

ART V.—*An unpublished Mogul Inscription at the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi.*

(Read on the 17th October 1918.)

I

On my return to Rawalpindi on my way back to Bombay from Kashmir, during my second visit of the beautiful valley in 1915, I had paid a short visit on 16th July 1915 to the excavations of Taxala situated at about 20 miles from Rawalpindi. On my way back from the excavations, I halted at the Margalla Pass which is situated at about 15 miles from Rawalpindi, to see there, the great monument in honour of General John Nicholson (died 23rd September 1857, aged 34), erected by his British and Indian friends to commemorate his services in the "four great wars for the defence of British India" and to commemorate "his civil rule in the Punjab" and "his share in its conquest."¹ As I had then in mind the movement of the erection at Sanjan, of a Memorial Column by my community to commemorate the event of the landing in Gujarat of our forefathers, the Iranian Pilgrim fathers, after the Arab conquest of Persia, I had some special interest in examining the structure of the monument. While going to the monument from an old Mogul road on the right, I happened to see on my right, a Persian tablet in a rock. I asked the keeper in charge of the monument to produce a ladder, so that I could examine and copy the inscription. I waited for some time, but, as he could not turn up in time with the ladder and as I had to return to Rawalpindi in time to prepare for, and catch, the one o'clock train for Bombay, I had reluctantly to leave the place without

¹Vide Indian Monumental Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part I. A List of Inscriptions on Christian tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan, p. 128. (Serial No. 842).

satisfying my literary curiosity. On coming to Bombay, I looked into the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, if I could find the inscription therein. I did not find the inscription itself, but found a reference to it, which runs as follows:—"At Mârgalla there is an old cutting through the hill crossing the Lahore and Peshâwar Road. The roadway is paved with flags of stone, while a stone slab inserted into the wall on the side contains an inscription, which shows that the work was completed in 1083 A.H., corresponding with 1672 A.D., or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdâl and sent his son Prince Sultân with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes. The pavement was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days, but it has been completely cast into the shade by the new cutting higher up to the east by our own engineers, who have also constructed at the latter place a fine column to the memory of the late General John Nicholson."¹

Then, on 29th September 1915, I wrote to the Commissioner of the Rawalpindi Division, requesting him to be good enough to refer me to any publication which gave the inscription, and, if it was not published anywhere, to kindly send me a copy from his records, if it was there. After some further correspondence, the Commissioner, Lt.-Col. (now Sir) F. Popham Young, kindly sent me, with his letter, dated 13th November 1915, a report, dated 10th November, from the Tahsildar, Mr. Hari Singh. The report was accompanied with the text, transliteration and translation at the hands of the Tahsildar and was received by the Commissioner through the Deputy Commissioner. I beg to tender my best thanks to these officers for the trouble they so kindly took in this matter.

The Deputy Commissioner, in his communication to his Chief, dated 11th November 1915, hoped "Mr. Jamsetjee will now be satisfied." Unfortunately, or, as it has turned out rather fortunately, I was not satisfied, because the Tahsildar said thus in his report: "I have tried to decipher this inscription which has been dimmed by time. The inscription is engraved in bold relief and the constant exposure to rain and hail has washed away several letters and parts of words. I have tried to make it out as far as possible but am doubtful about the words marked X. The date given is 1080. It is probably Hijri, and it would correspond with 1662 A.D. This was the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign, but I doubt very much whether this inscription could be meant for an Emperor. This appears to be meant for some Khan; and it may

¹ *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVIII-A, Rawalpindi District (1907), p. 35.

be for Mahbat Khan, the famous Mogul general who was for some time Governor of Peshawar."

I visited Kashmir again for the third time this year,¹ and on my return to Rawalpindi from there, I took advantage of my stay there for a day and saw the inscription again leisurely on the 21st of July. I had the pleasure of the company and the assistance of Munshi Mahmud Din, the teacher of Persian in the Dennis High School at Rawalpindi, and so, in the reading of the inscription, which I give below, I acknowledge with thanks his help in settling the reading of several words, here and there.

II

First of all, I give below a plan of the place at the Margalla Pass where the tablet is situated. It was kindly drawn, at the request of my host, Mr. Nusserwanji J. Boga, by Mr. J. Vesugar, Assistant Engineer, P.W.D., at Rawalpindi. I beg to thank Mr. Vesugar for it. To do justice to the Tahsildar, and to do justice to myself, as well as to place before the students another reading of a number of words here and there, I give, as an appendix, the reading and translation of the Tahsildar, which, in some places is evidently faulty. Of course, his reading was a hasty decipherment in the midst of work in response to the desire of his superiors; so, his reading must be free from criticism. Had he known that his decipherment was required for some literary purpose, he would have perhaps been more cautious and careful. I repeat here my thanks for what he has kindly done.

On my way homewards, and on my return to Bombay after my second visit to Margalla, I wrote to the Archæological Department of the Government of India and requested it to kindly send me an impression of the inscription. Dr. D. B. Spooner, the then Officiating Director-General of Archæology, kindly sent me, with his letter, dated 14th September, a copy of the inscription with its transliteration and translation. These were, as said by him in his letter, dated 14th October 1918, supplied to him by the Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division. I give these, as an appendix, at the end to help the student to make his own selection of the reading. I have again asked for an impression which I have not received

¹ From 27th May to 21st July 1918, including the days of arrival at, and departure from, Rawalpindi.

as yet. It will be subsequently given, if received. I give below, my reading of the text and translation :—

Text of the Tablet.

هو القادر

خان قوی پنجم مصائب شکوه : شیر ز سر پنجه او ناتوان
 در کفل صار کلمه آنکه بود : با کوه چوخ بوین توأمان
 ساخت خان را زروی شرف : بوسه دهد چوخ برو هر زمان
 بگفت مغل از پی تاریخ سال : ناصیه مهوش هندوستان

2

باهتمام میرزا محمد میرانی داروغه راستان
 احمد معمار و جوکداس و شرف
 و دیالداس خواستار در سنه ۱۰۸۳
 مرتبت شد

Translation.

