thinks the name is modern, but this is contrary to A. F.'s statement. Ohind is described under the form Und in the I. G. XXIV. 130.

³ Perhaps this is the Lundkhwar of the Govt. map. It is west of Ambala and on the other side of the hills from Ohind. Evidently the object was to shut up the Afghāns in their hills and by blocking up the exits on both sides to starve them into submission. Todar Mal was too cautious to venture into the hills which had been so fatal to Rāja Bīrbar and his army. Tiefenthaler describes Langarkoh as a strong fort near the district of Swād, I. 86. Langar-koti is also mentioned in the A. N. III. 510, second last line. It is referred to at p. 248 of Raverty's Notes.



Brave men seized those two exits of the Afghāns and made things difficult for them. Every day active men entered the hill-country from either side, great endeavours were made to chastise the wicked **488** by capturing them and by plundering. As they were helpless they had recourse to entreaties, and the dust of commotion was laid. A new freshness was imparted to the Age.¹

¹ I.O. MS. 235 inserts here—at the end of the thirtieth year, the khāṭima or conclusion which occurs

at the end of the 2nd volume of Bib. Ind. and also the preface of the 3rd volume.



CHAPTER LXXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 31ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT,
THE YEAR MIHR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

The parterre-adorners of sovereignty (the sun) brightened the face of joy with the news of the arrival of the New Year. His servants adorned hill and plain, and joined form and spirituality. On the eve of Friday, 29 Rabi'-ul-awwal 994, 10 or 11 March 1586, after the passing of eleven hours, thirty-seven minutes, he cast his rays on Aries. The city became fragrant, the plains grew beautiful.

*Verse.*¹

You complained just now that the leaf-scattering Bahman
had arrived.

Look up and behold the garden, for Bahman has passed away.
In the thunder of the sky hear the sound of the drum.

The world holds a bridal, for the garden
Comes in bridal dress.

The sagacious sovereign celebrated a great feast, and made great and small partakers of joy. On 19 Farwardīn (28 March 1586)—which was the supreme feast—Mirzā Shāhrukh, Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and other officers obtained an interview. They brought the ruler of Kashmīr to court. He was privately asked why the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh had passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son—who had fled from the court—had increased, and had by stratagems turned back the victorious army. Why had he himself not added the glory of acts to his talk about peace? He had the grace to be ashamed; and to reply by silence. H.M., out of kindness, had resolved upon restoring Kashmīr to him, but the imperial servants represented that he

¹ This quatrain has already appeared at the beginning of the 29th year. See p. 431.



ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kash-mir should first be conquered, and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view and made him over to Rāja Todar Mal.

On the same day, the troops that had been sent to Balūchistān arrived, and Ghāzī K., Chīta, Bahādur K., Nuṣrat K., Ibrāhīm K. and other Balūc leaders were received. When the troops went to that country, the land-owners were at first somewhat refractory. But as there was goodness in their dispositions, they quickly understood what was right, and took the path of supplication. Their prayers were granted, and they were honoured with robes and horses. The country was restored to them.

Also, on this day Rāja Todar Mal returned from the hill-country of the Yūsufza'is and did homage. He made over the chastisement **489** of the Afghāns to Rāja Mān Singh.

One of the occurrences was that the troops attacked Berār. It is a country in the south, and is adjacent to Mālwa, and so an account of it has been given in the final¹ volume.

Inasmuch as the rulers of the Deccan did not obey properly, the Khān A'zam Mirzā Koka was appointed to punish them. He went to Hindia, and arranged for an expedition. He sent a body of troops and took Fort Sānoli from Nāhar² Rāo. The latter submitted, and so did the other landholders, after a slight conflict. H.M. gave choice pieces of Mālwa to M. Koka in fief. When the appointed officers met, there arose dissensions among them. The C. in C. became confused on account of suspicions,³ and the work fell out of gear. Shihābud-dīn Ahmad K. was vexed, and went off to his jāgīr without leave. The C. in C. came after him in order to fight him. Instead of having recourse to supplications, he (Shihāb) prepared for battle; though, by the endeavours of prudent men a contest was averted, they did not act together. In consequence of the intrigues of foolish persons, Tūlak K.⁴ who was an old (bābarī) officer, became sus-

¹ That is, in the Aīn A.

² The Sheola, or Senola of the Aīn, J. II. 234. It was in Sarkār Narnālah.

³ Mentioned in J. II. 229.

⁴ M. Koka disliked Shihāb because he suspected him of having

been accessory to the murder of his father. Badayūni, Lowe, 372. Badayūni says that Raisīn was the jagir to which Shihāb went. See also Elliot, p. 441.

⁵ This is Tūlak Qāchīn, a very old servant of the empire. Bloch-

pected, and was sent to prison. That memorial of former sages, Amīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī, was much harassed, and returned from the ruler of Khāndes without having effected anything. He sorrowfully went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujārat. The soldiers were perplexed by the delays and dissensions. The enemy who had been alarmed, took courage. Rāja 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes, Farhād K., Jamshīd K., Azdar K., Mir Toqī and the rest of the Berār and Aḥmadnagar armies gathered together and set off to give battle. The imperial grandees awoke in some measure from the sleep of negligence, and assembled to consult. How could the work be carried on when the friend was not distinguished from the foe, nor humility from hypocrisy? From their double-mindedness, they did not see in themselves the strength to fight. Nor could they act unanimously. They turned aside from confronting the enemy, and went off to Berār. They sent their baggage to a place of retreat (gosha, a corner) and went off rapidly. On the route, Hatīā¹ Rāo, a land-owner, was put to death on suspicion of his acting a double part. Without proper inquiry, a body of troops was sent hastily to Kherla, and it did not effect its purpose. Much injury happened to the baggage-animals. After many exertions they found Berār empty and ravaged it. On New 490 Year's Day they took Elichpūr, the capital, and plundered it. Some were of opinion that they should not draw rein till they reached Aḥmadnagar, but a large number thought that they should keep hold of such a flourishing country, and that they should march gradually. After the talk of ignorant men, no one put his hand to any work. The army, having with it abundance of spoil, proceeded to Gujārāt. The idea was that when the enemy came up, and things should become critical, the soldiery of Gujārāt would be stirred up to render

mann, in his account of him, at p. 445, says, he had indulged in slander, but this seems to be an incorrect translation of a passage in the Ma'āshir U. I. 478. What the Ma'āshir says is that Tūlak was the victim of slanderers. The Iqbāl-nāma also speaks of him as unequalled for courage and generalship, and says he was suspected without cause, and

imprisoned. Badāyūnī says that 'Azīz Koka was also very rude to Fathullāh Shīrāzī and abused him in public. This is likely enough, for 'Azīz Koka had always an unbridled tongue.

¹ Hatīā is mentioned in the Ā'in, J. II. 229. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to call him Hatīā Nahara. This name is also mentioned in the Ā'in, i.e.

help, and that the spoil would not be lost.¹ The enemy was astonished at his turning back and proceeded to take advantage of it. They left their artillery and other equipage behind and followed (the imperialists). They sacked Hindia, and set fire to it. No strength remained to the imperial troops on account of their having had to march through so many difficult defiles. Many men could not keep up. The imperial troops were seen to be retreating, and the dust raised by (the enemy's) scouts became visible. A portion of the imperial army had a fight near the town of Chāndaur with the land-holders there. Though much plunder was obtained, Hājī² 'Abdullāh Sultān Kāshgharī was killed. He was the son of 'Abdur-Rashīd, the ruler of Kāshghar. Near Khāndes, Muḥ. Qulī Uzbeg deserted from the enemy and joined the imperial army. He described the weakness and fewness of the foe, and represented that if they turned round and gave battle they would be victorious. They could bind him, if they liked, and take him back with them. If his account did not turn out to be correct, they could kill him. A council was held, and by the endeavours of experienced men a battle was resolved upon. One day was spent in preparation. Owing to the prating of unexperienced men, and the fears of the general, the drums of retreat were beaten at dawn. They went on rapidly without keeping in touch with one another. The animals and the baggage went off at night while the officers marched by day. The courage of the enemy was increased by this behaviour, and they pursued with boldness. Twice there was a slight engagement between the rearguard and the enemy's van, and the latter was defeated. Though they did not recognize their superiority, and the Deccan was surrendered after it had been gained, yet much booty was obtained. On the 22nd they halted at Nadarbār, and

¹ As shown by the account in the Iqbāl-nāma and also in text, much of the spoil was eventually lost. But the translation in Elliot VI. 85, "leaving the baggage", is misleading. It was not lost or abandoned then. When A. F. says, text 489, that the baggage was put in a corner, he means, I think, that it was

left somewhere in safety. 'Azīz K. did not at first retire from the enemy, he went off to the Berārs, but he could not hold them and his idea of coming back from Gujarāt to recover the baggage failed.

² He was a commander of 700 and half-brother of Quraish Sultān, B. 459.

rested. Before this, some Deccanis had come into that region, and stirred up strife. The land-agents of Qulij K. had not treated the peasantry with consideration, and had departed. When the imperial army arrived, the thorn of rebellion was uprooted, and the enemy retired from Khāndes. The Khān A'zam went on rapidly to Gujarāt, with the thought that he would get help from the army of that province. The Khān-Khānān considered his coming an honour, and gave him a warm welcome. He quickly collected a choice force, and joined him. But on account of the talk of evil men, they took a perverse course. They sent Mir Abū Turāb to interview the Deccanis and to arrange for a peace, and then every one returned to his fief. The enemy was delighted at this result and sent presents (*peshkash*). Mirzā Koka marched out from Māndū and attacked Hamir

491 Jetpūrī and inflicted suitable punishment on him. He is one of the Mālwa Zamindārs. When the army went off to Berar, he, finding the country unprotected, fell upon Mandū and ravaged several places. Some parts he set on fire. They say that one of the supporters of that land-holder asked encouragement from an enthusiast.¹ The latter got angry and said, "Who dares to stretch out the hand of oppression on the territory of the spiritual and temporal monarch (Akbar)," and slew him with his dagger.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rāja Bhagwant Dās to Zābulistān (Afghānistān). When Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to punish the Yūsufzāī, the Rāja, who was commanding in the Panjāb, was appointed to that service (Afghānistān). On account² of his

¹ The passage is obscure. But I think that the I.O. MS. 236 by putting an *izāfat* after *rabūda* removes the difficulty. The words *rabūda-i-izādi* mean, I think, one carried away by a Divine enthusiasm. In the Ā'in, text, I. 561, we have *rabūdagi* used in the sense of ecstasy or madness. See also A.N. III. 637, six lines from foot, where the words *rabūda-i-khāmosh* are applied to the madman Payīnda of Sind.

² Rāja Bhagwān went mad about this time: see next chapter. Bada,

yūnī, Lowe, 364, implies that this was due to Akbar's having violated the safe-conduct which the Rāja had given to Yūsuf the ruler of Kashmīr. Akbar imprisoned Yūsuf, and, according to Badāyūnī, wanted to kill him.

"Bhagwān Dās, in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour, struck himself with a dagger." But there was probably madness in the Ambēr family, for Bhagwān's daughter, the wife of Jahāngīr, poisoned herself.



evil star, he propounded certain improper desires, and the sovereign, surmising madness, restrained him from going. An order was issued to experienced men to prepare Sultān Daniel for this service. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ismā'īl Qulī and many other officers were appointed to accompany him. Thereupon Rāja Bhagwant Dās repented a thousand times of what he had said, and apologised and begged for forgiveness. H.M. accepted his apologies and on the 23rd he was allowed to go with many other prudent servants.¹

¹ The account in this chapter of the Berār and Deccan campaign of 'Azīz Koka should be compared with the T. Akbarī account in Elliot V. 442, 443 and with Badāyūni, Lowe,

pp. 372 and 373. Perhaps peace was made with the Deccānīs because Akbar wanted the Khān-Khānān's services in Northern India.



