

History of Takkara

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A History of the Gakk'hars.—By J. G. DELMERICK, Esq.

Whether the Gakk'hars have sprung from the *Grekoi* whom Alexander the Great located in Pothwár, and who it is asserted, continued there to reign for several centuries, or are Hindús converted to Muhammadanism, or are, as they themselves declare, the descendants of Persian kings, it is impossible now to speak with certainty.

It is remarkable, however, that the majority of the great tribes of this district are ashamed of confessing that their ancestors were pagans, or *Káfirs*. They therefore invariably trace their genealogy from 'Alí or BÍbí Fátimah, or some other Muhammadan, or quasi Muhammadan sources. For example the Awáns say that they are descended from Arabs. The Khattars and Budhálá declare that they are the descendants of 'Alí and Fátimah, ignoring the fact that such descendants are at the present date styled all over the Muhammadan world as Sayyids, Mirs, and Sharífs. The Patháns claim Malik Tálút (King Saul) of the tribe of Israel as their great ancestor. The Gakk'hars form no exception to this rule. They state that they are descended from Naushírwán,* whose

* Naushírwán reigned from A. D. 531 to A. D. 579. Sir John Malcolm on the authority of Persian Historians states that this monarch carried his arms into Farghánah on the North and India on the East.

justice and liberality are the the who with his Vazír Buzurjmi authors as a good Musalmán. that they are descended from that their ancestor, Sulţán Ked, prince of Ispahán, invaded Tib conquered it, he and his des try. Now it is not improbab tical with the Ked Ráj of the sep gives the year 540 B. C. as Firishtah* says that Ked Ráj Maháráj of Amber, a contempo bed Maháráj made Ked Ráj his governor of the ceded Indian attacked and wrested from his dwelt for some time at Bherah, antiquity, he built the fortres governor one of his own relation tribe, and this tribe has continuc the present time. Subsequently the most ancient zamíndárs of alliance with the people of the Kábul and Qandahár, marched vanquished fled from the Panjáb

We likewise know from Herod in the beginning of the 5th formed a dependency of the P contributing the largest share Darius, the son of Hystaspes, o within this satrapy was situated place Skylax commenced his voy met the ocean. Kaspatyrus is the pura of Abú Raihán, the ancient

The Kaianians were succee have ample proofs from historic Panjáb was at various periods

* Firishtah, page 16, vol.

me of many of Sa'di's tales, and hr, is regarded by most Persian

The Gakk'hars, moreover, state the Kaianian kings of Persia; son of Kai Gauhar, a Kaianian et with a large army, and having scendants reigned in that coun- le that this Sulţán Ked is iden- Muhammadan Historians. Prin- the commencement of his reign. was the nephew (sister's son) of rary of Gushtásp. On his death- heir. Rustam Dista, the Persian provinces being dead, Ked Ráj descendants the Panjáb. Having which was a town of very great s of Jammú, in which he left as as, named Durk, of the Gakk'har ed in possession of that place up to the Gakk'hars and Chobia (Chibs), the Panjáb, having contracted an plains, and of the hills between against Ked Ráj, who having been . Ked Ráj reigned for 43 years.

lotus that at this early period, viz. century before Christ, the Panjáb ersian empire, the Indian satrapy of revenue to the government of the Kaianian dynasty; and that the city of Kaspatyrus, from which age to ascertain where the Indus Kaspeira of Ptolemy, or Kasyapa- name of Multán.

led by the Sassanians, and we sources and from coins that the governed, and no doubt colonized,

by the Persian monarchs of the Sassanian race. * According to Firishtah, whose statement has been verified by Numismatists, Bahrám Gor, or Veranes V., of Persia, visited India, and espoused the daughter of Vású Deva, the king of Qanauj. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that the Gakk'hars are right, and that they are a remnant of the ancient Persian stock; for it is also related by the same author that so late as the 11th century after Christ, Ibráhím Ghaznawí met with a town in the Panjáb, called Dera, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khurásán, and were banished thither with their families by Afrásiáb of the Peshdádí dynasty for frequent rebellions. Here they formed themselves into a small independent state, and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites by not intermarrying with any other people.*

After continuing in Tibet for ten† generations, the Gakk'hars under Sultán Kab, are said to have invaded Kashmír, and having defeated Manohar, the Vazír of the Rájah of Kashmír, who was sent to oppose their advance, they took possession of half the country, and ruled in Kashmír for 16‡ generations. This may or may not be true. Certainly the Ráj Taranginí, which is a history of Kashmír of the Hindú period, makes no mention of the conquest of Kashmír by the Gakk'hars.

Be this, however, as it may, the Gakk'hars assert that they dwelt in Kashmír during sixteen generations, or until the reign of Zain Khán or Kábul Sháh, who owing to an insurrection in his kingdom fled from Kashmír, and took service with Náçiruddín Sabaktigin who was then reigning at Ghazní, and that Gakk'har Sháh, the son of Kábul Sháh, came to India with Mahmád of Ghazní, who conferred upon him the sovereignty of the Sind Ságar Duáb. This must have been in A. D. 1008, when we read of the Gakk'hars as idolators, and as important chiefs and staunch allies

* Firishtah, page 83, vol. 1, Bombay Edition.

† 1. Ked. 2. Tibbat. 3. Jannat. 4. Shajar. 5. Madarak. 6. Bahrámand. 7. Nazar. 8. Kalb. 9. Daulat. 10. Soltán.

‡ 1. Kab. 2. Farrukh. 3. Amír. 4. Yazdád. 5. Khaira Khán. 6. Gauhar-ganj. 7. Núr Khán. 8. Murád. 9. Bakhtiár. 10. 'Álam. 11. Samand. 12. Marab. 13. Rustam. 14. Tilochan Sháh. 15. Maddat Sháh. 16. Jabán Sháh.

of the Hind^e confederacy, bringing into the field 30,000 of the choicest troops. Again we read of the Gakk'hars as being converted to Muhammadanism during the reign of Shihábuddín (Muhammad) Ghori, or 200 years after they themselves declare Gakk'har Sháh to have been placed in possession of this country by a Muhammadan invader. Firishtah relates that so early as A. H. 63, or A. D. 682, the Gakk'hars formed a treaty of alliance with the Afgháns, who compelled the Rájah of Láhor to submit to terms from the Gakk'hars, and that this treaty included the cession of certain territories in perpetuity to the Gakk'hars. The same author states that before embracing Muhammadanism, they were a race of wild barbarians without either religion or morality. He adds that they had strange customs. When a daughter was born, the child was carried to the door of the house. It was there proclaimed aloud, the child being held in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women. Polyandry was common among them, and in their intercourse with their wives the same want of delicacy was observed by them* as is attributed by Herodotus to the Massagetæ in Central Asia and the Nasamones in Africa.†

Their own traditions and tales concerning their ancestors in remote times are for the most part puerile and altogether uninteresting. In compiling the annexed list of the Gakk'har chiefs from the time of Zain Khán or Kábul Sháh up to the present date, with notices of the principal events in their lives, I have been obliged for the most part, where History is silent, to adopt conjectural dates, as the people of the country and the Gakk'hars themselves have no idea of them; for they very commonly, even as regards modern times, mix up the events and transactions of one century with those of another.