GOD, THE POWERFUL.

The Khan, (who possesses) a powerful claw and awe-inspiring dignity, before whose claw the lion is powerless, built, in the hill of Markaleh, which is linked³ with the high heavens⁴ a building, which, out of respect, is always honoured by the heavens.⁵ The Mogul said: "*nāsiya mehvash-i-Hindustān*," (*i.e.*, the moon-like face of Hindustan),⁶ for the date of its year

In the supervision of Mirzā Muhammad Mirāni, the superintendent of⁷, Ahmad the architect,⁸ and Jogdāsh and⁹ Sharf and Dayāldās were¹⁰ Prepared (*i.e.*, finished) in the year 1083.

¹ The line here has disappeared. It does not seem to be a running line, but a mere heading to the effect that now follows the name of the architect, supervisor, builder, etc. One or two words are legible, *e.g.*, در and کا

² The reading is doubtful. The first part میر seems to be clear. The word may be میرامی or میران Mirami or Miran or it may be میرامسا

³ Tau'amān twins, linked with.

⁴ *Lit.*, which is a twin with the globe or dome of the high wheel, *i.e.*, which is as high or as splendid as the Heavens.

⁵ *Lit.* to which the sky gives a kiss every moment out of respect for it.

⁶ *i.e.*, the building is a beautiful place of Hindustān.

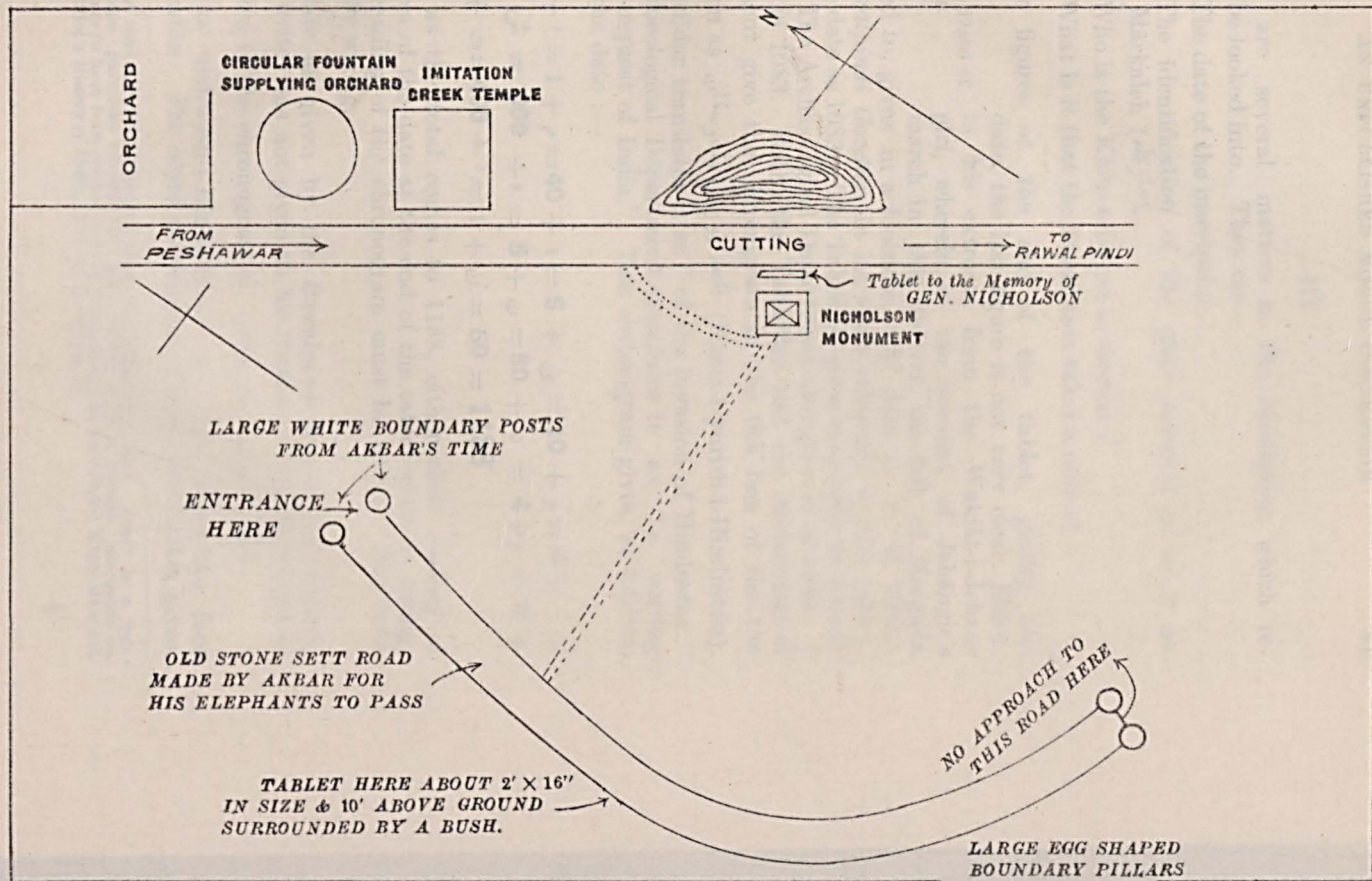
⁷ The word reads like *dastan*.

⁸ Mi'mār, an architect, a builder, a mason.

⁹ Not legible. It seems to be the first part of a name ending in *Sharf*.

¹⁰ The reading of the word is not clear, though the last part ساز is clear. It seems to be a word signifying some petty officer under the architect or supervisor. It seems that here three names are mentioned, *viz.*, (1) Jogdāsh and Sharf and Dyāldās, as those of petty officers who served as overseers or as some officers of that kind. I may add, that even the reading of the names is not certain.

