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THE

TŪZUK-I-JAHĀNGĪRĪ,

OR

MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR.

FROM THE FIRST TO THE TWELFTH
YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

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On Monday, the 17th, a march was made, and, with one stage in between, the royal standards alighted near the fort of Attock on the bank of the river Nilāb (Indus). At this stage Mahābat Khān was promoted to the rank of 2,500. This fort was built by the late king Akbar, and was completed by the labours of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfi. It is a strong fort. At this time the water of the Nilāb was low,¹ and accordingly a bridge had been made with eighteen boats, and the people crossed over easily. I left the Amīru-l-umarā at Attock on account of weakness of body and illness. An order was given to the bakhshis that, as the province of Kabul could not support a large army, they should only allow the immediate attendants of the Court to cross the river, and until the return of the royal standards the royal camp should remain at Attock. On Wednesday, the 19th, with the princes and some of the private servants, having mounted on to a raft (with inflated skins underneath), and having crossed the river Nilāb safely, I alighted on the bank of the river Kāma. The Kāma is a river that flows by the *qaṣba* (fortified town) of Jalālābād. The *jāla* is a structure they make of bamboos and grass and place underneath it skins full of air. In this province they call them *shāl* (or *sāl*). In rivers and streams in which there are rocks they are safer than boats. 12,000 rupees were given to Mir Sharīf Āmulī and to a number of men, who had been appointed to perform services at Lahore, to divide amongst the faqirs. An order was given to ‘Abdu-r-Razzāq Ma‘mūrī² and to Bihārī Dās, bakhshi of the Ahadis, to complete the force that had been appointed

¹ *Az taḡhyān farūd āmada.* Perhaps the meaning is exactly the opposite, viz. ‘had come down in violence.’ But if so, could a bridge have been made, and with eighteen boats? The time was the 4th or 5th May. Elliot has “the Nilāb was very full.”

² According to the Ma‘āṣiru-l-umarā, iii, 376, Ma‘mūr is a village in Arabia.

to accompany Zafar Khān and send them away. With one stage in between, the camp halted at the saray of Bāra. On the other side of the river Kāma there is a fort which Zain Khān Koka built at the time when he was appointed to subjugate the Yūsufza'e Afghans, and called Naushahr (Newcastle). About 50,000 rupees were spent upon it. They say that Humāyūn used to hunt rhinoceros in this region. I also heard from my father that he had twice or thrice witnessed such a hunt in the company of his father. On Thursday, the 25th, I alighted at the saray of Daulatābād. Aḥmad Beg of Kabul, jagirdar of Peshawar, with the Maliks of the Yūsufza'es and the Ghoriya-khel, came and waited on me. As the service of Aḥmad Beg was not approved, I transferred him from that territory (wilāyat) and conferred it on Shīr Khān, the Afghan. On Wednesday, the 26th, I encamped in the garden of Sardār Khān, which he had made in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. I walked round Ghorkhatri, which is the worshipping-place of the jogis in this neighbourhood, with the idea that I might see some faqirs from association with whom I might obtain grace. But that was like looking for the phoenix or the philosopher's stone. A herd without any religious knowledge came to my view, from seeing whom I derived nothing but obscurity of mind. On Thursday, the 27th, I arrived at the halting-place of Jamrūd, and on Friday, 28th, at the Khaibar Kotal (Khyber Pass) and encamped at 'Alī Masjid, and on Saturday I traversed the tortuous (*mārpīch*, i.e. snake-twisting) Pass, and alighted at Gharib-khāna. At this stage Abū-l-qāsim Namakīn, Jagirdar of Jalālābād, brought an apricot, which was not inferior in beauty to good Kashmir apricots. At the stage of Daka they brought from Kabul *gīlās* (cherries), which my revered father had entitled *Shāh-ālū*. As I was much inclined to eat them, inasmuch as I had not (hitherto?) obtained them, I ate them with great zest as a relish to wine. On Tuesday,

He often used to hunt in it with his women. In brief, in the period of thirty-two years of his reign, as he had determined, he went against no enemy, and passed this time in ease and enjoyment. In the same way no one invaded his country. It is reported that when Shir Khān, the Afghan, in the time of his rule, came to the tomb of Naṣīru-d-dīn, he, in spite of his brutish nature, on account of Naṣīru-d-dīn's shameful conduct, ordered the head of the tomb to be beaten with sticks. Also when I went to his tomb I gave it several kicks, and ordered the servants in attendance on me to kick the tomb. Not satisfied with this, I ordered the tomb to be broken open and his impure remains to be thrown into the fire. Then it occurred to me that since fire is Light, it was a pity for the Light of Allah to be polluted with burning his filthy body; also, lest there should be any diminution of torture for him in another state from being thus burnt, I ordered them to throw his crumbled bones, together with his decayed limbs, into the Narbada. During his lifetime he always passed his days in the water in consequence of the heat that had acquired a mastery over his temperament. It is well known that in a state of drunkenness he once threw himself into one of the basins at Kāliyādaha, which was very deep. Some of the attendants in the harem exerted themselves and caught his hair in their hands and drew him out of the water. After he had come to his senses they told him that this thing had happened. When he had heard that they had pulled him out by the hair of his head, he became exceedingly angry, and ordered the hands of the attendants to be cut off. Another time, when an affair of this kind took place, no one had the boldness to pull him out and he was drowned. By chance, after 110 years had passed since his death, it came to pass that his decayed limbs also became mingled with the water.