The descendants of these ancient chiefs have been in depressed circumstances for years. The Sikhs deprived them of their patrimony, and imprisoned many of them. In 1847, Major Abbott succeeded in getting them released from captivity and

* Firishtah, vol. I., page 104, Bombay Edition.

† *Clio*, para. 216; *Melp.*, para. 172.

in obtaining for several of them small pensions from our Government. Their chief Hayátullah Khán, who received an allowance of 1200 Rs. per annum, died in 1866. His son Karam Dád Khán, a boy of about sixteen years of age, now receives a pension of 800 Rs. per annum.

I.

Zain Kha'n or Ka'bul Sha'h.

(A. D. 983, A. H. 373).

Fled from Kashmír owing to the rebellion of his subjects. Took refuge in Afghánistán. Invasion of Afghánistán by Jaipál, Rájah of Láhor, who was opposed and repelled. Formation of a Hindú confederacy by Jaipál. Battle of Laghmán, and total defeat of Jaipál by Sabaktigin of Ghazní.

II.

Gakk'har Sha'h.

(A. D. 1005, A. H. 396).

Acquired the country within the Sind Ságar Duáb. Made Chiná Ponír near the town of Chaumukh in the Jammú territories his capital. Mahmúd of Ghazní having settled his affairs in India, returned in the autumn to Ghazní, where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year A. H. 399, A. D. 1008, he determined again to attack Anand Pál, Rájah of Láhor, for having lent his aid to Dáúd during the late defection in Multán. Anand Pál hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindústán, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rájahs of Ujjain, Gwáliár, Kálinjar, Qanauj, Dihlí, and Ajmír, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjáb with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on a plain,* on the confines of the province of Pásháwar, where they remained encamped forty days without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindú females, on this

* Local tradition states that the battle was fought on the plains of Chach, between Hazroh and Atak.

occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts) to furnish resources for the war, and the Gakk'hars and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Muhammadans who were obliged to entrench their camp. Mahímúd having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front, to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gakk'hars who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gakk'hars with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons penetrated into the Muhammadan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Muhammadans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter till on a sudden the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindús rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindús, who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. 'Abdullah Táí with six thousand Arabian horse and Arslán Jázib with 10,000 Turks, Afgháns, and Khiljís, pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindús were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, 30 elephants, besides other booty, were brought to the king.*

After the death of Gakk'har Sháh, his remains were carried to Kábul, and buried there.

III.

Baj Kha'n.

(A. D. 1031, A. H. 425.)

Rise of the Saljúks. Their wars with Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd of Ghazni.

IV.

Mahpa'l Kha'n.

(A. D. 1065, A. H. 458.)

A brave chief who was invariably victorious in his wars with the Rájah of Siálkot.

* Firishtah, page 65, Bombay Edition.

V.

Mu'azzam Kha'n.

(A. D. 1101, A. H. 495.)

Ghazní taken by the Ghorians, recovered by Bahrá'm. Cruel execution of Saifuddín, king of Ghor, by Bahrá'm.

VI.

Ashi' Kha'n.

(A. D. 1135, A. H. 539.)

Ghazní destroyed by the Ghorians. Khusrau, the son of Bahrá'm, retired to Láhor, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, who were not displeased to see the seat of government permanently transferred from Ghazní to their city.*

VII.

Ra'jar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1152, A. H. 547.)

Removed his capital from Chiná Ponir to Dángalí on the right bank of the Jhelam in this district. Foundation of the Muhammadan empire in India by Shihábuddín Ghorí. After Shihábuddín's return from his expedition to Sind, he for the third time engaged in hostilities with Khusrau Malik, king of Láhor, the last of the Ghaznavites who taking courage from despair made an alliance with the Gakk'hars, captured one of Shihábuddín's strongest forts (Siálkot),† and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem for a purpose which force seemed insufficient to accomplish. He affected alarms from the West, assembled his army as if for operations in Khurásán, and professing an anxious desire to make peace with Khusrau Malik, released his son who had been given up on a former expedition to Láhor as a hostage, and who had hitherto been kept in custody. Khusrau Malik entirely thrown off his guard by these appearances, quitted Láhor, and set out to meet his son, so unexpectedly restored to him, when Shihábuddín put himself at the head of a strong body of chosen cavalry, and marching with celerity and secrecy through unfrequented routes, suddenly interposed himself between Khusrau Malik and his capital, and surrounding his camp by night made

* Elphinstone's History of India, page 304. † Firishtah, page 97.

him prisoner, and soon after occupied Láhor, which no longer offered resistance.*

VIII.

Sipihr Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1186, *A. H.* 582.)

Battle of Tiraúrí between Pritwí, Rájah of Ajmír and Dihlí, and Shihábuddín Ghorí, who suffered a total defeat, *A. D.* 1191. Shihábuddín after collecting the wreck of his army at Láhor, returned to the other side of the Indus, and then remained settled at Ghazní.

IX.

Surkah Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1199, *A. H.* 596.)

It is mentioned in authentic histories that when Shihábuddín was defeated by the Turks of Khatá on his return from Khwárazm, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom that Shihábuddín had been missed in the field of battle, and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon a portion of his kingdom. Among other enemies one named Rasal, who lived in the mountains between Láhor, Kábul, and the sandy desert, having united with a number of Gakk'hars† who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shihábuddín, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercept the communications between Láhor and Ghazní, so that no one could pass from one to the other. Upon the return of Shihábuddín to Ghazní in safety, he was informed of these transactions and consequently resolved to proceed to Hindústán and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amír Muhammad, son of Abú'Alí, whom he had appointed governor of Láhor and Multán, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year, 601 *A. H.*, as soon as possible, as it was necessary

* Elphinstone's History of India, page 308.