PLAN OF THE MARGALLA PASS.



III

There are several matters in the inscription which require to be looked into. They are—

- (1) The date of the inscription.
- (2) The identification of the place referred to in it as Mârkaleh (مارکله).
- (3) Who is the Khân referred to therein ?
- (4) What is it that the inscription takes a note of ?

Of the figures at the end of the tablet, giving the date, the last figure is not very clear. Elliot,

(1) The Date of the Tablet. in his extracts from the Wakiât-i-Jehangiri, wherein, in the account of Jehangir's march in this district, the hill of Margalla is referred to, gives in a footnote, the date as A. H. 1084.¹ The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, in its short reference to the tablet, gives the date as 1083. The Tahsildar gives it as 1080, as quoted above. The Archæological Department also gives it as 1080. I think it is 1083. Both, the Tahsildar and the Archæological Department give the chronogram in the 9th line of the the inscription as ناصیه یورش ہندوستان (Nama-i-yurish-i-Hindustân). The Tahsildar translates it as "of the invasion of Hindustan." The Archæological Department translates it as "a writing on the conquest of India." This chronogram gives, as follows, 1188 as the date :—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ن} = 50 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{م} = 40 + \text{س} = 5 + \text{ی} = 10 + \text{و} = 6 + \text{ر} = \\ 200 + \text{ش} = 300 + \text{س} = 5 + \text{ن} = 50 + \text{د} = 4 + \text{و} = 6 + \\ \text{س} = 60 + \text{ت} = 400 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{ن} = 50 = 1188 \end{aligned}$$

Thus, as the total comes to 1188, either their reading of the figures of the date at the end of the tablet must be wrong, or, the reading of the chronogram must be wrong. But both seem to be wrong.

The date as given by the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* is correct, but the writer has not given us his reading of the chronogram.

My reading of the chronogram is ناصیه مہوش ہندوستان

"Nâsiya mahwash-i-Hindustân," i.e., the moon-like face of Hindustân. The *abjad* calculation of this chronogram gives,

¹ "The road has been improved since this Emperor's time. There is a substantial stone pavement through the pass, which from a Persian inscription on a rock appears to have been erected in A. H. 1084 by the strong-handed Khân Mahabat Shikoh" (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 310, n. 1).

as follows, 1083 as the date, which is the date I read at the end of the inscription.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ن} &= 50 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{س} = 90 + \text{ي} = 10 + \text{ه} = 5 + \text{م} = 40 + \text{ه} = 5 \\ + \text{و} &= 6 + \text{ش} = 300, + \text{ه} = 5 + \text{ن} = 50 + \text{د} = 4 + \text{و} = 6 + \text{س} = \\ 60 + \text{ت} &= 400 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{ن} = 50 = 1083 \end{aligned}$$

Thus, my reading of the chronogram supports my reading of the date. Again, the chronogram, as read by me, gives some sense.

IV

The Mârkaleh (ماركله), referred to in our tablet,

is the modern Margalla Pass. It is the place, the country round which was, at one time, occupied by the Ghakkar¹ tribe, who played an important part in the early history of the Punjab. We read as follows in the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* about Margalla: "The Margalla Range, which, so far as it lies within the district, is a continuation of a spur running through Hazara District about the junction of the Murree, Hari-pur and Rawalpindi Tahsil boundaries, and runs in a south-westerly direction across the north of the Rawalpindi Tahsil. For most of its course through this tahsil it maintains a height of over 5,200 feet, and derives from the steepness of its sides and the suddenness with which it starts up from the level fertile plain below, its somewhat impressive appearance. As it approaches the Attock border the range begins to sink down. About 15 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, it is crossed by the Margalla Pass which carries the Grand Trunk Road and is also marked by a conspicuous monument to General John Nicholson."²

In the *Wâki'ât-i-Jehangiri*, Margalla is thus referred to:—"The camp moved to Kâlâ-pâni, which means in Hindu 'black water.' On this march there occurs a hill called Mârgalla. *Mâr*, in Hindi, signifies 'to rob on the highway' and *galla*, a caravan, that is, 'it is a place where caravans are plundered.' Up to this extends the country of the boundary of the Gakkhurs."³

V

As to the Khân referred to in the tablet, Elliot, in the footnote referred to above, takes him to be

(3) Who is the one Khân Mahâbat Shikoh. It appears that the Khan is Mahâbat Khân of the time of Aurangzeb. The date of the

¹ The Ghakkars are spoken of also as Gakhars, Gakkhurs, Gakkhars, Ghakars, Kokars and Khokhars.

² *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, Part A, p. 3.

³ Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 310. *Vide* also "The Tuzak-i Jahangiri by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 98.

tablet is, as we saw above, 1083. So, it belongs to the time of Aurangzeb. Though his name is not mentioned directly as such in the tablet, it is indirectly mentioned, as is, at times, the way of some Persian poets, inasmuch as he is spoken of as *mahâbat shikuh*, *i.e.*, of awe-inspiring dignity. The writer has ingeniously used the word *mahâbat*, both, directly, as a common noun signifying his position, status or influence, and indirectly, as his proper noun.