CHAPTER LXXXVII.

RETURN OF H.M. TOWARDS FATHPŪR.¹

H.M. spent three months and twelve days pleasantly in Attock-Benares. Though he spent some time in hunting, some time in the blacksmith's shop in looking after gun-making, and some time in practising with a gun in the *daulatkhāna* (royal precincts?), and also night and day transacted political and financial business, yet his real design was to spend some time on the banks of the Indus in order to punish the Yūsufza'ī, and thereafter to proceed into Zābulistān (Afghānistān). But, on account of the dismay of the Tūrānians, the entreaty of the ambassador from that country, and the dearness of provisions, he determined to turn back. On the 24th² (Farwardīn), after the lapse of one watch of the night, he proceeded towards India, and thereby heaped happiness on abundance of men. On 15 Ardābihisht (24 April 1586), he crossed the Jhelam by a bridge, and halted for a time. On this day the paternal aunts³ of M. *Shāhrukh*, and the latter's middle son *Shāh Muḥ. Mīrzā*, and some Kābulis waited on him. At the time when the royal standards were on the banks of the Indus, those chaste and secluded ladies had petitioned to the effect that they had a keen desire to kiss his threshold. Their weariness and weakness had deprived them of this bliss. *Khānzāda Khānim* came with the *Mīrzās* to Kabul, and, from a desire to pay her respects, she set off for India. She joined in with M. *Shāhrukh*, and then there happened what has
492 already been mentioned. She was helpless and had to stay in Gardez, where she was rejoicing in the company of the *Mīrzā's* son.

¹ He did not get to Fathpūr then, and the *Iqbāl-nāma* changes the heading to "Lahore."

² The *Ṭabaqāt A.* has 24 Rabi' u-ṣ-ṣānī (4 April?).

³ These two ladies, *Khānzāda*

Khānim and Begum Sultān, were daughters of M. Sulaimān. The second one went with her father to Mecca, and on her return was married to one of the *Mīrzās* of Qandahār.

Begam Sultān had accompanied M. Sulaīmān to the Hijāz and in Persia. On account of her marriage she stayed some time in Qandahār. When she got an opportunity, she came to Kābul. When this was known, H.M. sent Ulugh Beg Kābuli, and an order was issued that Khwāja Shamsud-dīn should provide the equipment and send them off. At this stage (the Jhelam) they had the bliss of doing homage. Haider Ali, Shādmān Hazāra, and Nazr Beg, who, on account of their evil conduct, had not come before, brightened their foreheads by doing homage, and were exalted by princely favours.

One of the occurrences was Rāja Bhagwant Dās's becoming mad. When he took leave to go to Kābul, he crossed the Indus, and put up in the serai of Khairābād. For some days he looked after military matters. Suddenly, his intellect grew darkened, and he became very giddy. They were compelled to bring him back to Attock, and to place him under care. A physician named Sāmān was feeling his pulse, when suddenly he drew his dagger and wounded himself. On hearing this, H.M. sent Hakīm Hasan and Mahādev along with Khangār and Daulat K. in order that the Rāja's friends might employ whichever of the four they preferred. They chose Mahādev, and after a long time he got better.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Kunwar Mān Singh to Qābulistān. When Rāja Bhagwān Dās fell ill, Ismā'il Qulī was sent in his room. He, from inexperience and selfishness (*garm-bāzārī*), formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts. He fell out of favour, and an order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, *via* Bhakar, to the Hijāz. He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications. Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yūsufzā'i. Mādhū Singh, Sa'id K. Gakhar, Abul-Qāsim Tamkīn and the servants of Rāja Bhagwant Dās were nominated to assist him. Kunwar Mān Singh and another force were sent to Kābul.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Arab Bahādur. He chose a residence in the hill country of Bahrā'ich to the north of Dugān² and near a black mountain. By the help of evil-minded

¹ B. 542 and 544.

² Dugān, دوغان in text. In Ain

J. II. 176 we have, "In the vicinity of the town (Bahrā'ich) there is a

Zamīndārs he established a fort there, and used to go about plundering, and then take refuge there. One day he had gone off rapidly. Kharak Rāi, a landholder, sent his son Dūla Rāi to attack the fort, and he took with him some followers of Ḥakīm Abul fath who were in that neighbourhood. They marched 25 kos and reached the fort. The garrison thought it was 'Arab, and did not take
493 measures to defend the place. By their activity they got possession of it, and having seized the choice goods there, they set out on their return. 'Arab heard of this and lay in ambush for them. Dūla had sent off the goods, and had halted to eat. Suddenly, 'Arab attacked the baggage, and the men abandoned it and fled. Dūla and some brave men came up, and defeated 'Arab. Many were killed and some were made prisoners, and some ran away. That turbulent fellow ('Arab) and some others got into a side-path,¹ and Dūla, on hearing of this pursued them, and put an end to 'Arab.

On the eve of the 16th the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās gave birth to a daughter² in the house of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and

village called Dokon which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage." Dūgāon is on the edge of the table-land, and on the banks of the Sarjū, about four miles west of Nānpāra. It is now deserted, but there are the remains of a very large and substantially built town. It is said to have become deserted at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign in consequence of a saint named Shāh Sājan, whose tomb is still there, having cursed the place (Gazetteer of Oudh, Lucknow, 1877), I. 114. On a copper coin figured by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, No. 19 of Plate XX, J.A.S.B. for 1880, p. 213, the name is written Dokanu or Dogānwa. Nānpār (called Nāndpāra in Tiefenthaler, I. 290) is 22 m. N. Bahra'iqh. It is described in I.G. XVIII. 367. There is an elaborate article on the Dogām mint by Dr. Vost, J.A.S.B. for 1899, pp. 69 and 74. The Ṭaba-

qāt Akbarī refers to 'Arab's death, Elliot V. 453, and Badāyūnī says "his head came rolling down from the mountains of Kumāon, and found its resting place on the pinnacles of the fort of Lahore (Lowe, 364).

¹ Text جای a place. The Maa'āsir N. II. 773 and I.O. MS. 236 have جانب jāniba, a side, or siding, and this is probably the true reading. The meaning seems to be that they took their way, and so got separated from their companions. The variant cāhī, a well, is probably a guess. It is not likely that three men would fall into a well. The Iqbāl-nāma has wādī, a watercourse. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 364, says the general report was that 'Arab died a natural death.

² The 16th Ardibihisht corresponds to about 26th April 1586. She died during her father's lifetime and is buried in the Khusrāu Bāgh, Allāhābād, near her mother.



there were various rejoicings. The horoscope according to the Greek method gave 18 degrees of Sagittarius and according to Hindū calculation it was 1 degree 41 minutes. The enlightened sovereign called her Sultān Khīrad and, contrary to the usage of contemporaries, he had an assemblage to render thanksgivings. There was a great feast in the house of Maryam Makānī, and there was a presentation of gifts, and there was largesse.

Also, at this time Mīrzā Shāhrukh and some heroes were sent to conquer Kashmīr, as the Kashmīrians had cast aside the peace, and their deceit was manifest. The Mīrzā was appointed to punish the promise-breakers. As it appeared that the Mīrzā's heart was not in the work, and that the thoughts of love for his native land did not leave him in his natural state, he was relieved from the task, and attention was given to the appointment of some one else.

When the mind of H.M. was somewhat relieved from affairs, he ordered a march from the banks of the Jhelam. On 5 Khurdād he crossed the Cināb at the "Shop-keeper's" Ferry near Kanjā by a bridge.



CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE ILLUMINATION OF LAHORE BY THE ADVENT OF THE SHAHINSHAH.

The idea of most people was that the world's Khedive would not turn his rein till he arrived at Fathpūr. But the sovereign of an awakened heart did not yield to such a wish, and the pleasant palaces of that city did not engage his heart. His sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Panjāb, and would give peace to the Zābulī land (Afghānistān), cleanse Swād and Bajaur of the 494 stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Tārikīān (the Raughānis) from Tirāh and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Scinde) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person. With these profound views he resolved to spend some time in Lāliore the capital. He traversed $112\frac{1}{2}$ *kos* from Attock-Benares in twenty-six marches and reached Lahore on the night of the 15th (Khurdād), 27th May 1586. He selected for his residence the houses of Rāja Bhāgwant Dās. Every section of mankind had their heart desires gratified. The market people gathered profits, and some light penetrated to the bigoted and conventional. On 2^d Tīr, 12 June 1586, the lunar weighment took place, and that noble personality was, according to the annual custom, weighed against eight things, and the wishes of the needy of the time were satisfied.²

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sultān Salīm took place. When it was brought to his august notice that Rāi Rai

¹ This date corresponds to 5 Rajab 994 and consequently to the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the Muḥammadan calendar. There is some confusion both in the T. Akbarī, and in the translation from it in Elliot V. 453. The T. Akbarī puts the events of the 31st year of

the reign into the 32nd (Badāyūnī has animadverted on this mistake), and Elliot on p. 453 has wrongly got the date of 13 Rajab as that of the weighment, instead of 5. See Newal Kishor's ed., p. 370.

² By the articles being afterwards distributed to them.



Singh desired that his chaste child might enter the Prince's harem, the appreciative Shāhīnshāh granted his request, and arranged for the marriage presents and for the materials of joy. On the 16th (Tir), 26th June, he, together with the princes and grandees went to the house of that fortunate one (Rāi Rāi Singh), and in an auspicious hour the joyful union took place. There was a daily market of joy. Also about this time the daughter of Sa'īd K. Gakkar entered the service of that nursling of the Caliphate and thereby conferred greatness on her family.

One¹ of the occurrences was an instance of great liberality on the part of the Court. Owing to the goodness of the administration, grain became very cheap in the provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and it was difficult for the cultivators to pay the revenue (lit. the cost, "*pā ranj*," of protection). The just sovereign remitted one-sixth. In the Khālīṣa lands this amounted to four crors, five lakhs, sixty thousand and five hundred and ninety-six (45,60,596) *dāms*. From this, some estimate may be made of the reduction to the *jaḡīrdārs*. A multitude of men obtained relief, and formed assemblies for thanksgivings and rejoicings.

Verse.

How good is the nature of the sovereign,
He strews pearls in lieu of flowers and grass.
Both wide plains and narrow defiles
Glory in the presence of their king.

¹ Cf. p. 463, where a similar remission in the previous year is described. The *Iqbāl-nāma* also refers to the subject, and says the price of grain became so low that the ryots were unable to pay their rent. An order was therefore issued to remit one-sixth on the khālīṣa lands, which caused a loss of 4 krors, 5 lakhs, 60,000 *dāms* = 10 lakhs, 14,000 *rupīs*. The fief-holders were also enjoined to make a similar reduction on their estates. Both A. F. and the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* say that from the

figures for the khālīṣa lands, the amount of remission on the fiefs may in some measure be estimated. In the *Ā'yīn* the khālīṣa and the fief revenues for each *Sarkār* are given, but if we total the revenue for the three provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and then deduct one-sixth, the amount of the remission comes to many more than four krors. Probably no remission was made where the revenue was payable in kind.



One of the occurrences was the failure of the tricks of Muzaffar Gujarātī. When that slumbrous-witted one had no power left to make war, he had recourse to stratagems. He secretly sent to Aḥmadābād a person to whom had been given the title of Hāmān (the name of Pharaoh's vizier and of Abraham's brother), and he wrote several letters to the imperial officers. His notion was that if these reached the officers of the province, they would become sus-
495 pected, and that the dust of double-facedness might be raised in some of them, and that some might come over to his side. By good fortune, the bearer of the letters, and also the letters, were seized, and his vain contrivance was discovered. That wicked man was capitally punished. Muzaffar had also retained mercenary persons to take the lives of the officers. Accordingly he corrupted an Afghān named Shāhbāz K. who was with Mukammal Beg. That traitor killed Mukammal, but he too was caught and suffered the punishment of his disloyalty. Alertness was the order of the day, and the schemes of that vain contriver were destroyed.