† Firishtah in his history (page 102) states that Surkah, the chief of the Gakk'hars, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Indus up to the foot of the Siwálik mountains, having heard of the death of Shihábuddín, claimed the sovereignty of the country, laid siege to the Fort of Láhor, and raised a rebellion between the rivers Jhelam and Chanáb.

to make preparations for an expedition to Khatá. Muhammad, son of 'Alí, wrote in answer that the tribute of the year had been collected and was ready, but that the Gakk'hars and Rasal, who were in possession of the hills of Júdí, had stopped the communication between Láhór and Ghazní in such a manner that no body could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shihábuddín he wrote to Quṭbuddín, his slave, who was the commander of the army of Hind, to send some person to the Gakk'hars and dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them that if they repented and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Quṭbuddín Aibag, according to the order of Shihábuddín, sent a person to the Gakk'hars desiring them to submit themselves to the pleasure of the Sultán, the son of the Gakk'har replied that Quṭbuddín had no authority to issue such a mandate, that Sultán Shihábuddín should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further that if he had been really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute when the Gakk'hars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultán Shihábuddín to send any messenger to you; it is great honor to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of the Gakk'har replied—"This is a mere fable; Shihábuddín no longer lives to issue any orders." The ambassador rejoined, "It may easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go and convince his own eyes whether Shihábuddín be alive or not." In short, the son of the Gakk'har being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Quṭbuddín returned and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Quṭbuddín related the circumstances to Sultán Shihábuddín who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindústán, to proceed against the Gakk'hars and exterminate them from the face of the earth. When this mandate reached Quṭbuddín, he was already making preparations to march against that nation. In the meantime Shihábuddín deferred his expedition to Khatá and caused his army to return, as complaints of the violence and oppression of the Gakk'hars were frequently coming in

accompanied with accounts of their great and increasing power, so that he considered it his duty, first to repulse these people and punish them severely before detaching his forces to any other quarter. For this reason Shihábuddín gave up for the present the idea of proceeding to Khatá.

On the 5th of Rabí'-ulawwal of the same year, Sulṭán Shihábuddín returned towards Ghazní, and when after some days he arrived at Pasháwar, he learned that the Gakk'hars had taken up a position between the Jhelam and Súdrah (Chanáb) with a large army. Having marched from Pasháwar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he attacked them unexpectedly, and the battle lasted from morning till the afternoon of that day. The Gakk'hars fought so valiantly, that the Sulṭán with all his kingly power and resources was very near being compelled to retreat; but in the meantime Qutbuddín Aibag arriving with the army of Hindústán, began to make havoc among the Gakk'hars, and as his forces were fresh and vigorous, the Gakk'hars were soon overpowered and had recourse to flight. The Muhammadans pursuing dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. They set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels entering into a solemn covenant not to surrender themselves into the hands of the Muhammadans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all of them who had taken refuge in the woods, perished. When the attention of the Sulṭán was relieved of the anxiety occasioned by these transactions, he marched towards Láhor, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes ordering them to march towards Khatá after a few days repose.*

As long as the Sulṭán remained at Láhor, the Gakk'hars, who possessed the country between the Indus and the base of the Siwálik mountains, gave much trouble to the Muhammadans, who were unable to travel in the Panjáb on their account. The Gakk'hars had no religion, and they thought it very meritorious to treat Muhammadans in a cruel manner.

On one occasion the Gakk'hars took a Muhammadan captive. This Musalmán mentioned to them the principal points of the Muhammadan faith. The chiefs of the Gakk'hars approving of the religion,

* Táríkh-i-Alfí, Elliot's Index to Muhammadan Historians, page 158.

enquired of the captive, "If I were to turn a Muhammadan, what reward would I receive from the Sultán?" The captive replied that after exacting the dues and rights which appertained to royalty, the Sultán would undoubtedly give back the country to him. Accordingly, the chief petitioned the Sultán on behalf of himself and his people, to be numbered among the faithful. The Sultán sent a handsome present to the chief, and invited him to Court. The chief went and became a follower of Islám. The sovereignty of the country was then conferred upon the chief who afterwards was instrumental in the conversion of the whole of the Gakk'hars to the Muhammadan faith.*

X.

Fida'i' Kha'n.

(A. D. 1206, A. H. 603.)

Sultán Shihábuddín having ordered his army to Dihlí under the command of Qutbuddín Aibag, left Láhor to return to Ghazní. On the 2nd Sha'bán, A. H. 602, he approached the Indus, and encamped at Rathak (Danhak).† Then twenty Gakk'hars whose relations were killed during the late war, formed a conspiracy to assassinate the Sultán. Accordingly having previously ascertained and made sure of the particular tent in which the Sultán resided, they entered the camp, stole up to the door of the tent, and stabbed the sentinel who was pacing up and down before it. An alarm was at once sounded, and all the people of the camp immediately rushed to the spot, and gathered round the wounded sentinel. The Gakk'hars getting an opportunity by finding the Sultán's tent momentarily unguarded, cut the *ganáts* of the tent, and went inside. Two or three slaves who were near the Sultán in the tent were struck dumb and powerless from fear, and the Gakk'hars approached the Sultán, who was about to undress and retire to his bed for the night, and at once killed‡ him. They inflicted twenty-two

* Firishtah, page 104.

† The Rauzai-ut-Táhirín distinctly states that the place was Danhak, an encamping ground on the old road not far from Sultánpúr, the stronghold of the Gakk'hars. The Khulácatut-Tawárikh says the place was under the government of Ghazní.

‡ In the Siyar-ul-mutaakhhirín of Ghulám Husain Khán it is stated that Fidaí Khán Gakk'har was the man who inflicted the wounds.

wounds with their knives and daggers. Subsequently Muayyidul Mulk, the Vazír of the Sultán, captured some of the assassins and had them put to death.*

XI.

Mang Kha'n.

(A. D. 1220, A. H. 617.)

Mughul irruptions. When the Sultán of Khwárazm was pursued into India by the Mughuls under Chingiz Khan, he deputed messengers on reaching the vicinity of Dihlí to king Shamsuddín Altamsh, to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dihlí. The king after mature reflection deputed a messenger on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence on the ground that the climate of India would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Belala and Nekala. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Tájuddín Malik Khiljí, accompanied by a force, to Rái Gakk'har in the hills of Júdh, with a request for the hand of his daughter. This request Rái Gakk'har complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon the Sultán, who gave the name of Qutlugh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbak Pai against Náçiruddín Qubájah, who was at enmity with Rái Gakk'har.†

In the month of Rajab, A. H. 644, Náçir ibn i Mahmúd took the field, and proceeded towards the mountains of Júdh and the provinces on the Indus. These countries were reduced, and the king took revenge on the Gakk'hars for the continued incursions and for having led the Mughuls through their country into Hindústán. Deeming these offences too great to be pardoned, he carried several thousand Gakk'hars of all ages and of each sex into captivity.‡

During the reign of Sultánah Raçiah Begum, Malik Altúniah, having espoused the empress, raised an army composed of Gakk'hars, Játs, and other neighbouring tribes, with which he opposed the forces of Bahrám, but was defeated.

* Firishtah, page 105.

† The Jami'ut-tawárikh (Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, page 26.)

‡ Firishtah, page 134.

XII.

Lahar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1267, A. H. 666.)

Ghiásuddín Balban. An army of Mughuls belonging to Arghún Khan, king of Persia, invaded the Panjáb, and Prince Muhammad who was governor of the Panjáb met and defeated them, but was himself killed in the conflict.

XIII.

Lakk'han Kha'n.

(A. D. 1330, A. H. 731.)

Muhammad Tughluq. An army of Mughuls under a very celebrated general, Taimúrshín Khán, having entered the Panjáb, the king bought them off by the payment of an immense contribution.