The following is an epitome of an account of Mahâbat Khan's life, as given in the *Maâsir-ul-Umarâ* of Nawâb Samsâ mud-Daulah Shah Nawâz Khân.¹ His whole name was Mahâbat Khân Mirzâ Lohrâsp. He was the bravest of the sons of Mahâbat Khân Khân Khânân. As a youth, in the reign of Shâh Jahân, he accompanied his father in the conquest of Daulatâbâd as a commander of 2,000 troops. After the death of his father, he was appointed to various places, among which one was the Foujdâri of Oudh. He was then appointed on a post in Kandhar. In the 24th year of the reign of Shâh Jahân, *i.e.*, in 1652, he was made a Mir Bakhshi. Up to the 25th year of the reign (1653), he was known as Lohrâsp Khân. In this year, after being honoured with the title of Mahâbat Khan, he was appointed viceroy (Subâh) of Kabul. In 1657, he was appointed governor of Deccan under Aurangzeb. He took part in the war with Bijâpur and in the siege of Bidar. He had a great hand in the defeat of the Bijâpur army under Afzul Khân. Soon after, he received a message from Dârâ Shakoh, the eldest prince, that he was wanted by Shâh Jahân ; and so, he went by quick marches to the Emperor's Court. He was then (Hijri 1068, A.D. 1657-58) appointed to the viceroyalty of Kabul. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1663-64), he returned to the royal court. He was then appointed viceroy of Gujarât. In the 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1670), he was again appointed viceroy of Kabul. In the 13th year of the reign (A.D. 1671-72), he returned to the royal court at Akbarâbâd. When Shivaji began his depredations, including therein the plundering of Surat, he was sent to the Deccan to punish him. He punished the Mahratha chief. A short time after, the Afghans of the mountains round Kabul rose in rebellion and Mahamad Amin Khan, Governor of Afghanistan, was defeated in the Khyber Pass. Mahâbat Khan, who had a previous experience of the mountaineers, was thereupon called from the Deccan, and in the 16th year of the reign (A.D. 1673), was sent to Kabul for the

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Text, edited by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali (1891). Vol. III pp. 590-94.

settlement (*band-o-bast*) of the affairs of Kabul. But, instead of fighting with and molesting the Afghan army on his way to Kabul, he evidently avoided a fight and went to Kabul safely by another route. Aurangzeb did not like this. So, in the 17th year of the reign (A.D. 1674), he himself went to Hassan Abdal. Mahâbat Khân then attended the royal court and was placed under the orders of Birsangh, the grandson of Raja Bahavpat Dâs Kur.

The above is the outline of the life of Mahâbat Khan as given in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*. To properly understand that life, especially to properly understand his connection with the Afghan frontiers, in a locality of which we find his tablet, we will examine some further details.¹

In 1636, a treaty was made by Shah Jahan, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, with Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, whereby the latter was acknowledged as a friendly ally and his sovereignty was left unimpaired to him. Several royal customs were special to the Court of the Emperors of Delhi. For example, (a) they alone could hold their courts in palaces or places outside the citadel. Other kings were to hold their courts within their citadels. (b) They alone held elephant-combats in the open ground outside the fort, the other kings holding them within the fort. (c) The Emperors only could confer the title of Khân-Khânân upon their previous ministers. The king of Bijapur latterly began to act in opposition to these customs and acted as if he were an Emperor. So, Shâh Jahân called upon him not to do so. Adil Shâh first defied Shâh Jahân, but soon yielded. The quarrel was thus averted, but that only for a few years. It began again in the reign of Adil Shah's successor, Ali Adil Shah II. In the meantime, Shâh Jahân's son Aurangzeb, had, by his intrigues and bribes, won over some of the nobles of the Court of Bijapur. It was in the war declared in 1657, against Bijapur, that we first find Mahâbat Khan taking an active part at the direction of prince Aurangzeb. At the head of an army of 15,000 soldiers, this Moghul general ravaged a part of the Bijapur territory, and, later on, gained other victories over the Bijapur armies.² We then find, that, soon after the above victories, Mahâbat Khan retired from Aurangzeb's army and went away to Agra without giving any notice to Aurangzeb.

¹ *Vide* Elliot's "History of India" and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "History of Aurangzeb," in three volumes.

² *Vide* Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "History of Aurangzeb," Vol. I, chap. VI. for further details of Mahâbat Khan's part in the war with Bijapur.

"This was in the 32nd year of Shah Jahan's reign (1068 Hijri, 1657-58 A.D.).¹ Shâh Jahân fell ill on 6th September 1657, and was, as it were, on death-bed for one week. Then began a war of succession among his sons, Dârâ, Shujâ, Aurangzeb and Murâd even in his life-time. He had declared his wish that Dârâ, the eldest son, should succeed him. The other sons jointly and severally opposed that nomination. Aurangzeb marched, against the capital, took it, and, in June 1658, made his father a prisoner. Shâh Jahân continued as prisoner for seven years till the time of his death on 22nd January 1666. Aurangzeb was declared Emperor in July 1658. His formal installation was in May 1659. It was in the account of this captivity that we read of Mahâbat Khân again. He was then the governor of Kabul. We thus read in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubâb*: "Shâh Jahân, while in confinement, wrote secretly to Mahâbat Khân Governor of Kabul: 'Dârâ Shokoh is proceeding to Lahore. There is no want of money in Lâhore, there is abundance of men and horses in Kabul, and no one equal to Mahâbat Khân in valour and generalship. The Khân ought, therefore, to hasten with his army to Lahore and having there joined Dârâ Shukoh, they might march against the two undutiful sons to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor, the Sâhib Kiran-i-Sâni from prison.'"²

Aurangzeb had a long war with the Afghans. We are now and then hearing of the question of "the Afghan Frontiers," and of the raid of this tribe and that tribe, of the Afghans. On the way to Afghanistan from India, there live a number of clans which are Turco-Iranian clans, and are known as Pathan or Baluchi, according as the clans belong to the north or to the south of the region. These clans have their own peculiar constitutions, the one principal feature of which, is, that the chiefs rule over their followers as allowed by them. So, the chiefs often change. There is no hereditary line of chiefs, which one may expect to rule long. So, no treaty arrangement with them can be called a *pucca* arrangement on which one can depend long. That is the present difficulty of our British rulers and that was the difficulty of the Moghal Emperors. Though these emperors had their rule in Kabul itself, they had their difficulties with the Afghan tribes living between Afghanistan proper or Kabul and India. Akbar had such difficulties, and his famous courtier Raja Birbal was defeated and killed by these Afghan tribes in

¹ Elliot VII, p. 139.