On the 28th, as a reward for the buildings of Māndū having been completed through his excellent exertions, I promoted 'Abdu-l-Karīm to the rank of 800 personal and 400 horse, and dignified him with the title of Ma'mūr Khān (the architect-Khān). On the same day that the royal standards entered the fort of Māndū, my son of lofty fortune, Sultān Khurram, with the victorious army, entered the city of Burhanpur, which is the seat of the governor of the province of Khandesh.

After some days, representations came from Afzal Khān and the Rāy Rāyān, to whom at the time of leaving Ajmir my son had given leave to accompany the ambassador to 'Ādil Khān, reporting that when the news of our coming reached 'Ādil Khān he came out for 7 kos to meet the order and the litter of the prince, and performed the duties of salutation and respect which are customary at Court. He did not omit a hair's point of such ceremonies. At the same interview he professed the greatest loyalty, and promised that he would restore all those provinces that 'Ambar of dark fate had taken from the victorious State, and agreed to send to the Court with all reverence a fitting offering with his ambassadors. After saying this he brought the ambassadors in all dignity to the place that had been prepared for them. On the same day he sent some one to 'Ambar with a message of the matters it was necessary to acquaint him with. I heard this news from the reports of Afzal Khān and the Rāy Rāyān.

From Ajmir up to Monday, the 23rd of the aforesaid¹ month, during four months, 2 tigers, 27 blue bulls, 6 *chital* (spotted deer), 60 deer, 23 hares and foxes, and 1,200 water-fowl and other animals had been killed. On these nights I told the story of my former hunting expeditions and the liking I had for this occupation to

¹ Monday, the 23rd Isfandārmuz, the day on which he reached Māndū. It was about the 6th March, 1617.

those standing at the foot of the throne of the Caliphate. It occurred to me that I might make up the account of my game from the commencement of my years of discretion up to the present time. I accordingly gave orders to the news-writers, the hunt-accountants and huntsmen, and others employed in this service to make enquiries and tell me of all the animals that had been killed in hunting. It was shown that from the commencement of my 12th year, which was in 988 (1580), up to the end of this year, which is the 11th year after my accession and my 50th lunar year, 28,532 head of game had been taken in my presence. Of these, 17,167 animals I killed myself with my gun or otherwise, viz.: Quadrupeds, 3,203; viz., tigers, 86; bears, cheetahs, foxes, otters (*ūdbilāo*), and hyænas, 9; blue bulls, 889; *mhāka*, a species of antelope, in size equal to a blue bull, 35 head; of antelope, male and female, *chikāra*, *chītal*, mountain goats, etc., 1,670¹; rams (*qūj*) and red deer, 215; wolves, 64; wild buffaloes, 36; pigs, 90; *rang*, 26; mountain sheep, 22; *arīhalī*, 32; wild asses, 6; hares, 23. Birds, 13,964; viz., pigeons, 10,348; *lagar-jhagar* (a species of hawk), 3; eagles, 2; *qalīwāj* (*ghulīwāj*, kite), 23; owls (*chughd*), 39; *qawtān* (goldfinch?), 12; kites (*mūsh-khwur*, mice-eaters), 5; sparrows, 41; doves, 25; owls (*būm*), 30; ducks, geese, cranes, etc., 150; crows, 3,276. Aquatic animals, 10 *magar machha*, that is, crocodiles² (*nahang*).

¹ The MSS. have 1,672.

² See Elliot, vi, 351 and 362, note. Jahāngīr only gives details of the 17,167 animals killed by himself. The *mhāka* is possibly a clerical error for *mār-khwur*. The text says it is allied to the *gawazu*, but the MSS. have *gūr*, a wild ass. The details of the quadrupeds come to 3,203, the total stated by Jahāngīr. The details of the birds come to 13,954, but the 10 crocodiles bring up the figures to 13,964, and the total 3,203 + 13,964 comes to the 17,167 mentioned. It has been suggested to me that the *mhāka* of the text is the *mahā* or swamp-deer of the Terai, *Rucervus Duvaucelli*.