Búgá Khán the nephew of Lakk'han Khán acquired the 'iláqah of Rohtás and Domelí in the Jhelam District, and governed there independently. His descendants are numerous, and are styled Búgyál Gakk'hars.

XIV.

Haidar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1341, A. H. 742.)

The Afgháns crossed the Indus and ravaged the Panjáb. In the year 743, Malik Haidar, a chief of the Gakk'hars, invaded the Panjáb, and slew Tátár Khán, the Viceroy of Láhor, in action. Khwájah Jahán was sent, but the Gakk'hars seem to have maintained their position and completed the ruin of the province.*

XV.

Kad Kha'n.

(A. D. 1365, A. H. 767.)

Was a very brave chieftain. He conquered Kashmir, but held it for a short period only.

XVI.

Shaikhó Kha'n.

(A. D. 1380, A. H. 782.)

During the short reign of Náçiruddín Tughluq, the Gakk'hars

* Firishtah, page 245.

revolted under their chief Shaikha and occupied Láhor. Sárang Khán, the governor of Dípálpúr, in the succeeding reign of Mahmúd Tughluq, after collecting a large force from the country round about Multán, went out to meet them. A great battle was fought about 24 miles from Láhor. Shaikha Gakk'har was utterly defeated, and having hastily removed his wife and family from Láhor, he fled and took refuge in the Jammú hills.*

Tamerlane having invaded India and having crossed the Indus at Dhankot (near Kálábágh) in the autumn of A. D. 1398. Jasrat Gakk'har, the younger brother of Shaikha, endeavoured to oppose his advance, but having been defeated, fled and took refuge with Shaikha who, taking advantage of the commotions and anarchy which ensued very shortly afterwards, marched against the Fort of Láhor and re-occupied it; but when Tamerlane retired to the Panjáb on his way back to Samarqand, in the spring of A. D. 1399, Shaikha failed to meet him, and is stated to have given some trouble, and losing a brother at a place called Shahnawáz while attempting to defend the place with 2,000 men only. Tamerlane sent a force to chastise him under Pír Muhammad, his grandson. Shaikha was captured and imprisoned, and subsequently beheaded by order of Tamerlane, who appointed Khizr Khán governor of Láhor and of the Panjáb† generally.

XVII.

Jasrat Kha'n.

(A. D. 1399, A. H. 802.)

Succeeded his brother Shaikha during the reign of Sayyid Mubárák. Jasrat took the field against Sultán Sháh 'Alí, the king of Kashmír, and having defeated him took him a prisoner. He obtained much booty in this war, and being now in the possession of a considerable amount of wealth and power, he resolved to extend his conquests as far as Dihlí. In this he was assisted by Shádí Khán or Zainul'ábidín, king of Kashmír, Jasrat having espoused his cause when still an aspirant for the throne of that country. Zainul'ábidín sent a large force under Jasrat to conquer the Panjáb and eventually to attack Dihlí. Malik Tagháí

* Firishtah, page 279.

† Firishtah, page 288.

a Turk who had found an asylum with the Gakk'hars, to avoid punishment for rebellion against the government of the Sayyids, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Gakk'har army. He subjugated the Panjáb, and seized Láhor, the capital, and crossing the Satlaj went against the town of Talwandí, which was taken and sacked. The Rájah of Talwandí, Rái Fírúz, however, managed to escape. From Talwandí Jasrat went to Rúpar and then to Lúdhíánah, and lastly laid siege to the fort of Jálindhar. Zíarat Khán the governor offered at first a stout resistance, but was in the end compelled to sue for peace. Jasrat made a treaty to the effect that Zíarat Khan should evacuate the fort and make it over to Tagháí Khán, whose son should then be sent as an ambassador with presents to the king at Delhi. Accordingly, on the 2nd Jumáda-l-ákhir, A. H. 824, Zíarat Khán surrendered the fort, and went and encamped about five miles away from the town; but on the 2nd day, Jasrat treacherously fell upon the camp of Zíarat Khán, and made him a prisoner carrying him off to Lúdhíánah. Jasrat next besieged Sirhind, and while Islám Khán the governor was engaging his attention, Sayyid Mubárah, the king of Dihlí, having received intelligence of the revolt of Jasrat, marched to Sirhind with a large force. On the approach of the king, Jasrat raised the siege and retreated to Lúdhíánah. In the confusion Zíarat Khán contrived to effect his escape, and to join the king his master, who followed up in pursuit of Jasrat to Lúdhíánah, but Jasrat had in the meanwhile crossed the Satlaj, and possessed himself of all the ferry boats. The river being much swollen from the rain, the king was unable to cross over. After a few days, when the river had subsided, the king marched to Qabúlpúr, Jasrat being still encamped on the opposite side. The king's army crossed over on elephants, but Jasrat without giving battle fled from the place. The king pursued him, and killed many of his men, much property also falling into his hands which the Gakk'hars abandoned on the way. The pursuit was kept up by the king as far as Jammú, and Rái Bhím, the Rája of Jammú, having disclosed to the king the secret hiding-place of the Gakk'hars, the king marched to the spot, coming upon them suddenly and unexpectedly. A great many Gakk'hars were killed, and the

whole of their property was destroyed; Jasrat escaped, however, by flight to the hills.

After the king had retired from the Panjáb and had returned to Dihlí, Ĵasrat again issued from his mountain fastnesses and besieged Láhor, but being unable to make any impression, he raised the siege and ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Kalánúr, and then started off to Jammú, and attacked Rái Bhím for having betrayed his retreat to the king, but was repulsed by Rái Bhím. He retreated to the banks of the Chanáb, where he stayed for a short time, and began to collect recruits and to form a fresh army. In the interval, Malik Sikandar, an officer of the king of Dihlí, marched with a force by Kalánúr to Jammú and chastised the Gakk'hars who were still concealed in the hills.*

In A. H. 826, a great battle was fought between Rái Bhím and Jasrat. Rái Bhím was vanquished and killed, and a large amount of pillage fell into the hands of Jasrat, who afterwards went with an army of 10 or 12,000 men and ravaged the country round about Dipálpúr and Láhor, destroying and plundering many towns. Malik Sikandar, the governor, attempted to oppose him, but was obliged to retreat. Jasrat formed a friendly compact with Mír Shaikh 'Alí, the governor of Kábul, and these conjointly organized a great army. In A. H. 836, Jasrat with Amír Shaikh 'Alí was signally defeated. The latter returned to Kábul. During the reign of Sayyid Muhammad, the Gakk'hars under Jasrat joined Buhlúl Lodí, governor of the Panjáb.† No further mention is made of this turbulent chief in Muhammadan History.

XVIII.

Malik Gullu'.

(A. D. 1446, A. H. 850.)

The 'iláqah of Pubbí zil'ah, Jhelam, was governed independently by Qiyás, the great grandson of Kad Khán.

XIX.

Sikandar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1447, A. H. 851.)