² "Muntakhabu-l-Lubab" of Muhammad Hoshin Khafi Khan, Elliot, VII, p. 228.

1586.¹ Our present experiences were, to a great extent, the experiences of the Moghals. Tiny expeditions to punish them, treaties to secure peace, pensions for keeping peace, and guarding the roads, etc., are our present inheritances from old times. All such things continued, even after Akbar, in Jehangir's and Shâh Jahân's times.

When we come to the time of Aurangzeb, we find the mischief growing. The Yusufzai tribe had the chief hand in the mischief. In 1667, under one Bhagu, they rose, and crossing the Indus above Attock, invaded the Moghal territory. A Moghal army of more than 25,000 men went against them and defeated them. Even after the defeat, stray depredations and fights continued, off and on, till 1672, A.D. The Rajput feudatories of Aurangzeb fought bravely against the Afghans during this war. Maharaja Jaswant Singh with his Rathors had, at one time, held Jamrud,² which stands on this side of the Khyber Pass. In 1672, the Afridis rose against Aurangzeb and defeated Amin Muhammad Khân, the Moghal Viceroy of Afghanistan. It is said, that 10,000 men of Aurangzeb's Army were killed and two crores of rupees in cash were lost. Besides these, 20,000 men and women were captured and transported to Central Asia, where they were sold as slaves. Aurangzeb's army met with a catastrophe, greater than that of Birbal in the time of Akbar. In this national rising of the Afghans, the Khataks who lived in the Southern part of the Peshawar District, and who were formerly conquered and won over by Aurangzeb, also joined under their chief Khush-hal, who was a poet as well as a brave chieftain and who, at one time, was imprisoned in Delhi and Raitambhor. It was at this crisis, that Mahâbat Khân who had thrice before ruled over Afghanistan as Governor from Aurangzeb and who was then in the Deccan was appointed Viceroy of Afghanistan for the fourth time. Mahâbat Khân did not dare to fight with the Afghan who had struck terror all round by their above-mentioned great victory. Instead of proceeding to Kabul, he wasted time at Peshawar, in trying to bring about some settlement with the Afghans. Thereupon, Aurangzeb

¹ Birbal, who advocated the views of Akbar, who admired the Iranian reverence for the Sun and Fire, met his death at the hands of the Afghans in this rebellion which was hailed with delight by bigoted Mahomedan writers like Badaoni, who called him "a hellish dog" (سگ جهنمی) and bastard (حرام زاد) and who said,

that the death he met with in this rebellion was a portion of his base deeds. Akbar was much affected by his death (*vide* my "Parsi at the Court of Akbar.")

² Afghan tradition connects this Jamrud with Shah Jamshe'd of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia. *Vide* my paper on "L'Étymologie populaires des noms des étapes entre Pichaver et Kabul" (Journal Asiatique, Huitième Serie, Tome XIV, (1889), page 527. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, p. 261 *et seq.*

sent a special officer from his court to Peshawar to urge Mahâbat Khan to force his way to Kabul. Mahâbat Khân thereupon did proceed to Kabul, but not by the regular route, fighting with the difficulties he may meet with, at the hands of the Afghan enemies, but by another route, the Karopa Pass, making his passage thereby easy by bribing the Afghans. He thereupon incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb, who then appointed one Shujayet Khân, a man who had risen from a lower status of life, to the command, against the Afghans. But Shujayet Khan met with a great disaster in the Karopa Pass at the hands of the Afghans in 1674. Thereupon, Aurangzeb himself went to Hassan Abdal, situated on the road from Rawalpindi to Peshawar, and stayed there for nearly 18 months. He removed Mahâbat Khân from the Viceroyalty of Kabul, for having intentionally abstained, out of jealousy, from giving help to Shujayet Khân. The emperor's presence and diplomacy mastered the situation. Some of the hostile Afghan tribes were won over by money and others were defeated and overpowered.

Mahâbat Khân is once referred to by Aurangzeb in one of his letters¹ to Asad Khân, who bore the titles of Umadat-ul-Mulk (the best of the kingdom) and Madur-ul-Mahâl (the support of State business), but nothing special is mentioned about him.

I give below a list of the principal events referred to above in connection with Mahâbat Khân's career :—

A.D.

- 1636. Treaty of Shâh Jahân with the King of Bijapur.
- 1652. Mahâbat Khân appointed Mir Bakhshi.
- 1652. Appointed to the Viceroyalty of Kabul for the first time.
- 1653. Got the title of Mahâbat Khân, his original name being Lohrâsp Khân. His father, who died in 1634, also had the same title.
- 1656. War declared against Bijapur in which Mahâbat Khân takes an important part.
- 1657. Mahâbat Khân leaves Prince Aurangzeb's army at Bijapur and goes to Agra.
- 1657. Shâh Jahân fell ill.

(1) The Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe by Jamshid H. Billimoria. (1908) p. 142.