Also, at this time the condition of the Yūsufza'ī tribe became difficult. Assuredly, whoever withdraws his head from subjection to the world's lord falls into various miseries. While the officers were exerting themselves in attacking and plundering, in killing and in binding, the heavens were also taking vengeance on the Yūsufza'ī. Food became dear and the air grew unwholesome. Serious diseases broke out, and strength and cunning failed. Sultān Quraish, Būstān Kālū, Sultān Bāyazīd and other chiefs appeared before Ismā'il Qulī, and behaved with humility. It was agreed that when they came out of the hill-country with their families¹ they would beg for forgiveness from the Court.

One of the occurrences was Šādiq K.'s attack on Sahwān. He came from the court to Multān, and took an army to that quarter. Mīrzā Jānī Beg, the ruler of that place, sent Bartaq and Kochhak Arghūn, Mīrzā Beg and Rustam Tarkhān with many troops to fight,

¹ Aghrūq, perhaps, tents, etc. The Iqbāl-nāma refers to the distress of the Yūsufza'ī, and says their leaders appeared before Ismā'il with shrouds round their necks. The

Khulāṣatut-Tawārīkh says the same thing and adds that it is well known that the Yūsufza'ī sold their women for food.



and there was a great battle. Koçhak and Mirzā Beg were killed, and Rustam was made prisoner. Becoming bolder on account of this success, Šādiq went on without taking into consideration the number of the soldiers of that country and invested the fort of Sahwān. Some of the wall was thrown down by mining, but as the earthen parapet was very high they were not able to enter. There was such delay that the garrison was able to make another wall. As the work was difficult, they withdrew from it and went to Naṣīr-pūr, and collected spoil. The ruler of that country came forth with a large equipment to fight, but before he arrived, Šādiq K. perceived that the proper thing to do was to retire.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE SENDING OF QĀSIM K. TO CONQUER KASHMĪR.

496 As the Kashmīriāns in their folly did not adhere to the treaty, and as Ya'qūb the evildoer thought that he was safe behind the barrier of difficult mountains, and was proceeding rapidly in an evil course, H.M. addressed himself anew to the conquest of the country. A discussion took place about sending troops there. Many leaders thought the enterprise difficult and were not inclined for it. Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for the conquest, there was no good result. By the orders of H.M., a meeting of astrologers was held, and a close investigation of the horoscope of the year, and of the state of the constellations, was made. The diagrams (*namūdar*) showed that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made. When this was brought to the knowledge of H.M., his royal idea took form. At this time Haidar Cak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī represented, "The grandees of that country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landholders be sent with the Panjāb troops, it is probable that the country will come into H.M.'s hands without a contest." Accordingly, Mubārak K. and Jalāl K. Gakhars¹ and other Zamīndārs were sent off. The two Kashmīrīs waited near Bhimbhar in expectation of assistance. In the meantime it flashed upon H.M.'s mind that the suggestion that landholders should be taken, indicated that there was some evil design. Accordingly he assigned this service to Qāsim K., who was among the singular of the age for ability and courage. On 18 Tir, 28th June 1586, Fath K.², Masnad 'Ālī, Gujar K., M. 'Alī Akbarshāhī, S. Daulat Khanjarī,³ S. Sikandar Rafiq, Shāh Muḥammad, Mīr 'Abdur Razzāq Mamūrī, Yādgār Ḥusain, Lāl

¹ They were both Gakhars, Mubārak being Sultān Sīrang's grandson and Jalāl Sultān Adam's grandson. B. 486.

² He had charge of the leopards.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma has "and Hijre (or Khanjarī)."



Deo, Sonar¹ Chand, Khwāja Zahir, Pādshāh Qulī Shafaqat, Wali Beg, Hazārī Beg and many manabdārs and ahadis and officers' servants were sent off under his command. Every one of them was furnished with counsels suitable to his capacity. They were to practise enlightenment, justice, the non-sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies, and the chastisement of the evil. Sharif² Sarmadi was appointed Bakhshī, and an order was given that the men who had been previously sent should not deviate from the orders of the General.

One of the occurrences was the sending back of the Tūrān ambassador. Though by the return of the royal standards from the banks of the Indus, the ruler of that country had recovered from his alarm, yet when it was represented to H.M. that he was anxious on account of the long detention of his ambassador, H.M. showed him special favours, and gave him leave on 12 Shahrīyūr (23 August), and also set apart various rarities. He despatched Hakīm Hatnām, who was able and loyal, with a message in order that he might convey the letter and impress on 'Abdullā K. the choice qualities of the Shāhiushāh. He was also to study the minds of high and 497 low and to report thereon. Mir Šadr Jahān Muftī was also sent to express condolences for the death of Sikandar³ K. He had died three years before, but as at that time there was an idea of conquering the country, condolences had not been sent. Now that 'Abdullā K. had recourse to amicable expressions, and had adopted the rules of concord, the Mir was sent upon this mission.

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma and I.O. MS. 236 have Sanesār.

² He was a poet. B. 516.

³ 'Abdullā's father. He died in 991 or 1583. The letter which follows, refers to his death.



CHAPTER XC.

DRAFT¹ (SAWĀD) OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S LETTER.

The odours of the workshop of the springtime of singleheartedness, and the vision of the masterpiece of the pinacothek of far-seeing wisdom which the garland-twiners of friendship's garden had decked, and the written characters of the artists of the delightful picture-gallery of the high-born one, who is the glory of throne and diadem, unveiler of the countenance of wisdom and knowledge, distinguished legislator² of the philosophic world (?), great lord of the universe of justice, enkindler of the lamp of the Khāns, uplifter of the royal³ umbrella, at that most excellent of seasons, when the drums of the New Year were beating with a world-cherishing sound under the blue dome, and the great Luminary, the Universe's Donor, to wit, the world-warming sun, the enthroned Sultān of Day, Dictator of the seven climes of the elements, and the bodies, had cast his glorious shadow over the heads of one and all, and when the gales of spring were breathing the vegetative souls into the frames of the newcomers to the realms of earth and water, and the March-winds⁴ had washed the dust-worn squadrons of the army

¹ Does the use of word *sawād* mean that this was a rough draft, and that afterwards another exordium was prepared, viz. that which appears in letter 2 of the Inshā? The exordium of this *sawād* is that of the 3rd letter of Inshā, but the body of it agrees with the 2nd letter of the Inshā.

² It is نوابین in the text, but perhaps نواب, *nawān*, prince, is the true reading.

³ کیانی *Kayānī*. Here used to mean any great king, for 'Abdullā

had no connection with the Kayānīān dynasty of Persia. The point of the whole of the exordium seems to be that it was a marvellous coincidence that the ambassador and the letter arrived about the time of the New Year.

⁴ Text Abr-i-Āzarī, but it is not the Persian month Āzar, which corresponds to November, that is meant, but the Syrian month Āzār that is meant. Apparently then we should read Āzarī. See D'Herbelot s. v. Āzār who warns his readers against



of spring. The foundations of friendship rose up anew, and the laws of singlemindedness received fresh honour. The cordial words of love, kinship, unity and well-wishing which had imbibed a fragrance from the perfumed pen, and had flowed from the jewelled reed have been received and have been much appreciated. They have greatly rejoiced us.

It will not be hidden from your wise heart and your heaven-reaching perception, which is a treasury of Divine mysteries, and a mirror of the face of understanding, that this suppliant at the gate of the unconditioned (*beniyāz*) One hath during the thirty years which by Heaven's aid he hath spent on the throne of prosperity, ever kept before his eyes the truth that all this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering, are for the purpose of shepherding, and for doing the work of watch and ward; not for the amassing of treasures of gold and silver, or for decorating the throne and diadem, or for letting one's feet halt in the mud of transitory pleasures, or for sinking the head into the collar of unstable desires. Hence, there has ever been nought but goodness and good-will towards friend and foe, kinsman and stranger. 498 There hath been a constant stirring towards the soothment of mortals, whether high or low, and for graciousness to men of the age, whether anear or afar. God knows that the cleansing of the four¹ *dāngs* of India, and the sweeping away of the weeds and

the confounding of the two months. The Syrian month corresponds to March.

¹ The phrase means $\frac{2}{3}$ of the seven climes. There is a saying that India is 4 *dāngs* and Persia 2 *dāngs*. See Gulbadan's Mem. 170. See also Akbar's letter to Shah 'Abbās in first part of A. F.'s letters where the expression "four *dāngs* of the 7 climes is used." The expression "four *dāngs*" occurs in the Persian epitaph to William Hamilton, Surgeon, St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. See Wilson's Inscriptions on Tombs in Bengal, p. 16, where the

phrase is wrongly translated by the words "the four quarters."

James Fraser in his history of Nādir Shāh, p. 16 of 2nd ed., states that he has copies of the letters which 'Abdullā K. wrote to Akbar and in which he calls him to a severe account for being so fond of the Brahmin or Indian priests, and so indifferent to the Muhammadan religion. It would be interesting to have these letters. They do not appear to be included in the list of MSS. at the end of Fraser's volume. (Are they in the Bodleian?).



rubbish from this garden, which is bounded on three sides by the ocean, did not proceed from self-will and self-indulgence, and that we had no object except to be kind to mortals, and to obliterate the oppressors. Hence it is that wherever I turned myself, difficult things were easily accomplished, and that the face of satisfaction emerged beautifully from the veil of hope. When our amiability was such to the others of God's servants (i.e. mankind), what could it be to that highborn patrician who belongs to the noble and befriended ones of the palace of sovereignty, and with whom we were linked by the bonds of ancient affection and near relationship. To the eyes of the acute and prudent it is evident that any one of these ties is sufficient. And when all of them are together, it is evident that there can be nought but unison. This singlemindedness is the material of the civilization of the world, and the bond of mankind.

With regard to the intimations¹ about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eye of reason, silence is better than speech in such matters, yet we shall overlook this. We consider, however, that lengthy discourse about these things is unfitting, and so content ourselves with this verse which has been written concerning glorious ones of the Faith.

Verse.

Of God, people have said that He had a son ; of the Prophet
they have said that he was a sorcerer.

Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men.

Much less I !

God be praised ! From the beginning of our existence and from the emergence of the rays of the light of the Sultānat which is yoked with auspiciousness, the straight path of religion and faith, and the right road of truth and certainty have been the desire of our eyes. Assuredly, in accordance with the saying that rule and faith are twins, the elevation of the degrees of august sovereignty, and the uprearing of the standards of daily-increasing fortune are

¹ This probably refers to some remark of 'Abdullā's about breaking off communications with Akbar

on account of his having ceased to be a Musalmān.



a full and satisfactory proof of our observance of the Faith. May Almighty God keep all fixed and stable in doing His good pleasure ! And as the sum total of the desires of just princes, who sit on the thrones of greatness, is that all mankind and every creature, who are the wondrous deposits of the Almighty, should abide in peace and tranquillity, and should strive strenuously in obeying God, and in the ways of a well-intentioned life, we have during this time striven for the arrangement and ordering of these extensive dominions, which were the seats of so many great sovereigns and rulers, and have by God's favour, which attends this suppliant at the Divine gate, obtained full repose by the management of these countries. Places which from the time of rise of the sun of Islām till the present day had not been trod by the horse-hoofs of world-conquering princes and where their swords had never flashed, have become the dwelling-places and the homes of the faithful. The churches and temples of the infidels and heretics¹ have become mosques and holy shrines for the masters of orthodoxy. God be praised ! What we wished for has been accomplished, and arrangements have been made in accordance with our desires. All the leaders and stiff-necked ones of the hosts of Hindus and others, have placed the rings of obedience in their ears and been enrolled among the victorious armies. All classes of mankind have attained joy. We too in accordance with the principle "Do² good as God doth good to thee" devote our energies towards promulgating the laws of kindness, the laying the foundations of justice, the spreading of the lights of benevolence, and the irrigating of the gardens of men's hopes and peace, with oozings from the clouds of graciousness, and beneficence, so that they may be kept fresh and verdant.