The Panjáb re-annexed to Dihlí. Fírúz Khán, the brother of Sikandar Khán, rebelled against the authority of the latter, and was

* Firishtah, page 306, et seq.

† Firishtah, page 307, et seq.

banished to Kashmír. Fírúz Khán, however, returned subsequently, and with the assistance of his brethren and some of the neighbouring tribes, expelled Sikandar Khán, who took up his residence in the Rohtás 'iláqah.

XX.

Fi'ru'z Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1416, *A. H.* 865.)

The descendants of Fírúz Khán are numerous. They are known as Fírúzál Gakk'hars.

XXI.

Malik Bi'r.

(*A. D.* 1472, *A. H.* 877.)

Death of Buhlúl Lodí, and accession of Sikandar. Malik Bír was very generous. He used to devote one tenth of his revenue to charitable purposes and was lavish of his wealth, chiefly in relieving the poor and feeding faqírs. His subjects were contented and happy.

XXII.

Malik Pi'lu'.

(*A. D.* 1493, *A. H.* 899.)

Ibráhím Lodí. Revolt of Daulat Khán Lodí, governor of the Panjáb who called in the aid of Bábar. Malik Pílú made the town of Ráwalpindí his capital.

XXIII.

Tata'r Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1523, *A. H.* 930.)

The following account of Bábar's expedition against the Gakk'hars is extracted from his autobiography.*

“In the hill country between Níláb and Bherah but apart from the tribes of Jodh and Janjuah, and adjoining the hill country of Kashmír are the Jâts and Gujurs and many other men of similar tribes who build villages and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their ruler was of the Gakk'har race and their government resembles that of the Jodhs and Junjuas. The government of these tribes which stretch along the skirt of the hills, was at that time held by Tatar Gakk'har, and Hati Gakk'har, sons of the

* Leyden's Baber, page 253.

same family. They were cousins. Their places of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tatár's stronghold was Perhaleh.* It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hati's country is close adjoining the hills.† Hati had also brought over to his interest Baba Khan who held Kalinjur. Tatar Gakk'har had waited on Dówlut Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him. Hati had never visited him but remained in an independent, turbulent state. Tatar at the desire of the Amirs of Hindustan, and in conjunction with them, had taken a position with his army a considerable way off, and in some sort kept Hati in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Behreh, Hati had advanced upon Tatar by a stratagem, had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women and all his property.

“Some persons who were acquainted with the country and with the political situation of the neighbouring territories and particularly the Junjuahs who were the old enemies of the Gakk'hars, represented to me that Hati the Gakk'har had been guilty of many acts of violence, had infested the highways by his robberies, and harassed the inhabitants, that therefore it was necessary either to effect his expulsion from this quarter, or at least to inflict on him exemplary punishment.

“For effecting this object, next morning I left Khoajah Mir Miran, and Miram Nazir in charge of the camp and about breakfast time set out with a body of light troops to fall upon Hati Gakk'har, who a few days before had killed Tatar, seized the country of Perhaleh and was now at Perhaleh, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted, and baited our horses and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Mulla Hust by name Surpa. He was a Gujar. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards morning and sent on Beg Muhammaḍ Moghul towards the camp. When it was beginning to be light we again mounted, and about luncheon time, put on our armour, and increased our speed. About a kos from the place where we had made this halt, Perhaleh

* The remains of this ancient fort, now ^o called Pharwálah, still exist about 12 miles east of Ráwal Pindí.

† At Dángalí.

began to appear faintly in sight. The skirmishers were now pushed forward; the right wing proceeded to the east of Perhaleh. Kuch Beg, who belonged to that wing, was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre, poured in straight towards Perhaleh. Dost Beg was appointed to command the party charged to support the left wing and centre, who made the direct attack on Perhaleh.

“Perhaleh which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it, one of them on the south-east, which was the road that we advanced by. This road runs along the edge of the ravines, and has ravines and precipices on both sides. Within half a kos of Perhaleh the road becomes extremely difficult, and continues so up to the very gates of the city; the ravine road, in four or five places, being so narrow and steep, that only one person can go along it at a time, and, for about a bow shot, it is necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection. The other road is on the north-west. It advances towards Perhaleh through the midst of an open valley. Except these two roads there is no other on any side. Although the place has no breastwork nor battlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight yards in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the narrows, went pouring on towards the gate. Hati with thirty or forty horsemen, all, both man and horse, in complete armour, accompanied by a number of foot soldiers, attacked and drove back the skirmishers. Dost Beg, who commanded the reserve, coming up, and falling on the enemy with great impetuosity, brought down a number of them, and routed the rest. Hati Gakk'har, who distinguished himself by his courage and firmness in the action, in spite of all his exertions could not maintain his ground, and fled. He was unable to defend the narrows; and, on reaching the fort found that it was equally out of his power to maintain himself there. The detachment which followed close on his heels, having entered the fort along with him, Hati was compelled to make his escape, nearly alone, by the north-west entrance. Dost Beg on this occasion again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift to be given to him. At the same time I entered

Perhaleh and took up my abode in Tatar's palace. During these operations* some men who had been ordered to remain with him had joined the skirmishing party. Among these were Amir Muhammad Kútrachi, and Tarkhan Arghun. In order to punish them for this offence, I gave them the Gujar Sútrpa for their guide and turned them out disgracefully into the deserts and wilds to find their way back to the camp.

"Next morning passing by the ravine on the north-west we halted on the sown fields, when I gave Wali the treasurer a body of select troops and sent him off to the camp.

"On Thursday the 15th of March we halted at Andurabuh (Adránah) which lies on the banks of the river Sohan. This fort of Andurabuh (Adránah) depended from old times on the father of Malik Hast. When Hati Gakk'har slew Malik Hast's father, it had been destroyed and had remained in ruins ever since. About bed-time prayers, the party that had been left with the camp at Kuldah Kuhar (Kaller Kahár) rejoined us."

XXIV.

Malik Ha'ti'.

(A. D. 1524, A. H. 931.)

Return of Bábar. Battle of Pánípat (21st April, 1526). Defeat and death of Ibráhim Lodí. Malik Darwísh Khán Janjuah, who was the chief of Turali and Tab (now in the district of Sháh-púr), invaded the country of the Gakk'hars and gave them battle. The latter were defeated. Háti Khán took refuge with his maternal uncle, Bassál Khán Khattar. Malik Darwísh became master of the country at Adránah (Tahçil Fath Jang) where he built the fort which Háti had destroyed during the lifetime of Malik Tatár as related by the Emperor Bábar, but owing to the treachery of one Dullá by caste, Tothal of Tarlai who commanded the troops of Malik Darwísh, and assisted by his uncle and some of the neighbouring tribes, Háti surprised the garrison, killing all the Janjuahs and again destroying the fort.