1657. Mahâbat Khân appointed Governor of Deccan.
1657. Appointed Governor of Kabul for the second time.
1658. Shâh Jahân imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb.
1658. Aurangzeb declared himself Emperor.
1658. Dârâ Shukôh gathers troops at Delhi and marches towards Lahore (end of June, beginning of July).
1658. Shâh Jahân writing secretly from the prison to Mahâbat Khân, who was then the Governor of Kabul, imploring him to go with his army to Lahore and help Dârâ Shukôh.
1659. Aurangzeb formally installed as Emperor.
1663. Mahâbat Khân appointed Viceroy of Gujarat.
1666. Death of Shâh Jahân.
1667. The Yusufzai Afghans rose in rebellion under Bhagu. They were defeated.
1670. Mahâbat Khân appointed Viceroy of Kabul for the third time.
1671. Mahâbat Khân sent to the Deccan to suppress Shivaji's power.
1672. The Afridi Afghans rose in rebellion.
- 1672-73. Mahâbat Khân, who was at Deccan, was appointed, for the fourth time, the Governor of Afghanistan, and asked to proceed to Kabul. He went to the frontiers but hesitated to fight and reached Kabul by another way.
1673. Mahâbat Khân was superseded, as a general against the Afghans, by Shujayet Khân. Shujayet Khân met with a great defeat.
1674. 26th June. Aurangzeb himself went against the Afghans and stayed at the frontiers for 18 months, till he settled the Afghan question, both by diplomacy and force. Mahâbat Khân died in this year, on his way from Kabul to the Royal Court.
1675. Aurangzeb returns to Delhi at the end of the year.

(a) The tablet bears the Hijri date of 1083. The Hijri, year 1083 began on 29th April 1672.¹ Now, we learn from the above account of Mahâbat Khân, that it was in this year (1083 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1672-73 A.D.), that he was appointed, for the fourth time, the viceroy of Afghanistan, and was asked to march against the Afghan rebels. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, as quoted above, attributes the tablet to "the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdal and sent his son prince Sultan with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes" and attributes the tablet to that event. But we find from the above account, that the *Gazetteer* seems to be wrong. It was in 1674, that Aurangzeb went to Hassan Abdal and not in 1672. So, this tablet has nothing to do with Aurangzeb. It seems to have been put up by Mahâbat Khân in 1672, when he was in the good grace of Aurangzeb, and when he was on his way to Peshawar to fight with the Afghans and to make his way to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, of which he was appointed the Governor.

(b) The *Gazetteer* also seems to be incorrect in the mention of the name of the prince who accompanied Aurangzeb when he went to the place to look personally after the affairs of the Afghan war. Aurangzeb had five sons—(1) Muhammad Sultan, who had intrigued against his father in the war of succession and joined the side of Shuja, but was admitted to favour in 1672. (2) Muhammad Muazzan (afterwards, Emperor Bahadurshah I), who was at first a great favourite of his father, but had subsequently fallen into his displeasure in 1673 and was afterwards restored to favour again in 1676. He was appointed, under the title of Shâh Âlam, commander in Afghanistan in that year, fell in disfavour again, and was arrested in 1687. (3) Mohammad Azam. (4) Muhammad Akbar, who rebelled openly against his father. (5) Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. When Aurangzeb went personally to attend to the Afghan war, it was the fourth, out of these five sons, prince Akbar, who accompanied him. He was asked to march to Kabul *via* Kohât under the guardianship of Aghar Khân², and Mahâbat Khân was removed from the viceroyalty. When Aghar Khân won victories over the Afghans on behalf of his royal master, it was prince Akbar who was asked to co-operate and advance eastwards from Jalâlâbâd.³ He could

1 Wollaston's Persian Dictionary, p. 1489.

2 Aurangzeb by Prof. Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 270.

3 *Ibid* p. 273.

not carry on well his part of the war work. Having settled the affairs of the province of Kabul, he returned to Hassan Abdal.¹ When Afghan affairs improved in the end of 1675, prince Akbar seems to have returned to Delhi with his father. In October 1676, it was prince Muazzan, the second son, that was sent to Afghanistan after being invested with the title of Shâh Alam. We thus see, that Prince Sultan, the first son of Aurangzeb, had no hand in the Afghan war and had not accompanied his father to the frontiers. So, the *Gazetteer* is incorrect in mentioning the name of Prince Sultan in place of Prince Akbar.

VI.

Then, the next question is : What is it that the inscription

4. What is it that the inscription takes a note of ? I think, that it takes a note of the work of some adjoining building, which no longer stands there now. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* says, that it takes a note of the completion of the pavement of the roadway, which, it says, "was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days." As the *Gazetteer* has not given the whole inscription, we are not in a position to know, how, its writer has come to this conclusion. Both, the Tahsildar and the copyist of the Archæological Department have taken the word کھان Khân in the fifth line of the inscription, to be the honorific word Khân, meaning a chief, but I think it is a common noun signifying a house. The word *khân* means "a house, an inn, a caravanserai, a station, a market, or any meeting place of merchants."²

(a) If it is merely the construction of a roadway, pavement or cutting that the tablet commemorates, however good an achievement it may be in those days, it cannot be spoken of so highly as it is in the tablet. The work referred to, is spoken of, as being in or on the *kotal*, *i.e.*, hill of Margalla. Again, it is spoken of as one, to which even the high heavens pay a homage. So, even taking into consideration, the fact of exaggeration in praise by Persian versifiers, we cannot take it, that a mere roadway or pavement would be spoken of so highly and compared to the high heavens. (b) Again, the roadway or pavement is not very long or extensive. It is, I think, about 200 yards or so. So, a tablet with an inscription of the above kind for a roadway of such a length would be something too much for a small thing. The Moghal Emperors had built mausoleums like the Taj Mahal, masjids like the several Juma masjids, and palatial

¹ *Ibid*, p. 274.

² Steingass.

buildings like the Diwân-i-Khas. So, a small paved roadway would be nothing before these great works and would not be so highly praised and compared to the high heavens. (c) Again, if the tablet was intended to commemorate the event of cutting the hill and making a roadway through it, and if, as such, it was the work of the Moghal Government, and not of Mahâbat Khân personally, the tablet should have mentioned Aurangzeb's name and not simply Mahâbat Khân's. This circumstance also should lead us to think, that it is not merely the Moghal cutting of paved roadway that it takes a note of.