I have kept before my mind the idea that when I should be entirely at liberty from these tasks, I should, under the guidance of God's favour, undertake the destruction of the Feringhi infidels who have come to the islands (jazā'ir-i-daryā-i-, query, peninsulas ?)

¹ *Khazlān*, lit. deserters or wanderers, but here I presume meaning wanderers from the faith.

² As pointed out by the Luck-

now edition, this is from the Qorān, the 28th Surā. Sale translates, "But be thou bounteous to others, as God hath been bounteous unto thee."



of the ocean, and have lifted up the head of turbulence, and stretched out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims to the holy places. May God increase their glory ! They (the Franks) have become a great number and are stumbling-blocks to the pilgrims and traders. We thought of going in person and cleansing that road from thorns and weeds. But as we heard that some of the officers of Persia had proved disloyal to their sovereign, and had cast away the firm handle of fidelity—which had been the means of their exaltation—and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons—from whose forehead there streamed the rays of auspiciousness, and in whose horoscope were the lights of justice—and not undertake any other work until that was disposed of. At present when the Sultān of Turkey, regarding the treaties and agreements made by his father and grandfather as non-existent, has looked to the ostensibly feeble condition of Persia, and has, several times, sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstance of the deviation from the highway of Sunnism (*sunnut-u-jamā'at*) and looking only to the relationship (of that dynasty) with the family of the Prophet, proceed thither and help them. Assuredly, ancient things should be borne in mind, especially at this time when, as we hear, the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country (to us) with presents, and with a prayer for help. It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān. It also appears to us that as the ties of friendship and relationship with that workshop of sovereignty ('Abdullā) have existed from old times, and have been revived by the sending of a loving letter, in company with that asylum of Saiyidship and magistracy, Mir Quraish, and when the bonds of affection have been thereby strengthened, you also should proceed from your dominions towards that country so that it may become a meeting of the two seas of glory, and superiority and the rising of the two auspicious planets of splendour and beauty.

500 By oral communications, without the intervention of couriers and messages, the foundations of love and unity may be made stronger, and various heartfelt words, and secrets allied to truths, which are concealed in our hearts, and also matters of theology and observance of the truth may be mentioned in the friendly



meeting, and we may also hear the refined subtleties in the matters of Divine knowledge which have cast their rays on the soul of that workshop of magnificence ('Abdullah). The cream of life and the excellence of prosperity consist in sociability and spiritual intercourse, especially when between two chosen ones of God who have been glanced upon by the court of sublimity. Assuredly, this proceeding would be the cause of general excellence at that time when by God's help this wish shall be realised—inasmuch as the ambition of those who are approved by God and have been exalted by him is to do what is well-pleasing to him, and not to acquire name and sway among men. Accordingly it is our heart's desire—and we hope that it is also yours—that we may have intercourse with one who is eminent for his knowledge and following of the truth, and that we may be in union with him and not depart from his counsel. Now that the association of concord and agreement is patent to all, what is proper in the matter of assisting the rule of 'Irāq and Khurāsān will come forth from its inner ambush to the world of manifestation.

The apologies¹ which you have made with a loving pen with regard to the catastrophe of our honoured protégé (*farzand*, lit. child) Shāhrukh Mirzā have delighted our justice-loving heart. True it is, he, on account of youth, self-conceit, and bad companionship, has exhibited so many improper actions. Each one of these causes has contributed to his affairs coming to such a pass. In the first place, on account of the promptings of some short-sighted persons, he has many times failed on obedience to ourselves. Secondly, he has not behaved to your noble self in a becoming manner. Thirdly, he has behaved in such an improper manner to his venerable grandfather, who had so many spiritual and mate-

¹ *Ḥisāb m'azirate*. The use of this word is explained by a passage in the *Rauzāt-ut-Tāhirīn* at the beginning of the account of the year 994. It is there stated that 'Abdullah K. wrote to Akbar that Mirzā Shāhrukh had very improperly attacked and plundered some of his villages, and that in consequence he ('Abdullah)

had sent troops to restrain the Mirzā, and that thereupon the Mirzā, acting merely upon suspicion, had abandoned the country and proceeded towards Akbar. The fault then was not "this faqīr's, i.e. 'Abdullāh's, as he had acted out of friendship."



rial claims upon him. Every chastisement that has come upon him has been of the nature of a Divine monition and inspiration. Now that he has awakened from the sleep of negligence, and has turned towards the strong handle of our graciousness, we cannot be otherwise than kind and forgiving to him. We hope that, in accordance with your noble nature, you will overlook his transgressions.

In order to strengthen the foundations of affection, we are sending the wise and loyal Hakīm Hamām, who is a sincere speaker of truth and a rightly-acting disciple. From the beginning of his service he has been in close attendance on us, and we never had the thought of sending him away. When such has been his relationship to us that he has made suggestions to us without the intervention of any one else, if similar treatment be accorded to him in your noble audiences, it will be as if we and you were con-
501 versing directly with one another.

In order to convey our condolences for the death of the pardoned and blessed Sikandar K. we had appointed that reservoir of Saiyidship and high magistrate Ṣadr Jahān, who is one of the great and holy ones of this country. From various causes there has been delay in tendering these. We now are enabled through his kindness to send him.

We are sending some specimens of presents under the charge of the excellent Muḥammad 'Alī along with a separate list. May we always continue to interchange letters and presents! We have been delighted by your procuring and sending fairy-flying pigeons from Farghāna, and the able pigeon fancier, Ḥabīb. We have felt the fragrance of your love and concord in this. Though at first sight the regard for a handful of feathers seems but sportiveness, yet, on further consideration it will appear that the evolutions (*charkh u bāzī*) and play of those birds remind us of the ecstasies of the lords of enthusiasm, and lead to a contemplation of the Deity. God who knows the secrets of the hearts, knows that our apparent and casual occupation with such things is but a veil over the beauty of devotion to the First Cause, and that our soul is not satisfied with the simplicity (*mujarrad*) of outward wings and feathers.

¹ This was Muḥammad 'Alī Khazānci.

*Verse.*

A letter¹ with very special words
Has been composed ; and now, compliments and blessings.

One of the occurrences was a great flood at Sirhind. The rain began on the 28th (Shahrīyūr) (8 September 1586), and continued for three² days and nights. A violent flood came from the northern³ hills, and in the city the water rose to three yards (*gaz*). Outside it was five yards. Nearly 2000 houses were destroyed, and the fort-wall was thrown down for 150 yards. 500 yards of the old garden were destroyed, and 100 of the new one, and much property was carried away by the water. One hundred persons were drowned and 2000 animals. The high road to the capital was closed for a time. The Superintendents of Fate showed this spectacle, and thereby gave warning to those who were sunk in carelessness, and awoke the slumbering. Apparently, H.M.'s fortune was illustrated by such things. If retribution were made for wicked actions, assuredly a typhoon of fire and water would have been necessary. But the right-thinking and truth-seeking of the Ruler saved humanity and so it was not overwhelmed by a day of retribution !

¹ There are three letters to 'Abdullah in the first book of Abul Faẓl's letters. They are not chronologically arranged, for the first one was written ten years after the second and third. Accordingly, it appears in the Akbarnāma III. 704 among the transactions of the 41st year. The second and third letters in the book of letters are nearly identical, and seem to be drafts of one and the same original. The beginning of the letter, which has just been translated, corresponds to the beginning of letter No. 3 of the Maktūbāt, but the rest of it agrees with the second letter. The third is

probably a rejected draft, for it does not appear in the Akbarnāma except as to the beginning, and it contains a still more laboured defence against the charge of impiety.

² I.O. MS. has *se*, thirty instead of *seh*, three, and this seems more likely.

³ The Lucknow edition has *shālī* instead of *shimālī* and speaks, in note 7, of Shālī as a well-known mountain. There is such a mountain in the Simla district, north of Sirhind. See I.G. XII. 374, old edition. Sirhind was famous for its gardens.



CHAPTER XCI.

THE CONQUEST OF THE FLOURISHING COUNTRY OF KASHMĪR THROUGH
THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

It is an old rule that when good intention and choice action meet together in a seeker after fortune, Almighty God grants him the easy realisation of every wish that he may entertain, and even spiritual and physical successes for which he has as yet framed no wish rise up and serve those favourites of fortune who possess those

502 two attributes (good intention and choice action). Accordingly the circumstances of the world's lord tell of this, and this book in some measure recites the fact. The conquest of this country was a new instance. Whoever knows a little about the ravines of the road to it will understand that no thought of strange conquest troubled the minds (of the inhabitants). On all four sides, mountains which raise their heads to heaven act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet a large army cannot march rapidly by them, and in every one of them there are places where if some old men rolled down stones, the bravest of men (lit. men of men) could not pass. On this account, former princes did not think of conquering it and prudence turned them away from such a wish. For a long time H.M. had cherished the thought of conquering it, but the fluent talkers of the court, who could not advance a step beyond superficiality, could not conceive such an idea. When the standards of justice cast their shadow over the Punjab, the thought became keener, and though the leading officers of the court sent out armies badly equipped, the stewards of fate stood firm and worked wonders. In the first place, the wicked Y'aqūb increased in presumption and became refractory. He heard of the confused condition of the victorious army, and abolished the treaty. Panegyrists and flatterers induced him to take the title of Shāh Ismā'il. He took evil ways to be virtues and voluntarily trod the desert of failure. He fell into improper desires, and by his tyrannical exertions stirred up the hearts of the people against himself. He did not do



the work of the world and took part in religious disputes. He was passionate and a molester of mankind. Though in that country the laws of Brahmanism (Hinduism) and of Sākya-mūnī¹ used to prevail, yet for a long time there had been a predominance of the Sunnīs and Shī'as. By Time's jugglery each prevailed over the other for a season, and the booths of self-auctioning were tricked out. By the dexterity of practical men, the screen of moderation had been hung, and the dust of dissension not allowed to rise. But now he (Ya'qūb) drew back the veil of respect and set himself to vex the Sunnīs. He put to death the aged Qāzī² Mūsā, and had his house and home plundered. The dormant turbulence awoke, and Shams Chak came forward to contend for the supremacy and to take vengeance. Muḥammad Bhat—who was the wily Dimna³ of the country—got his opportunity and widened out the arena of evil thoughts. He urged the muddle-headed youth secretly to get rid of Shams⁴ Chak, 'Ali Sher Mākri, Saiyid Husain and the other leaders of that sect (the Sunnīs). They got news of this, and proceeded along the same road that he had intended to pursue (meaning, apparently, that they too meditated assassination). Muḥammad withdrew himself, but was caught after a little search, and when he was put into prison, Shams Chak determined on having the mastery, and became prominent. Ya'qūb also took up arms. Suddenly, the sound of the victorious army robbed high and low of endurance, and by the eloquence of men of the world a peace was brought about. The district of Kāmraj⁵ was surrendered to Shams Chak, but in a short time

¹ Text Shākmūnī.