On the return of Bábar to the Panjáb in December 1525, Háti, brought to his senses by the chastisement formerly received, met the Emperor on the banks of the Indus and accompanied him as

* Firishtah says a considerable amount of treasure was captured in the fort.

far as Bherah. He rendered himself of great assistance to the emperor in furnishing supplies to the army. On taking leave, the emperor made him a handsome present and conferred upon him the title of Sultán. This title was retained by the Gakk'hars chiefs up to the close of their supremacy.

Háti Khán was poisoned by his wife at the instigation of Sultán Sárang his cousin, and the son of Malik Tatár.

XXV.

Sulta'n Sa'rang.

(A. D. 1530, A. H. 937.)

Defeat and flight of Humáyún. First reign of Humáyún, A. D. 1531. Rise of Sher Khán, A.D. 1535. Defeat and flight of Humáyún, 1540. Birth of Akbar, A.D. 1542. Sultán Sárang was the greatest chief of all the Gakk'hars. He is even stated to have exercised kingly powers. Money was coined, and the khuṭbah read in his name within his dominions, which are said to have extended from the banks of the Indus to the Chanáb. On the flight of Humáyún, Kámrán his brother ceded the Panjáb to Sher Sháh, and retired himself to Kábul. On leaving Láhor, Kámrán came to Dángali, and Sultán Sárang had the prince safely conducted across the Indus. When Sher Sháh took possession of the Panjáb and on arriving at the Chanáb, he sent for Sultán Sárang and his brother Sultán Ádam, but they refused to come, and sent word that they would only submit to Humáyún and to no one else. Sher Sháh, in A. D. 1540, laid the foundation of the fort of Rohtás in the neighbourhood of Jogí Tilla, on the banks of the Kahan stream, and having left an army of 12,000 men under the command of Saif Khán and Shahbáz Khán for the repression of the Gakk'hars and the protection of the high road, and also having appointed Sháhú Sultáni to superintend the construction of the fort, returned himself to Dihlí. Sultán Sárang harassed this force incessantly, but his attacks in no way interfered with the progress of the building, which was in due time completed. Sher Sháh, having been informed that his troops at Rohtás were greatly thinned and harassed by the Gakk'hars, sent several times forces to chastise them, but at last finding them most troublesome, he came himself with a large force to the Panjáb. On the approach of the king,

Sultán Sárang became alarmed, and sent his son Kamál Khán to make his submission and to sue for peace. Sher Sháh, however, took Kamál Khán into custody and sent him off as a prisoner to the fort of Gwáliár. After this Sultán Sárang was compelled to engage with the king's troops. He was defeated, taken prisoner and beheaded. It is related that sixteen of his sons fell in this battle. Sultán Sárang was buried at Rewát, where his tomb still exists.

XXVI.

Sulta'n A'dam.

(A. D. 1542, A. H. 949.)

After the defeat and death of Sultán Sárang, Dángalí was plundered and destroyed by the king's troops. Sultán Ádam fled with his family and took refuge in the Narh hills. Subsequently, he succeeded in gaining a victory over the royal troops and in driving them out of his country. He then repaired the fort of Pharwálah and established himself there. About this time, certain nobles belonging to the Court of Salím Sháh rebelled against their master. Among them were the generals Shahbáz Khán and Saif Khán. The rebels were, however, defeated. They retired among the Gakk'hars and came to Pharwálah. Here the Afghán tribe of Niázi joined them. Salím Sháh on learning that Shahbáz and Saif Khán were at Pharwálah demanded them, but Sultán Ádam refused to surrender them. On this, Salím Sháh sent a large force under Mamara Khán to coerce the Gakk'hars, and to capture the rebels who were keeping alive the insurrection. Sultán Ádam met the imperial troops near Manikyálah and Dodhár Mírzá, but was repulsed and was obliged to retreat to Pharwálah where, with the assistance of the Dhunds, Sattís, and other tribes, he succeeded in gaining a signal victory over Salím Sháh's forces. General Mamara fell into the hands of the Gakk'hars and was detained as a captive in the fort of Pharwálah.

Salím Sháh with a view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force and took up a strong position within the hills north of the Panjáb where, for the purpose of stationing thánas, he built five forts, Mánkot, Rashíkot, &c. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns (Niázi), he forced them for a period

of two years to bring stones and wood for the building of those fortresses. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Gakk'hars, who gave them no rest, more especially the Gakk'hars of Adálsu and Shekál, with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Gakk'hars prowled about like thieves and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex or rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and sold them into slavery.*

In 1552, while Salím Sháh was encamped at Ban near Jammú, prince Kámrán came there and sought an asylum with Sultán Salím. Receiving no encouragement in that quarter, he fled to Sultán Ádam† at Pharwálah. Ádam kept him under surveillance, and about this time (A. D. 1554, A. H. 962) Humáyún received letters from Sultán Ádam, chief of the Gakk'hars, stating, that the prince Kámrán was now in his territory, and that if his majesty would take the trouble of coming there, he would give him up.

In consequence of this information the king immediately marched, and having entered the country of Bangash, first seized and put to death a pretended prophet, who was leading mankind astray by teaching them a false religion; after which he proceeded to Dhankót (Dincote of the maps); he then crossed the Niláb (Indus), and, after repeated marches, entered the territory of Sultán Ádam. When arrived within ten *kos* of the residence of this chief, he was met by an ambassador, who requested him to proceed; he, therefore, about midday reached Pharwálah, his majesty then ordered tents to be pitched for the meeting between him and the prince Kámrán; but the ambassador returned, and said "that the prince insisted upon the king's coming further to meet him." On hearing this his Majesty was surprised, and said, "After I have taken the trouble of coming so far, and have prepared accommodation for the interview, it is strange that he should delay the visit," but to gratify him the tents were sent on another stage. At this place the ambassador again returned, and said, "The prince was not yet satisfied, and requested the king would still advance." His majesty replied, "After evening prayers I will do so."

* Tárikh i Badáoní.

† Firishtah, page 241.

About this time the Gakk'har chief, Sultán Ádam, attended by two others, came and paid their respects. The king said, "Sultán Ádam, you have taken a long time to perform this ceremony." The chief replied, "I should certainly have done myself the honor of waiting on your majesty at the Níláb, but I had a guest in my house, whom I could not leave (Kámrán)." The king replied, "You have done right, that was of more consequence."