In the plan which Mr. Vesugar, the Assistant Engineer, P.W.D., has kindly prepared for me, and which is given above, he describes the road as "an old stone set road made by Akbar for his elephants to pass." While studying the subject on my return to Bombay, these words struck me and I wrote on 24th September to Mr. Vesugar, inquiring, what was his authority for the statement. He writes on 30th September 1918 in reply: "The information given by me to you re the stone at Margalla is just from local traditions and I vouch for its accuracy in no way." I think this tradition as heard by Mr. Vesugar may be true. From a passage of the *Wakiât-i-1 Jahangiri* given above, we learn, that, when Jahangir went to Kabul in the second year of his reign (1015 Hijri, 1606 A.D.), he passed across this Margalla hill. It seems, that there was already a road there, and perhaps, as said by the tradition heard there now, it was built by Akbar. One, who would see this road paved with big rough stones, would not take long to agree, that it was intended for elephants. To save the feet of elephants from slipping while passing on the slopy road on both sides of the pass, it seems to have been paved with big stones.

The road may have been built by Akbar's officers at the king's direction, as a necessary war-work during the time of the rebellion of the Yusufzai Afghans, in the suppression of which, as said above, Birbal, the great favourite courtier of the king, was killed. Or, it is possible, that, the roadway may have been built at Akbar's direction for his elephants to pass during his visits of Kashmir by this route. Akbar took Kashmir in A.D. 1586 and visited it three times. According to his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kashmir, Kandhâr, Zâbulistân, Swât and other adjoining places belonged to the Subeh or viceroyalty of Kabul. In the divisions made by Akbar of this part of the country, one was named Akbarâbâd. The hill of Hassan Abdal in the neighbourhood, referred to in our above account of the Afghan war of Aurangzeb

1 Vide also "The Juzuk-i Jahangiri" by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol., II, pp. 98-99

was a favourite place of Akbar. A place there is named "Wah" from the fact, that Akbar, once admiring its beauty, exclaimed *wah* (واہ), which is a Persian expression of admiration. The place was a resting-place for Akbar and other Moghal Emperors when they went to Kashmir. So, it seems, that possibly this paved roadway was specially intended for Akbar's and his successors' elephants. It is more likely that it is was built, not for the temporary purposes of the Afghan war, but for a permanent purpose, as a part of the trunk-road, passing over the Margalla pass.

On various considerations, and after examining the place, I think, that the tablet belongs to some other building or edifice in that locality built by Mahâbat Khân in 1672 A.D., and that the building having fallen down, somebody later on—it may be one or two hundred years ago—may have brought it here and fixed it on the rock. We find some instances of this kind, wherein, a tablet belonging to one place, has been, on that place falling into ruins, removed and fixed in another place. (a) In my paper on the Moghal Emperors at Kashmir before this Society,¹ I have referred to a tablet of Shâh Jahân removed from an adjoining canal and fixed in the side of an octagon tank, the sidework of which was done at the orders of the king. (b) I found another instance of this kind during my third visit of Kashmir, this summer, when I was studying and examining some of the inscriptions of Kashmir, referred to by Rev. J. Loewenthal in his paper, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir."² Rev. Loewenthal, speaking of the inscriptions in the ruins of buildings known as the tomb of Zain-ul-Abadin, gives an inscription over what he calls "a postern gate." When I went to examine the inscription on 24th June 1918, I could neither find "the postern gate" nor the inscription given by him. After some inquiry, to my great surprise, not unmixed with sorrow, I found, that the stones bearing the inscription, which Rev. Loewenthal saw in 1864 at their proper place, were used with some other loose stones, to form the compound wall of the back part of the yard containing Zain-ul-Abadin's tomb. The inscription sides of the stones face the public road of the adjoining bazâr, and, I think, it will not be long before the street boys deface the inscription, or some body carries away the stones.

¹ *Vide* Journal, Vol. XXV, No. I, pp. 26-75. *Vide* above, p. 46.

² Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII No. 3 (1864), pp. 278-290.

APPENDIX.

THE TAHSILDAR'S READING, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

به القادر	
خان قوی چشم مہابت شکوہ	1
شیرز سر پنجه او ناتوان	2
در کستل مار کلمہ آنکہ بود	3
با کورہ چرخ برین توانان	4
ساخت خان راز روی شرف	5
بوسہ دہد چرخ برو مہر زمان	6
بگذرشت میل دوامی تاریخ سال	7
نامہ یورش ہندوستان	8

با اہتمام مرزا محمد میران داروغہ داس تان	9
احمد معمار و چوکیدارش ولد شرف	10
و دیال داس تاجوبا ساز در سنہ ۱۰۸۰	11
مرتب شد	12

(Transliteration.)

Hav-ul-Qadir.

1. Khan Kavi Chasham Mahabat Shakoh
 2. Sher zi sar panja-i oo natiwan
 3. Dar kastal¹ Markalla an ki bûd
 4. Bâ kurra i charakh barin tawanan
 5. Sakht khan ra zi ru i sharaf
 6. Bosâ dihad charakh baroo Mehar i zamân
 7. Biguzasht Mil dawami tarikh sal
 8. Nama i¹ urash i Hindustan
-
9. Ba Ihtamam Mirza Mohammad Miran Darogha Das-tan*
 10. Ahmed mimar chaukidarsh* wald Sharaf
 11. Wa Dialdass tajuba* saz dar 1080
 12. Muratab shud

¹ These words are very doubtful,

(Translation.)

He who is omnipotent.

1. The khan with bold eyes and commanding appearance
 2. Against whom even the lion is quite powerless
 3. Who was in the pass of Margalla
 4. By the help of the high heavens Powerful
 5. Made the khan through its greatness
 6. The heavens kiss the face of this the sun of the times
 7. Left a permanent inscription of the date and the year
 8. Of the invasion of India
-
9. Under the supervision of Mirza Mohammad Miran,
superintendent of passes
 10. Ahmad Mason and chaukidar son of Sharaf
 11. And Daldass sculptor in 1080 (Hijri.)
 12. Was made

THE TEXT TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION;
SUPPLIED BY THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT.