² Badāyūnī, Lowe 365, says that Ya'qūb killed the Qāzī with his own hand, but this does not appear to be correct. The historians of Kashmīr give some particulars. Ya'qūb, it seems, wanted the Qāzī to enter the name of 'Alī into the public prayers and the Qāzī objected, and said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qūb was offended and sent for the executioner and put him to death. The fullest

account is to be found in B.M. MS. Add. 24,029.

³ One of the two jackals of the Anwārī Suhailī.

⁴ Lawrence, 193, says the Caks were Shī'as, and indeed Ya'qūb was himself a Cak. Either Shamsi Cak was an exception to the rest of his clan, or he was actuated by ambition and not by religious feeling.

⁵ Kāmraj and Marāj were two districts into which Kashmīr was divided, the former being the northern

503 the unfortunate Ya'qūb forgot the agreement and led an army against him, and by alertness got the enemy into his clutches.

When the victorious army marched from Court, there was a daily market of foolish talkers, until it came to the Cīnāb. They imagined that the completion of the work would be very difficult. When they had crossed the river, the news of the bad behaviour of Ya'qūb, the mutual disputes, and the imploring letters of the chief men of the country, and, in particular, of 'Alī Sher Mākri, arrived, one after the other. The skilful who could read the future from the appearance of the present, and recognise the conclusion from the beginning, recited the tale of victory, and prepared¹ for battle. Every one recognised his place. The centre was adorned by the presence of the General. In the right wing were Masnad 'Alī, Fath K., Mubārak K., and others. In the left wing were Jalāl K., and other battle-seeking heroes. In the vanguard were Mirzā 'Alī Akbarshāhī, Gūjar K., Shaiikh Daulat, Sharif Sarmadī and a number of Ahadis and other gallant men. On 21 Shahriyūr (1 September, 1586) they passed through the defile of Bhimbhar. Selīm Zamīndār disappeared (lit. went aside). Qāsim K. wisely made Bahlol his brother's son the chief, and preserved tranquillity. In a short time the devious one (Selīm) also joined the army. In Rajaurī, Bahrām Nā'yīk,² Isma'īl Nā'yīk, and Shānkī Charwar, who were the chief conductors of the Passes, came and paid their respects. They offered up good wishes for the conquest of the country. They represented that the ungrateful Ya'qūb had fled to the corner of contempt, and that the heads of the country were looking forward to the arrival of the army. They said there were two roads from that place (Rajaurī). One was the Kapartal,³ and this was the most open of

half of the valley. J. II. 365 n. 1' It contained the residence of the Caks (at Tārāgāon). See also Stein, Rājataranginī, Book II, verse 15, note.

¹ Text *برده آرای* *barda ārāi* which does not seem intelligible. I adopt the reading of I.O. MS. 235, *nabard ārāi*.

² The passes were in charge of

officers called Nā'yīks, i.e. leaders. See Stein's Rājataranginī II. 391.

³ *کپرتل*. I have not found this place on the maps or in Stein's 'Rājataranginī' or in the Gazetteer. There are several variants as has been pointed out in the note to Elliot V. 464. In I.O. MS. 236, it is Katanbab. B. 380, n. 2, gives the variant *کانمزل* Kanmarīl. The word



the routes. The other was the Pīr Panjāl. They were the warders of both. If they marched quickly, the oppressed would obtain

occurs twice in Nizāmud-dīn, and also again in the A. N., in the account of Akbar's second visit to Kashmīr in the 37th year. See p. 622. Evidently, it was the pass to the Hastī Watar and Hirapūr route, and I incline to think that it must be the same as the Darhāl Valley. Darhāl is about 12 m. N.-E. Rajaurī and on the old Pathan road to the Aliābād Serai (Bates). See also Stein II. 393, who says that the Darhāl and Ruprī Passes are not named in the Chronicles, but as they are the most direct route to (or from) Rajaurī and are crossed without much trouble in the summer months, they are likely to have been used from an early time. It will be remembered that Qāsim entered the passes in the autumn. Near the Darhāl Pass is the Nandan Sar lake. The first syllable of Darhāl probably means gate, and there may have been another and more distinctive name for the pass. There is a place Katarmal marked on Stein's map. This resembles the word Kapartal, but it is in the wrong direction, being about 4 m. N.-W. Rajaurī. The two places Kandal marked on the maps, and lying about 9 m. E. Rajaurī are more in the right direction, and as Karanbal is one of the many variants of Kapartal, it is possible that Kandal represents the place meant by A. F.

The Akrambāl, اکرامبال, Pass mentioned on pp. 504-05 must, I think, be the Kramavarta of Stein. See

his note D, II. 291. Kramavarta was anciently called Kāmbava, *id.* Book III, verse 227; and a place near it, if not the same place, was called Kāmelankotta. Only if this is so, it would seem that the Hastī Watar of A. F. is not the Hastivanj of Stein, for the latter place is west of Kramavarta, whereas Hastī Watar was east of Akrambāl or Kramavarta and nearer to Kashmīr. This too is in accordance with the description at p. 504, l. 7, of the A. N., where we are told that Hastī Watar is the first pass for one coming from Kashmīr and the third for the traveller from India. The three passes here referred to must be the three great passes referred to at p. 504, line 6, which no doubt are the Kapartal, Akrambāl, and Hastī Watar Passes. It cannot be said of Dr. Stein's Hastivanj that it is the first pass from Kashmīr. From A. N. III. 622 it would appear that Hastī Watar was some ten miles beyond Akrambāl, and apparently it was close to Hirapūr (Surapura). It must have been near the place marked Dranga in Stein's map. It will be noticed that the Ruprī route seems to join the Pīr Pantsāl route a little to the east of 'Aliābād Serai. See also Stein, Book I, V. 305, note, where it is stated that at Aliābād Serai the ordinary, or Imperial route is joined from the south by a route which leads past the Nandan Sar lake over the Darhāl Pass to Rajaurī. If Qāsim K. came by the Ruprī Valley



justice and repose. This news was received with delight, and there were feastings. In accordance with the opinions of the skilful and well-intentioned, the Kapartal route was chosen. The new-comers represented that owing to the difficulty of traversing the passes, and the largeness of the army, there would be delay in arriving, and that the Kashmīrī chiefs were waiting¹ on the hill in expectation of the arrival of the army. It would be advisable to send some capable men on in front. The first thing to do was to raise their (the Kashmīrī chiefs') hopes by princely favours, and then to march rapidly into the city, and beat high the drum of victory. These statements were weighed and considered, and Ya'qūb and Jai Tawāchibāshī, and Sher and Selim were sent forward with some musketeers. Shankī Chārwar accompanied them, and the main body of the army followed afterwards. When² they got to the top of the Kapartal Kotal a different state of things appeared. At 504 the top of this pass three walls with a thickness of four yards and a height of ten yards had been erected. Also beams thirty yards long had been intertwined. The ancients too had cast a spell on the place, so that when a foreign army passed, there were snow and ice and hail. Accordingly a wonderful commotion arose. In such a tempest they traversed hills and declivities and arrived near the pass of Akrambāl (?). There the snow increased, and many animals died of the excessive cold. At this time some musketeers who had gone forward with Jai, arrived at the camp in a wounded condition, and reported the treachery of the Kashmīrīs. There were three great passes (*garīma*) on the route, and all the world was eloquent about the difficulty of them. It had been represented that the Kashmīrīs were waiting at Hastī Watar³ which is the third

he would apparently strike the Pir Pantsāl route east of Altābād and possibly also of Hastiavanj which is half a mile lower down the river, i.e. more to the eastward. But if he came by the Ladak Valley he would strike the road at or to the west of Hastiavanj.

¹ That is, waiting to desert Y'aqub and to join Qāsim K.

² See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 201.

³ Colonel Jarrett and the Governor of Jammū, J. II. 347, n. 3, and 383, n. 1, thought that Hastī Watar was a mistake for Hastī Bhanj (the Hastiavanj of Stein's map), but if so, the mistake seems to have been Abul Faḡl's and not his copyist's, for all

range (*garīwa*) from India, and the first from Kashmīr. The advance party did not find them there though it appeared ¹ that a body of men had come and then gone back. They asked Shankī Chārwar ² "Why did they come and why did they go away?" He replied, "Apparently they went back through fear that Ya'qūb would seize the top of the hill." Meanwhile Muḥammad Land, Dilāwar K., Bahādur K. and a number of the Kashmīrī leaders arrived and proceeded to give battle. ³ Shaiḫ Ya'qūb had two wounds and fell, and nearly died. His friends saved him. Jai fell on the ground with twelve wounds. Some fought bravely, and slept the last sleep. All at once there was a storm of rain and snow, and the men were discomposed. Jai has been heard to say that he lost his senses in that snowstorm, and that while he was insensible H.M. appeared to him, and bade him take courage. At that moment his senses returned to him, and he acquired strength. But the many wounds, the heavy snow, the loneliness, and the pangs of hunger bewildered him. Suddenly some men appeared and he was taken up and carried to Shams Cak who treated him kindly and sent him to the city.

The wonderful ⁴ workings of fate were such that when Ya'qūb fell into the slumber of presumption on account of his having seized Shams Chak, he dropped the thread of wisdom from his hands, and became more keen in doing evil. He endeavoured to close the roads.

the MSS. appear to have Watar, وتر, and it is not easy to see how Bhanj could in copying have been changed into Watar. The mistake is more likely if the original word was *vanj* ونج, but even then it is not probable. The text has Satī Watar, the H. of Hastī having been read as the preposition *ba*, but the I.O. MSS. have Hastī Watar. Dr. Stein's valuable paper on the Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl route, J.A.S.B. for 1895, 376, should be consulted. The place Hastīvanj was visited and identified by Dr. Stein and is marked on his map: it is about half a mile below the station of 'Alīābad Serai. It was here

according to tradition that Mihra-kūla had 100 elephants thrown down. I have also contributed a paper on Hastīvanj to the R.A.S.J. for 1904, p. 269.

¹ That is, the scouts saw the marks of a large encampment.

² Cārwarah is a village near Srinagar (Stein).

³ This account is what the advance party gave. The fight was with them and not with the main army.

⁴ See abridged translation of this passage by Chalmers in Noer's Akbar, translation, 202 *et seq.*



He sent forward Abiyā his brother, Abiyā the son of Abdāl Chak, Naurang K., Zafar K., Fath K., Husain K., Bahādur K., and Dilāwar K.—low persons to whom he from arrogance had given those honourable appellations—while he himself remained in the city, making preparations. At this time their views took two forms, and their affairs fell into a bad way. Those whom he had sent forward exerted themselves in closing the defiles, but some were averse to this business and did not take part in it. Haidar Chak, who nourished
505 the ambition to govern the country, was¹ with the victorious army. His son Husain heard that he was coming, and was waiting for him at Baramgala.² Many of the above-mentioned Kashmīrīs had a friendly meeting with Husain, and agreed that if Haidar Chak did not abandon his promises they would join him. He should leave the (imperial) army and come to them, and they would turn back the army by various presents and by cajolery. Kashmīr would get repose. Fath 'Alī, who presumptuously had the title of Naurang K., did not approve of this plan, so they degraded him. The two Abiyās contrived by pretences to abscond. The Nāyiks, who were the guardians of the passes, were sent (by Husain and his party) to make supplications. The notion was to take some of the imperial servants with them, and to honour the pulpits by announcing there the name of the world's lord, and to turn back the officers by the power of presents.

In brief Ya'qūb had come to Hirapūr³ intending to fight, but became bewildered by finding that the Kashmīrīs were disgusted with him. Husain K., his paternal uncle, also left him and joined those Kashmīrīs. He held a meeting of the instruments of his own ignorance, and sat to consider how matters could be remedied. The resolution came to was that they should release from confinement Shams Chak and Muḥammad Bhat, and that they should conduct affairs according to the counsels of these two men. When he brought out those two strifemongers, they from spite represented that the

¹ The text has a conjunction before the verb, but this seems superfluous. Perhaps, is a mistake for, he.