Sultán Ádam again repeated the prince's request that the king would move on; his majesty hesitated for some time; but the chief said, "The prince Kámrán is my prisoner; you may do as you like." On this the king advanced to the banks of the river (Rúd Ab),* and sat there on a bed or couch. After about an hour of the night had passed, the prince arrived, and advanced with great humility; the king, however, received him graciously, and pointed to him to sit down on the bed on his right hand, his majesty then sat down on the bed also, having the young prince Akbar on his left hand; Sultán Ádam, Abul-Ma'áli, and the other chiefs, were also seated in due order. After some time his majesty called for a water melon, one-third of which he himself took, and divided it with his brother; another third he gave between Akbar and Abul-Ma'áli, and the remaining third between Tardí Beg and Sultán Ádam. After this, the prince Kámrán made an apology in the name of several other chiefs for not having waited on the king, but said, they would do so next morning. His majesty replied, "Very well, let them do so," but Sultán Ádam said, "As your majesty has taken the trouble of coming so far, it will be more respectful for them to wait on you immediately." He, therefore, sent off a messenger for them; and the chiefs having been introduced, were graciously received. The king then enquired if the tents were all pitched; and being informed that they were, having first distributed *pán* to all the visitors, he mounted his horse and rode to the encampment. Preparations having been made for an entertainment, and public singers assembled, the whole night was passed in jollity and carousing. Early in the morning, the king having said his prayers, lay down to rest, the prince Kámrán retired to his own tent, and did the same. The next night was also passed in festivity.

* Sohan.

On the following day the king's officers demanded of him what he meant to do with the prince Kámrán, he replied, "Let us first satisfy the Gakk'har chief, after which I will do whatever is deemed proper."

On the third day a grand entertainment was expressly given to Sultán Ádam, he was clothed in a dress of honour; the standard, kettle-drums, and all other insignia of royalty were conferred upon him, after which he was graciously dismissed.

On the next day the business of Mírzá Kámrán was taken into consideration: and it was resolved in the first place to remove all his servants from him. Then the king ordered five of his own people, *viz.*, Khanjar Beg, 'Arif Beg, 'Alí Dost, Saidí Muhammad, and his humble servant Jauhar, to attend upon the prince; and he said to me, "My boy, do you know where you are sent?" I said, "Yes; and I know your majesty's (wishes)." He replied, "Your business is to take care of the interior of the tent; you are desired not to sleep for a moment." In obedience to the king's orders, I waited on the prince about the hour of the second prayer; he asked for a carpet, for the purpose of kneeling on: I brought one, and spread it for him. In the evening he performed his devotions inside the tent. After that, he said, "Boy, what is your name?" I replied, my name is Jauhar." He asked, "Do you know the art of shampooing (*khádímí*)?" I replied "Yes, a little." I then began to shampoo him. He asked, "How long have you been in the king's service?" I replied, "I have been nineteen years in his majesty's employ." He said, "You are an old servant." I replied, "Yes." He then asked me, "If I had ever been in the service of the prince 'Askarí?" I answered, "No," he then said, "I have fasted six days, during this holy month of Ramazán; can you be my deputy for the remainder of the month?" I replied, "I can, but your highness will do it yourself; keep up your courage; do not allow melancholy anticipations to take possession of your heart." He then said, "Do you think they will kill me?" I replied, "Princes only understood the motives or intentions of princes; but this I am certain of, that no man should commit suicide; and I know that his majesty is a very compassionate personage." The night passed in this kind of melancholy discourse.

“Early in the morning the king marched towards Hindústán, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly, but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultán 'Alí, the pay-master, ordered 'Alí Dost to do it. The other replied, “You will not pay a Sháh Rukhí (3s. 6d.) to any person without the king's directions; therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from his majesty? perhaps to-morrow the king may say, ‘Why did you put out the eyes of my brother?’ what answer could I give? depend upon it, I will not do it by your order.” Thus they continued to quarrel for some time: at length, I said, “I will go and inform the king.” On which I, with two others, galloped after his majesty: when we came up with him, 'Alí Dost said, in the Chaghtái Turkí language, “No one will perform the business.” The king replied in the same language, abused him, and said, “Why don't you do it yourself?”

After receiving this command, we returned to the prince, and Ghulám 'Alí represented to him in a respectful and a condoling manner that he had received positive orders to blind him; the prince replied “I would rather you would at once kill me.” Ghulám 'Alí said, “We dare not exceed our orders: he then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he, with the Farrásh, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down and thrust a lancet (*nashtar*) into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him; he then said “Why do you sit upon my knees? what is the use of adding to my pain?” This was all he said, and acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes; he then could not forbear, and called out, “O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed, have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next.”

After some time he was placed on horseback, and we proceeded to a grove planted by the emperor Fírúz Sháh; where it being very

hot, we alighted; and after a short period again mounted, and arrived in the camp, when the prince was lodged in the tent of Mir Qásim.

The author of these pages seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him; I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a very melancholy mood; the king having seen me, sent Ján Muhammad, the librarian, to ask me "If the business I had been employed on was finished, and why I had returned without orders?" The humble servant represented, "That the business I had been sent on was quite completed." His majesty then said, "he need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe.*"

The next day we marched, and entered the territory of the chief, Piránah Janjúah. The aforesaid Piránah came and paid his respects to the king; but Sultán Adam having requested that the country might be given to him, it was done so; his majesty then entered the country of Rájá Sunkar, plundered about fifty of the villages, and took a number of captives; but these were released upon paying a certain ransom, by which the army gained considerable wealth.

The king now resolved on going to Kashmír, but the chiefs said, "This is not a proper season for going to such a country as Kashmír." The king was, however, obstinate, and Abul Ma'álí shot one of the refractory Mughul chiefs with an arrow, and ordered the others to march; on which several of the nobles seeing the determination of his majesty, went and complained to Sultán Adam, who immediately came to the king, and falling at his feet, requested him to forego his intention, assuring him that Islám Khán Súr was advancing into the Panjáb, and that the Afgháns, who had for some time abandoned the fort of Rohtás and crossed the Bahat river, had returned and again taken possession of that district; he, therefore, advised his majesty to return for the present

* Firishtah adds that some days after the sentence was carried into effect, Humáyún went to see him: Kamrán immediately arose and walking some steps forward to meet him said: "The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate. Humáyún burst into tears and wept bitterly. Kamrán eventually obtained permission to proceed to Makkah by the way of Sind, and having resided there three years, died a natural death in the year 964 (A. D. 1556.)

to Kábul and Qandahár, and having there recruited his army, he might next year come back and enter Hindústán or Kashmir, but in the meantime to place the river Sind between him and his enemies, and trust to Providence for the furtherance of his wishes.*

Malik Hast Janjúah, the chief of Makhiálá, having stopped the payment of the yearly tribute to the Gakk'hars, Sultán Adam sent a force against him under the command of his sons Lashkar Khán and Kohan Ráj. Malik Hast submitted. Next, Sultán Adam went to war with the Rájah of Jammú. The Rájah fled, and the bricks of his palace were brought away to Dángalí, where a 'chabutra,' or terrace, was constructed with them in commemoration of the victory.

Intelligence having been conveyed to Kamál Khán at Agra that Lashkar Khán, son of Sultán Adam, had fallen in love with the wife of 'Aláwal Khán, brother of Kamál Khán, and had caused 'Aláwal Khán to be treacherously murdered, Kamál Khán laid a complaint before the emperor, Akbar Sháh, who ordered the governor of Láhor to chastise Adam and to assist Kamál Khán. Accordingly with the assistance of the governor, Kamál Khán marched to Pharwálah, and Sultán Adam having come out to meet him, a great battle was fought between them. Sultán Adam was defeated, and he and his son Lashkar Khán were taken prisoners. Kamál Khán hanged Lashkar Khán, and confined Adam Khán at Pharwálah.