ہوا القادر

- 1 خان قوی چشم مہابت شکوہ
- 2 شیرز سرپیچہ او ناتوان
- 3 در کستل مار گلہ انکم بود
- 4 باگروہ چرخ بوین توانان
- 5 ساخت خان راز روی شرف
- 6 بوسہ دہد چرخ برو مہوزمان
- 7 بر مہکمنت میل دوامی تاریخ سال
- 8 نامہ یورش ہندوستان
- 9 باہتمام سرزا مستمد میران داروغہ دہستان
- 10 احمد معمار چوکیدارش ولد شرف
- 11 ودیالداس تجوبا ساز در سنہ ۱۰۸۰
- 12 مرتب شد

HO WAL QADIR.

Khân-i-Qawî chashm mahâbat shikoh

Sher ze sar-i-panjæ o nâdawân

Dar katsal-i-Mârgalla an ke bûd

Ba kurrah-i-charkh-i-barin tawânân

Sâkht Khan ra ze rûe sharf

Bosa dihad charkh-i-bar wo mehre zamân

Bar makmanat mail-i-dawâmi Tarikh sâl

Nâma-i-yurish-i-Hindostân

Ba ehtnâm Mirzâ Muhammad Mirân, Dâroghâ-i-dâstân.

Ahmad maimâr, chowkidârash wald Sharf

Wa Dayâl Dâs, tajûbâ sâz, dar san 1080

Murattab shud.

ALMIGHTY.

The awe-inspiring redoubtable Khan

By whose invincible strength the lion is reduced to
helplessness.

Who in the fortress of Margalla

could cope with the untrained horse of the sky.

God created this Khan, at whose face the sky and the
sun of the

world imprint their kisses on account of his exaltedness.

In perpetuation of the date of the erection of this edifice,
of which eternity is enamoured, the following words have
been written.

' A writing on the conquest of India '

Under the management of Mirza Muhammad Miran, the
supervisor of stories

Ahmed architect, his aid-de-camp, son of Sharf

And Dayal Das sculptor,

Prepared in the year 1080.

POSTSCRIPT.

After reading the paper on 17th October 1918, I received a letter dated 18th November 1918 (Saraikala, District Rawalpindi) from Sir John Marshal, the Director-General of Archæology in India, in reply to mine of the 28th September, sending therewith a rubbing of the inscription. Then, in continuation of that letter, I received another letter, dated 14th January 1919 (Camp Sanchi Bhilsa, Central India) from Dr. D. B. Spooner, the Assistant Director-General, sending therewith the reading and translation of the inscription by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani. I beg to thank all these gentlemen. I give here a copy of the rubbing as well as Mr. Yazdani's reading and translation.

Mr. Yazdani's reading differs a good deal from the previous readings, supplied to me by the Commissioner of Rawalpindi and the Archæological Department, and agrees much with my reading, especially in the first important part. But his reading of the fifth line differs from mine. It is the second word that makes all the difference. What the Tahsildar, the reader of the copy supplied by the Archæological Department, and I with Munshi Mahmud Din, read from the tablet itself as *Khan ra* (خان را), Mr. Ghulam Yazdani reads, from the rubbing, as 'Chûnân râh (چنان راه). He puts(?) a mark of question in his reading after these words. So, he himself is doubtful. He reads the fifth line as ساخت چنان راه (?) بروی شرف and translates it very freely as "Cut a pass rising so high." There is no word for "cut" in the text. The word is *sâkht* (ساخت) *i.e.*, made. But the fact of the tablet being found on a road which is a "cutting" seems to have suggested to him the sense of cutting. However, if this reading is accepted, my above view of the tablet, that it belonged to some other work and was latterly placed here, would turn out to be wrong, and we must take it, that it belongs to the road itself and that it takes a note of its construction. But, as the Tahsildar, the reader of the Archæological Department's first copy, myself, and the Munshi who accompanied me, have all read the word on the spot itself, as '*Khân*', and, as Mr. Yazdani himself seems to be doubtful about his reading, I leave the matter as it is in the hands of other readers.

BYRAMJEE HOUSE,

Matheran, 27th February 1919.

هوا القادر

خان قوی پنجم مہابت شکوہ
 شیروز سرپنجه او ناتوان
 در کتل مارگلم آنکہ بود
 باکرہ چرخ برین توانان
 ساخت چنان راہ (۹) بروی شرف
 بوسہ دہد چرخ برو ہرزمان
 گفت مغل از بیگی تاریخ سال
 ناصیہ مہوش ہند و ستان *

باہتمام مولانا مستمہ..... دارو وفا (۹)
 احمد معمار و جوگیداس..... شرف
 و دیالداں تصویلدار در سنہ ۱۰۸۳
 مرتب شد

TRANSLATION.

He is Omnipotent !

The Khân of powerful grip, Mahabat¹ Shikoh (awe-inspiring),

In whose hand the tiger is feeble ;

In the hill of Margala which was

A rival (in loftiness) to the sphere of Heaven,

Cut a pass rising so high

That Heaven kisses it every moment.

Mughal² thus composed a chronogram (for the Pass) :—

“The parting in the hair of the moon-faced (mistress of India.”

Completed under the Superintendence of Maulana Muhammad.....and Wafa.....Ahmad, the mason, Jogidas, the accountant, and Dialdas, the cash-keeper, in the year 1083 A. H. (1672 A.D.)

1 Mahābat Khān, Governor of Kabul, 1651-56, 1658-62, 1668-70 and 1672-73 A.D. For a full account see *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 590-95.

2 Here Moghal is the name of the poet. He may be identified with Mughal Khan, an officer attached to the Court of Aurangzeb who held different posts.

Ma'athir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 623-25.