² Properly Bahramgalla. It is the entrance to Kashmīr, and is 24 miles

from Rajaurī. The ascent to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass begins here. It is the Bhairavgala of Śrivarā's Chronicle (Stein).

³ On the Pīr Pantsāl route. Properly Sūrapūra or Hirapūr.



proper course was that he should for some days live apart from commotion, and should take refuge in Kistwāra.¹ When he had taken some repose and had come to distinguish friend from foe, he should display activity. With a thousand failures he withdrew to that obscure place. On the way those two turbulent men separated themselves and took many with them.

At this time, when the Kashmīrīs were on the hill, looking for the coming of Ḥaidar Chak, they were bewildered by receiving a letter from him. It said that he was guarded, and that it would be very difficult for him to get away, and very difficult to induce the officers to turn back. The Kashmīrīs were disgusted at this (letter) and had a gathering at Hirapūr. They made Husain Chak their leader, and turned their attention to fighting. Meanwhile Shams Chak arrived, and they set aside the new ruler, and joined him. They sent a force to the Pass with the design of fighting, and it was from it that the injury happened to Shaiḡh Ya'qūb and Jai.

When the imperial officers came to know, near Akrambāl, the truth about their evil intentions, they imprisoned their² visitors, and were more careful in guarding Ḥaidar Chak. They held a council (jānqī) and deliberated about crossing the Hastī Watar ridge, and entering into the country (of Kashmīr). Some were distressed by the snow and sleet, and spoke foolishly about turning back, and spoke about tarrying. Qāsim K., and some acute men set about advancing, and the others were compelled to do the same. At this time Shams Chak sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He began the same story that had been made use of to Mirzā Shāhruḡh. The reply was that this time, humbug would not succeed. The order was that they should purge Kashmīr of presumptuous and turbulent persons. Let every one who was fortunate join the victorious army, and sit under the shade of clemency. They did not accept the words of wisdom and prepared for battle. Qāsim K. proceeded on the 19th Mihr, 10 October 1586, to engage with a high courage. The enemy too drew up their forces. That turbulent fellow (Shams Chak) was

¹ Text Kathwārā. Ya'qūb's father-in-law lived there. See J. II. 310, and I. G. Kistāwār. The town is on l. bank Chīnāb and used to be capital of a small principality. It is S.-E.

Srīnagar, and outside of the valley. A. F. in Ā'in includes it in the province of Lahore.

² That is, the Nayīks who had joined them at Rajaurī.

in the centre, Zafar was on the right wing, Shams Dūlī on the left, Husain Chak in the van (*talī'a*) and Muḥ Bhat in the rear. When the imperial advance-guard came to the Pass, muskets were fired and stones thrown from the forts (*sirkobhā*), and on account of the pressure of the enemy, and the narrowness of the ground, they were driven back on the left wing. Qāsim was indignant at this repulse, and personally went to the place. He sent forward Sharif Sarmadī, Mir 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Jalālud-dīn Mas'ūd, Hājī Muḥ. Tarshī-zī and Mir Shāh Muḥ. He also took as his companion Khanjarī who had turned back from the left wing. Muḥ. Chak,¹ one of the brave men of Kashmir, ran from the right wing. A combatant named Lākha² engaged him. They gripped one another, and together rolled down. The spectators were amazed and uttered cries of astonishment. In the heat of the fight Zafar³ was struck by a bullet, and the army at once dispersed. Other troops had not come up when the buffet of God's hand smote the faces of the rebellious, and the great force broke up. The drum of success beat high, and the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhīnshāh produced another victory. The advance-guard and the left wing pursued, and halted at the bottom of the pass. Qāsim and the others cautiously took post on the top. Yādgār Husain and some other active men were sent on to Srinagar, the capital. On 24 Mihr (6 October) the pulpits were exalted by the sublime name of the Lord of the Diadem. The ignorant, wild people were pacified by the administration of justice and by increase of love.⁴ When the army was encamped four kos from Srinagar, Ḥaidar Chak went off to the city without leave. Some uneasiness arose in the camp on account of this, but it soon subsided. On the 25th⁵ (Mihr?) Qāsim entered the delightful resi-

¹ Ḥaidar Malik calls him a son of Shamsi Chak.

² He was a Rājput.

³ Ḥaidar M. calls him Zafar K. Nayik.

⁴ Mihr-afzūnī. Apparently, there is a play on the double meaning of mihr, which signifies one of the solar months, and also love.

⁵ The MSS. make the date 23

Ābān, or nearly a month later than 25 Mihr. But it is very unlikely that Ābān is correct, for Ḥaidar Malik represents the entry of Qāsim as having taken place immediately after the proclamation. The probability then is that the emendation of the editors is right, if it be an emendation, and not what they found in their MSS. It is 23 Ābān



dence of Srinagar, and there were various joys. On that day Haidar Chak joined with a large number of men while the army was still on the march, but Qāsim prudently prevented him from interfering (*laṣarraf*) and so erased characters of apprehension from men's hearts.

Nine hundred years before this, in the time of Anat Ilā'il the 507

in I.O. MS. 236, in the Cawnpore MS. and in a MS. of my own. I.O. MS. 235 has not the passage; see its 648th page. Haidar Chak says that the army entered the city on the day after the battle, which, apparently, makes it enter on 20 Mihr. He adds that Haidar Chak was in the city for five days, and then was put into confinement.

¹ Text انت ايلال, but there are several variants. I.O. MS. 236 has apparently "At Palapal," ات پالپل. I believe that the name is intended to be the same as Utpalāpīra, the son of Ajayapīra the last king of the fifth (or sixth) dynasty, and who according to some MSS. reigned for two years. See J. II. 375. Gladwin calls this prince Atbalanund, and Tiefenthaler I. 94, Anandbed. Apparently he corresponds to the Lalitāpīda of the Rājtaranginī. See Stein's Rājataranginī Book IV. V. 678. Lalitāpīda had a son by the daughter of a spirit-distiller, and her brothers afterwards acquired supreme power. Their dynasty lasted from A.D. 813 to 850. Stein, *id.* verse 703. Lalitāpīra's reign then would correspond to about 196 A.H. or A.D. 812 or nearly 800 years before Qāsim K.'s conquest in 1586, which is a sufficiently near approximation to A. F.'s 900 years. In J. II. 376 the dynasty

which succeeded Utpalāpīra is said to have been Camārs by caste. But in two MSS. which I have consulted there are no dots on the first letter of this word, which is written there hamār, حمار. I believe that the word really is خمار or خمار Khamār or Khammār, wine-sellers, which therefore agrees with the *bāda faroshān* of A. F. and the *kalya-pāla* of the Rājtaranginī, *id.* v. 678. According to the Rājtaranginī Lalitāpīda was a wicked and dissolute prince. He was succeeded by Saṅgrāmāpīda, and he by Cippaṭa-jayāpīda, also called Vrihaspati, and who was the young son of Lalitāpīda by a spirit-distiller's daughter. It was her brothers who usurped the power. They ruled till A.D. 850, and then there was a contest, and eventually Utpalāpīda the son of Ajitāpīda became king. According to the Rājtaranginī he was a king set up by the spirit-distiller Utpada's son Sukhavarman, and apparently he belonged to that caste, for his grandmother was Jayadevī, though Stein says she is different from the Jayadevī the spirit-distiller's daughter. Utpalāpīda was dethroned and succeeded by Avantivarman in A.D. 855-6. According to A. F. and Stein I. 137 there were only 15 princes of the Utpala dynasty, Avantivarman

ruler of Kashmīr, this conquest had been prophesied. Accordingly, ancient records speak of it. By the jugglery of fortune, wine-sellers had obtained the supremacy, and there was a hot season of flagon-draining and of oppression. Shiv¹ Dat, a brahman, lived in Srinagar in the street of Rathpūr. He was singular for his good qualities and he had a consort who had few peers for beauty and chastity. He was continually distressed by² the vogue of the polluted, and was always imploring the Deity for deliverance from that set of tyrants. A knowing and skilful man taught him the science of *baitāl*³ *sādhana*, for the sages of India regard the *baitāl* as a holy spirit, and *sādhana* means the rules for causing his appearance. Whenever he comes, he tells the truth about every thing. Whoever shall cause his appearance must practise certain rites for several days, and must recite special charms. On the last day he must, on the dark⁴ 14th of the moon, and in an appropriate hour, stretch out a human corpse, perfect in its limbs, in a place where bodies are cremated, and which

being the first. But if we take Lalitāpīḍa as the prince in whose time the ghost-story occurred, we have twenty princes, or exactly the number mentioned in text, and we have a still nearer approximation to the 900 years before 1586 or 994, the five additional princes having reigned over 60 years. The Utpala dynasty was succeeded by Yasāskara deva (the Jasasra of J. II. 376) who apparently was of the Kāyath or Sudra caste. According to A. F., J. II. 378, the Deva (or Kāyath) dynasty lasted till the throne fell to a Muhammadan (Shamsud-dīn). Ghāzī Cak became king in the middle of the 16th century, and the line of independent kings of Kashmīr ended with Ya'qūb.

¹ The I.O. MS. 236 calls the brahman Sevat سوات and the text has the variant Sūrat, which is also

that given by Chalmers. As the brahman appears to have recorded the story in Hindī, that is, in Sanskrit verse, he is perhaps the Survata, who was one of Kalhana's predecessors, and who is mentioned in Stein's Introduction, I. 24. Muhammadan rule began in Kashmīr about A.D. 1340. The word which I have translated "street" is *barsan*. I cannot find Rathpūr on Stein's plan of Srinagar.

² Hangāma. The variant "nigāh hā," glances, is supported by the I.O. MSS.

³ Both words are spelled in the text. The Betāl, Sanskrit Vetala, is a spirit which inhabits corpses. See the Baitāl Pachaīśī.

⁴ i.e. apparently the 29th day of the lunar month. See Jarrett II. 17. The dark fortnight is the 14th day of the Kishnpachh or dark fortnight of the moon.



is called a *masān*,¹ and must make it fast² on all four sides with iron nails. He must then seat himself on the shoulder of the corpse, and light a lamp in a human skull, the wick being made from a shroud, and the oil from human fat. He must then breathe charms upon human teeth³ and strew the latter like flowers over the fallen body. By the power of God⁴ terrific forms make their appearance, and if the heart of the necromancer does not fail him, the corpse begins to move, and utters awful sounds. Thereafter the spirit assumes a moderate aspect and asks, "Why have you called me, and why is all this pain?" It will then answer the questions put to it, and the inquirer will obtain a remedy in matters that are practicable, and in others he will be taught patience. The oppressed brahman set about collecting the materials, and after much search obtained a body such as was wanted. But some things he had not got, and he was perplexed how to keep what he had got. He could not take the corpse to the city, and he was afraid it would be damaged if kept in the country. He made it up like a bundle (*boqcha*), and deposited it in the house of a tanner of his acquaintance so that in that odoriferous place his secret would not be revealed. He himself went off to complete his arrangements. At midnight, the spirit, who had become apprised of the facts, cried out to the tanner. The latter was somewhat terrified, but the ghost spoke reassuringly to him and said: "A certain brahman is suffering much; tell him the period of the unjust rulers will be a long one. Let him draw his feet inside the robe of patience and refrain from restlessness. Twenty persons of that set will sit, one after the other, on the throne of power. When the time of those oppressors shall have passed away, the government of this country will come to the caste of the Kāyaths, and after that, men of the Muḥammadan faith will bear rule. The appointed time of each dynasty must pass away, and

¹ Text *sasān*, but *masān* in I.O. MSS. It is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit *śmashān* (Forbes's Dict. meaning a burning place).

² I presume that this means pegging down the body at the head, feet and sides.

³ The MSS. vary; I.O. MS. 236 has *dand-ān*, meaning, I suppose, the ribs, but apparently, teeth are what is meant. Perhaps there is here a reminiscence of Cadmus.

⁴ *nabard*: battle or contest, but the MSS. have *Yazdī*.



when the turn of the Chaks¹ arrives, several of that family will prevail.
508 Their sway will pass away at the eighth succession, and one of the mighty in spiritual and temporal matters, and whose thoughts, actions, and speech are devoted to the accomplishment of the Divine Will shall sit and deal justly by this country." When the brahman came to the tanner's house, he learned what had happened, and withdrew his hand from his undertaking, and sate down in the corner of obscurity. The incidents were recorded to Hindī verse, and old histories and stone-tablets tell of them. Sultān Zainul-'Ābidīn—who is also called Baddū Shāh,² and who is world-famous among the rulers of Kashmīr, used continually to say that the government of the country would soon pass to the Chaks, and that afterwards it would be wrested from them.

At the time when there was a loud report in Kashmīr of the coming of M. Shāhrukh and Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Yūsuf the ruler went to Wāḥid³ Ṣāfi in Panj Brāra, and begged for inspiration. That servant of God, and man of enlightened heart, replied that though this army would turn back in the middle of the road, yet the Incomparable Deity had given the country to the spiritual and secular monarch. His soldiers would soon arrive.

When the news of the conquest reached the sublime Court, there was an increase of thanksgivings to God, and the deserving servants were exalted by various favours. The truth of the statements of the Hindū astrologers was revealed. In the beginning of Ābān the solar weighment took place. It was made against twelve articles. There was a great feast, and the needy had their heart-desires gratified. On this day Rāja Bhagwant Dās performed the prostration. The story of his madness and desire to commit suicide has been described. When he had recovered by the attentions of H.M., he turned his face to the court. On the 4th the quarters of

¹ The Chaks came from the north, and are supposed to be foreigners.

² Zainul-'Ābidīn came to the throne in 1407 and reigned 52 years. A. F. refers to his prophecy in the Ā'in, J. II. 388. His other name is written Badū there. Perhaps it is short for Bādshāh.

³ Perhaps this is a title, meaning "The Unitarian Ṣāfi." Wāḥid Ṣāfi is described at p. 549 of A. N., and at 551, a visit paid to him by Akbar is described.

Karam Ullāh Kambū were made glorious by H M.'s advent. Lofty palaces had been erected, and he had long nourished this wish in his heart (that Akbar would visit his house). As the gratification of desires is one of H.M.'s principles, Karam Ullāh's petition was granted, and he obtained an eternal blessing. There was largesse and there were presents, some of which were accepted.

One of the occurrences¹ was that Ya'qūb made a night attack, and retreated after failure. The Kashmīrī scoundrels brought him out of the defiles of Kistwāra, and many gathered round him. He stirred up strife at Chandarkot² seven kos from Panj Brāra.³ Mubārak, Shaikh Daulat and other brave men hastened to the spot. He did not think himself strong enough to fight by day, and so determined on a night attack. He wished to engage with those who had come in advance. Some represented that the general was behaving with some negligence in the city, now that he had sent off the troops. Ya'qūb left some men to oppose them, and went off towards the city. On the 20th he passed Sa'dīwāra,⁴ and at midnight entered the city. He found some scouts asleep, and put them to death. Ya'qūb and many scoundrels made a commotion at the principal gate. Qāsim and some gallant men displayed great courage, Sharīf Sarmadī and Hājī 509 Muḥ. of Tarshīz (near Nishāpūr) fought bravely. As they were not easy in their minds about the prisoner Haidar Chak, they put him to death. Some Kashmīrīs got into boats and made a tumult at the wicket-gate which opens on that side. Tūfān Kabuli, the Qāzizāda, and others stood firm. A body of men made a commotion at the gate which leads into the city. Mīr Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī and others maintained their ground. The leader of the band was killed by a bullet. Some made an attack on Mīrzā 'Alī Akbarshāhī. Ayyūb

¹ See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 204. It appears from Haidar Malik's Chronicle that Bahādūr the Rajah of Kishtwāra was Ya'qūb's father-in-law.

² I cannot find this place. Perhaps it is on the Candra Bhāga, i.e. the upper course of the Cīnāb. Haidar calls it Candarkot.

³ Panj, or Pānch, Brāra is the Bij Bihāra of the maps and of Bates, and is properly Vijayesvara, Stein II. 464, and is situated on both sides of the Jhelam and about 30 m. E.S.E. Srīnagar.

⁴ S'aadī Manzil in text but I.O. MS. 236 supports the variant.



Beg, Yār Beg and Mūmin Aḥadis distinguished themselves. In this engagement Ṣalīḥ Beg was killed. The soldiers prevailed over every house, and in every corner there were hot encounters. After much contest, victory, by the help of God, declared itself. On the other side of the river, Fath K.,² on hearing of the news, had sent his son Muḥammad K. with a body of troops. He came on, beating his drums. On the other side, Khanjarī, Shādāb,³ Askaran and others beat their drums, and advanced. On hearing the noise of these outside drums, the enemy became demoralised, and by daily-increasing fortune the setting fire to the city by the Kashmīrīs made them still more broken. By the illumination thereof, the skilful marksmen shot down many. At the end of the night the enemy withdrew after a thousand failures, and many lost their lives in the flight. At dawn Mirzā Ālī Akbar Shāhī, Gūjar K., Muh. K. and others followed swiftly in pursuit. Owing to the country's being unknown, the turbulent fellow (Ya'qūb) escaped, and went towards Desū.⁴

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of the ruler of Tatta. Though the titular prince of that country was Mirzā Pāyinda Muḥammad Arghūn, he was insane and could not govern the country. His son Mirzā Jānī conducted affairs. On the 28th (Ābān 7 November 1586) Saiyid Jalāl, who was one of the nobles of the country, had the bliss of an audience. He presented petitions and gifts. The former contained the submissions of the nobles, and excuses for the ruler's not coming in person. The Shāhinshāh accepted these and treated the envoy with favour. After satisfying his desires he dismissed him. On 5 Āzar 16 November Rāja Bāsū⁵ did homage with an ashamed face and a repentant heart. He was one of the zamīndārs of the northern hills of the Panjab. He used always to be obedient and behave well. At the time when the august standards cast their shadow over that province, he, from perverse fate, became refractory. Accordingly, Ḥusain Beg, Shaikh 'Umri,

¹ *Har khāna*. But the reading is doubtful. Perhaps it is *sir-khāna*, the 'top of the house, viz. M. 'Alī's. Or *Harkhāna* may be a place-name.

² B. 523.

³ The variant Sādāt, "the Saiyids," is supported by the I.O. MSS.

⁴ Perhaps the Devasarasa of Stein's map, and the Devsar of J. II. 362, 369. But some MSS. seem to have Veso or Weso, and the place may be the Veshau (Wasī) of J. II. 362, and the Kosah Nāg of Vigne.

⁵ Of Mau, or Nūrpūr, J. II. 331.



Hājī Siyandūk, Qambar Be, Qarā Beg, and Nāzīr Daulat were sent. If he did not listen to counsel, he was to be punished. Rajah Todar Mal wrote a letter to him, and warned him of the danger of disobedience. The troops had arrived at Pathān¹ when the receipt of the Rajah's letter roused him from slumber. He came and paid his respects to the imperial servants, and then accompanied them to Court.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to punish the Tārīkīs. Whosoever's star is declining, takes the road of failure of his own accord, and soon receives the retribution of his evil thoughts. Such was the fate of the Mohmand and Ghorī tribes. They had 10,000 households in Peshawar. They were aware that good service was a means of deliverance (and) at this time when they were oppressed they should have petitioned the august court, but from shortsightedness and wickedness they made Jalāla Tārīkī their leader. The life of Saiyid Hāmīd² Bokhārī was lost in battle with them. He was the fief holder of Peshāwar and he had gone there as he had the charge of guarding³ (the road to) Afghanistan. His soldiers went back to the jāgīr in India, and he was negligently passing his time with a few companions in the fort of Bīkrām⁴. He left the work of administration to one who was Mūsā (Moses) in name but not in wisdom. Without having examined into his character he gave into his hands the administration of justice. He did not perceive that in such matters, length of time in service was of no avail. Mūsā from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour. The latter from want of judgment joined hands with that scoundrel (Jalāla) and made a commotion near Bīkrām. On account of the smallness of his force, Saiyid Hāmīd was minded to shut himself up in the fort till the arrival of his brethren and of the soldiers of Kabul

¹ Bathān in text, but Pathān in I.O. MS. 236. It is probably the place mentioned in B. 616 and 56 as 45 kos N. Lahore, and as a place where ice was brought from.

² B. 397. Elliot V. 255, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 366.

³ Kishk-i-Kābul dāshtā. Lit. "He

had got the baton of Kabul," i.e. he had been appointed to keep the roads clear, and so had come to Peshawar.

⁴ Bīkrām or Begram seems another name for Peshawar. See Jarrett II. 405: "The Tumān of Bīgrām is called Parashawar."



and Attock. But, owing to the suggestions of short-sighted persons, he could not manage this. He sent a man to find out the circumstances of the enemy, and he, from ignorance or malice, reported them to be few in number and to be disorganised. Without making a thorough investigation, he sallied out with 150 men and hotly engaged. Though in the beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not turn back. In the hand-to-hand fight his horse fell into a canal¹ and he was killed. Forty of his relatives fell bravely along with him. Afterwards, the Afghāns surrounded the fort. His young son Saiyid Kamāl with a few men stood firm, and defended it. On receipt of this intelligence Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Shāikh Farīd Bokhārī, Tāsh Beg K., and many other officers were sent off, on the 7th (Āzar, end of November) under the command of the Kokaltāsh (Zain K). An order was sent that, if necessary, Kunwar Mān Singh should send a force from Kābul, and special instructions (*yarlīgh*) were issued to Mādhū Singh that he should, before the arrival of the imperial army, march from the station (thānah) of Langarkot² to Begrām, with Rājah Bhagwant Dās's troops.

One of the occurrences was the improvement (lit. the irrigating) of the empire (lit. the four gardens of dominion). The whole energies of the Shāhinshāh are devoted to the soothment of mankind, 511 and scrutiny (*pāīshunāsī*) and justice increase daily. As he considers that sovereignty means guardianship, he makes no distinction between pain and pleasure. He regards additions to dominion as a means of devotion to God, and sovereignty as the companion of service. With this view he appointed truthful and wise men in every province that they might duly apportion chastisement and benevolence, and not, from greed, or timidity, fail to do what was proper (?). He also appointed rightly-acting clerks to the lofty offices of Diwān and Bakhshī. He made double the thread of justice (*dād³ u sitād*) (i.e. he strengthened the administration).

¹ *Jūī*. A variant has *goī* a hole and we find this in the *Maagir II*. 399.

² *Langar* is marked on map No. 32, of I. G. Atlas, E. of Indus and S. Attock. But according to *Badāyūnī*, Lowe, 366, Mādhū was then at Ohind

(i.e. Und) which is on west bank Indus and 15 m. above Attock.

³ The expression "giving and taking" generally means commerce, or trafficking, and perhaps does so here.



Inasmuch as lust and anger destroy the world and the good are made bad by evil companionship, the sovereign practised foresight in every thing, and adorned the garden of the world by distributing work, and taking it from one man and giving it to another. With this view he on the 14th nominated two able officers to every province so that if one came to court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a *Diwān*, and a *Bakhshī*. Allahabād was made over to *Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmād K.*, and 'Abdu-l-Mottalib K.; *Raḥmān Qulī* was made *Diwān*, and Jaffar Beg *Bakhshī*. Oudh was made over to *Fath K.* and *Qāsim 'Alī K.* *Mullā Nāzīr* being made *Diwān* and *Tārā Cand Bakhshī*. Ajmīr was entrusted to *Jagannāth* and *Rai Durgā*, *Mujāhid* was *Diwān*, and *Sulṭān Qulī*, *Bakhshī*. *Aḥmadābād* was made over to the *Khān-khānān* and *Qulij K.*, *Abu-l-qāsim* was the *Diwān*, and *Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad*, *Bakhshī*. *Bihār* was made over to *Sa'īd K.* and *M. Yūsuf K.*, *Rai Pattar Dās* became *Diwān*, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, *Bakhshī*. Bengal to *Wazīr K.*, and *Muhibb 'Alī K.*, *Karm Ullah* was *Diwān*, and *Shahbāz K.*, *Bakhshī*. Multān to *Ṣādiq K.* and *Ismā'īl Qulī K.*, *Khwājah 'Abd-us-Ṣamad* was made *Diwān*, and *Muqīm Bakhshī*. Agra the capital was made over to *Shaiḥ Ibrāhīm* and *Rājah Askaran*, *Muhibb 'Alī* was *Diwān*, and *Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk*, *Bakhshī*. Delhi was made over to *Shāh Qulī K.* *Maḥram* and the writer¹ of this noble volume, *Taiyib*, was *Diwān*, and *Ḥasan K.*, *Bakhshī*. Kabul was made over to *Kunwar Mān Singh* and *Zain K. Kokā*. *Nizām-ul-mulk* was *Diwān* and *Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Bakhshī*. Mālwa to the *Khān Ā'zam* and *Naurang K.*, *Mukhtār Beg* was made *Diwān*, and *Fath Ullah Bakhshī*. Lahore was entrusted to *Rājah Bhagwant Dās* and *Rāi Rāi Singh*. As the court was there, the palace *Diwān* and *Bakhshī* were sufficient.

One of the occurrences was the death of *Kalah Sisūdiah*. He belonged to the *Rānā's* tribe, and used to spend his time with him. By his good fortune he entered into service (under Akbar) and received favours. But owing to his evil star and darkened intellect he absconded. *Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn* and *Rām Chand* were ordered to pursue him. They were to come up with him, and give him good

¹ B.'s statement, p. xv, that he was made *diwān* does not seem to be correct.



counsel. If he accepted it, he was not to be injured, and be
512 brought to Court. Otherwise they were to put him to death. They travelled 180 *kos*, and arrived at the town of Fathpūr. He was hot-headed, and withdrew his heart from them. They communicated their instructions, and the presumptuous fellow took graciousness to be timidity, and in company with nine others set himself to fight. He and two others were killed and the others were admitted to quarter.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Alī Murād. One of the Shaikhzādahs of India, by name Shāh Muḥammad, was for a long time his servant. He could not endure disagreeables, and always displayed insolence. His master overlooked this, and gave his endurance of it the appellation of appreciativeness and patience. Whoever does not distinguish between the season for chastisement and the season for forbearance will assuredly fall into great trouble. 'Alī Murād had a jagir in pargana Barodah¹ which belongs to the province of Ajmīr, and one day he was enjoying the sport of hawking. The Shaikhzāda came and performed the *kornish* (i.e. saluted) with his left hand. When his master interrogated him about this, he said he kept his right arm for his sword, and not for paying respects. He also used disrespectful language. The other, whose life was running out, abused him. The attendants rushed forward to seize and strike him. He drew his dagger and ran at them, and they, out of cowardice, retired. He wounded 'Alī Murād on the right arm, and the latter² set down his hawk and addressed himself to fighting. He received another wound and fell with two severe wounds. One of the companions settled the business of that ingrate, and in a short space of time that brave man ('Alī Murād) also died.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Tārīkīs. In the beginning of Mihr (middle September 1586) M. Sulaimān came to Kābul. As he had a desire to go to court, Kunwar Mān Singh left Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Khāfi and others to manage Kābul and became the Mīrzā's guide. He was seized³ with fever at Pesh Bulāq⁴ near

¹ In Sarkār Rantanbhor, J. II. 275.

² According to I.O. MS. 236, he dashed the hawk in his face.

³ See Chalmers' translation, Noer's Akbar, translation II. 210.

⁴ Marked on Elphinstone's map some 15 or 20 m. S. Jalālabad. The Pesh Bulāq of Tūzuk J. 129.



Jalālābād and became very ill. The scoundrels were arrogant on account of the killing of Saiyid Hāmid, imbibed new hopes from this unseasonable delay, and their turbulence increased. They abandoned the siege of the fort (Begrām) and formed evil designs. The Mahmānd and Ghori tribes made heaps of stones in both the Khaibar roads from Peshāwar to Tirāh and fortified them. The Yūsufzais and other Afghāns supported them in their wickedness.

Tirāh is a hill-country 32 kos long (i.e. from E. to W.) and 12 broad. On the E. is Peshāwar, W. Maidān,¹ N. Bāra, S. the district of Qandahār. It has defiles full of ups and downs and difficult of traverse. As the victorious army that had been despatched from court 513 (the Kokaltāsh's) was late in arriving, and Kunwar Mān Singh was ill at that time, and suffered pains for a month and a half, the Afghāns thought of attacking the Kunwar. Meanwhile he got better, and set his heart upon punishing them. He left Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Jānish Bahādur, the Atāliq, Khwājī Muhammad Husain, Ghāzī K. of Qazwīn, and his own son Himmat Singh and many others with the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) and took with himself Takhtah Beg and others, to the number of 3000 horse. His idea was to get to Tirāh by route of Narwān,² and to attack from there the Afridīs who were the leaven

¹ As Col. Jarrett remarks, II. 278 n. 3. Abu-l-Fazl always uses Bakhtar for W. and Khāwar for E. Maidān is apparently the Maidānī hills of the I. G., and Bāra is probably the river of that name and which is a tributary of the Kābul river. The boundary S. Qandahār is obscure. Tirāh lies a long way E.N.E. Qandahar, but perhaps the outlying parts of Qandahar are meant. The words rūh Qandahār may mean "in the direction of Qandahār." Tirāh is S.S.W. of Peshawar. It was the seat of the campaign of 1897. There is a map of Tirāh in Yate's life of Col. J. Haughton, Murray 1900. The text speaks of two Khaibar roads being fortified. Perhaps the meaning is

that coming and going were stopped. The word for heaps of stones is *sangchīn*, for which see Vullers s.v. Perhaps rough walls are meant.

² Or Nārdān. Nārwan or Nārwan is a name for a pomegranate tree and thus may be the name of a pass. The word occurs in the Maagir II. 245, which here copies the Akbar-nāma. But the rāh nārwan of Abul Fazl may be rāh na-rawān "an unknown or unused route," and the meaning be that Mān Singh intended to reach Tirāh by a new route. Chalmers has Marwān, so perhaps the place is the Mardanak of the maps. Or it may be the Mamain Pass leading down from Pesh Būlāq. I have not identified the Shādī ravine. The word occurs twice, viz. at pp.

of the disturbance, and by the same route to come by the ravine of Shādī (?) to 'Alī Masjid in order that the (two) armies might join, and the road be opened. Sakit Singh, son of Mān Singh Darbārī and Zain-ud dīn 'Alī, who were going to Kābul, hastened off to Begrām as soon as they heard of the catastrophe of Saiyid Ḥamid. On account of the roads being closed, they had halted there. Also Mādhū Singh had arrived near Attock with the troops of Rājah Bhagwant Dās.

With these ideas Mān Singh marched rapidly from Pesh Būlāq on 3 Dai (about 13 December). He marched all night and at morning reached the pass of Chahār Chobah.¹ It was snowed up. With difficulty he traversed heights and hollows and arrived at Bāzarak. Next day an army under Muḥ. Qulī Beg attacked the Afrīdis and collected much spoil. Some thought they should return and convey the plunder to a depot, and march on afterwards. This view was not accepted and they pushed on. They marched by the defile of Chorah and climbed the hills. They passed by the homes of the Ghorī tribe, who saved themselves by submitting. When they came into the defiles, Jalālah appeared from behind, and Afghāns pressed

513 and 514, and each time is succeeded by the word *ekbārgī*. It is possible that this last word is a clerical error for Bagādī, and the ravine be the Shādī Bagādī gorge of the I. G. VIII. 125 and the Shādī Bagian, or Wolf's mouth of Col. Hanna's Second Afghān War, II. 7. The Shādī Bagāda is a gorge N. Jamrud and is marked on Scott's Reconnaissance map of the Khaibar, but Mān Singh would hardly come by it if he was going to 'Alī Masjid. But perhaps his idea was to turn the Khaibar.

It seems to me doubtful if Mān Singh went from Pesh Būlāq by the Khaibar. It seems as if it would have been unnecessary to do so to get at Tīrah. He probably went there direct and came to 'Alī Masjid

by the east end of the pass, eventually passing through the Khaibar when joined by the troops from India, and when he went to escort M. Sulaimān. I do not know where the Chār Choba Pass mentioned on p. 513 is. The Chora mentioned further on may be the Chora road mentioned by Mohan Lal, ed. 1846, p. 59, who says it is passable for camels and horses. Bāzarak mentioned in text may be the place marked on the maps as Bāzār, west of Jamrud. Both Pesh Būlāq and Bāzār are marked on the map of the Survey operations during the campaign of 1878-79.

¹ Cārjūia—"The four streams" according to I.O. MS. 236. A place called Bāzarak-i-Nāo is marked on maps E. Pesh Būlāq.



upon them from every side. Takhtah Beg and other heroes of the rearguard carried on a strenuous fight. And when they were in difficulties, Kunwar Mān Singh halted, and sent reinforcements. After much fighting the enemy desisted from their insolence. He left his eldest son Jagat Singh with the rearguard and went on towards 'Alī Masjid. In a short time the wicked wretches again gathered on every side, and the position became more difficult. There was no plain where they could fight properly and no shelter which might be of use so that the shooting of arrows, and rolling of stones, might come to an end. The brave men contended at close quarters with the enemy, and there were occasionally wonderful combats. Suddenly a somewhat open place was seen. Mān Singh, contrary to the opinion of his companions, stood firm there, and Takhtah Beg and some Kābulis entered into the fight. Afterwards Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Nūram Kokah, and other active men of the 514 vanguard took part, and wonderful deeds were done. When things were critical, the breeze of victory arose, the enemy was defeated, and retreated by narrow defiles. Thanks were offered to God, and there was great joy. Some were of opinion that as the day was nearly ended, they should encamp on the field of victory, and many thought it would be proper to go to 'Alī Masjid, which was two *kos* distant. As there was scarcity of water, they set off. Muḥ Qulī took charge of the rear. The army reached the station, at the beginning of evening, by the Shādī route. Jalālah lay in wait there when a watch of the night had passed, and the Afghāns collected here and there. Some thought that they should sally out at dawn, and prevail over the foe; but as they were much fatigued, they did not do so. After midday, Mādhū Singh appeared with Rajah Bhagwant Das's force, and the Tārikīs at once dispersed. Most of the experienced men were of opinion that Man Singh should remain there, and that some officers should go off, and bring in the great caravan by the Khaibar route. But out of regard to M. Sulaimān, and the numerous families and their baggage, (Man Singh) went by the Khaibar to Pesh Būlāq and brought the Mīrzā and the caravan to Begrām (Peshawar) by the Kharapa¹

¹ Or Karpāh. "The Currapa Pass which leads from Peshawar to Jalālah-

bad is in the Mohmand country: it is sometimes travelled, but as it