XXVII.

Kama'l Kha'n.

(A. D. 1562, A. H. 970.)

It is stated in the Akbarnámah of Abulfazl that in the hills and ravines of the country between the rivers Indus and Jhelam are the homes of the Gakk'hars. Though the emperors of Hindústán had invariably been graciously disposed towards Sultán Adam and his ancestors, yet they showed no signs of gratitude. His majesty, Akbar Sháh, had often condoned the misconduct of Sultán

* Stewart's translation of Janhar's *Tazkirah i Váq'át*, a history of the Emperor Humáyún, pages 103-107.

Adam in consideration of some trifling good services to the state formerly rendered by him.

On the accession of Akbar Sháh, Kamál Khán came to him, and received a jágír as a reward, and during the war of Khán Zamán with the son of 'Adlí, Kamál Khán, whose jágírs were situated in Haswab, Fathpúr and other parganahs, went with some of his own men to the war, and rendered assistance. He displayed great bravery, and on this circumstance being reported to the emperor, he was taken into greater favour by his imperial master.

On one occasion, the emperor was pleased to express his satisfaction with his conduct, and asked Kamál Khán in what manner he could reward him.

Kamál Khán replied that he was desirous of returning to his own country, but he could not do so, as his uncle Adam Khán had seized all his father's possessions. He added that his father Sultán Sárang had gallantly fought against Sher Khán (Sher Sháh) and that his father and he were taken prisoners. His father was executed, and that he (Kamál Khán) was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwáliár. Nevertheless although victorious in battle, Sher Khán was unable to secure a footing in that part of the country. It continued in the possession of Sultán Adam, the brother of Sultán Sárang. Further when Sher Khán was killed, and Salím Khán succeeded, the latter also strove hard to take the country, but in vain. That as regards himself, on one occasion Salím Khán ordered all the prisoners in the fort of Gwáliár to be destroyed. Accordingly, the prison where the captives were lodged, was blown up with gunpowder. The rest of the prisoners perished, whereas by the interposition of Providence he alone was saved, the cell in which he was confined having escaped injury. On being informed of his miraculous escape, Salim Khán ordered his release, and that he (Kamál Khán) had now spent a considerable period of his life in the service of his august master.

On hearing this speech of Kamál Khán, the emperor commanded that all the country which had been in the possession of Sultán Sárang and now held by Sultán Adam, should be divided into two shares. One share was to be retained by Adam and the other to be

made over to Kamál Khán. Instructions to carry these orders into effect were issued to Khán i Kalan, Mir Muhammad Khán, Mahdí Qásim Khán, Quṭb-uddín Muhammad Khán, Sharíf Khán, Ján Muhammad Khán, Rájah Kapúr Deo, and Rájah Rám Chand, jágírdárs in the Panjáb. It was also added that if Adam Khán did not obey these orders, he was to be coerced.

Kamál Khán having taken leave of his majesty, came to the Panjáb, and the jágírdárs above mentioned having communicated the imperial commands to Sultán Adam, neither he nor his son Lashkarí would obey them. Whereupon the jágírdárs reported the circumstance to the emperor, who sent a farmán to the effect that if Sultán Adam continued to be contumacious, he was to be punished, and the whole of the country was to be made over to Kamál Khán.

Adam Khán being still obstinate, the imperial troops were marched into his country. The latter were opposed by the Gakk'hars. A great battle took place at Híl* (Tahçil Gújar Khán). The Gakk'hars displayed great bravery, but they were totally routed and dispersed. Sultán Adam was taken a prisoner. Lashkarí fled to the hills of Kashmír, but was pursued, captured, and brought back. Thus the whole of the Gakk'har country, which had never before been conquered by any former king of Hindústán, was easily subjugated by the troops of the emperor Akbar.

Kamál Khán having been placed in possession of the country, and Adam and his son having been made over to Kamál Khán, the imperial forces returned to their quarters. Kamál Khán killed Lashkarí, and Adam Khán died in confinement.

Kamál Khán's generosity is still remembered. An anecdote is related of him that he once gave one lac of rupees to a *bhát*, or bard, for having recited some complimentary verses before him.

XXVIII.

Mubz'arak Kha'n.

(A. D. 1581, A. H. 989.)

His rule was uneventful in the annals of the Gakk'hars. Akbar built the fort at Aṭak in 1583. Sa'id Khán Gakk'har, with a

* The ferry of Híl on the Jhelam river is in the neighbourhood of Dángalí, the ancient capital of the Gakk'hars.

contingent of his followers, served against the Afgháns in Swat (Sawád) and Bajaur under Zain Khán Kokah.

Sa'id Khán was the son of Sultán Sárang. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salím (Jahángír), by whom she had a daughter 'Iffat Bánú Bégum, who died at the age of three years.*

XXIX.

Ajmi'r Kha'n.

(A. D. 1599, A. H. 1008.)

It happened that one Fath Khán, a Faransiál Gakk'har of Bishandot, a servant of Jalál Khán, was accidentally slain in a hunting expedition by Ajmír Khán. A quarrel ensued between 'Alí Muhammad, the brother of Jalál Khán, and Ajmír Khán. The result was a fight in which a great many persons lost their lives. Ajmír Khán was wounded, and went home and died.

XXX.

Jala'l Kha'n.

(A. D. 1618, A. H. 1028.)

A man of strict integrity and great benevolence. During a famine which raged in his country, he saved thousands from perishing by distributing food and money. Jalál Khán was killed in an expedition, undertaken by command of the emperor Jahángír against the Bangash Patháns, Trans-Indus.† Jalál Khán constructed the *pakkah* tank at Kurúnta near Bishandot, which is still in existence.

XXXI.

Akbar Quli' Kha'n.

(A. D. 1653, A. H. 1064.)

Defeated the Janjúahs in a battle at Mauza' Karchák'há (zil'ah Jhelam). Akbar Quli Khán rendered good service to the emperor of Dihli, Shádmán Khán, the son of Ajmír Khán, rebelled against him, but was vanquished and expelled the country. Akbar Quli Khán died of paralysis at Gujráat.

* Price's Memoirs of Jahángír, page 20, and *Akbarnámah*, Vol. III., page 561.

† *Tuzuk i Jahángíri*, Sayyid Ahmad's Edition, page 337.

XXXII.

Mura'd Qulí Khá'n.

(A. D. 1676, A. H. 1087.)

The parganah of Akbarábád was conferred upon Lashkarí Khán, the son of Murád Qulí Khán by the emperor Aurangzib. Lashkarí Khán settled down at Takhtpáří. Murad Qulí Khán died in the Khaibar pass.

XXXIII.

Allah Qulí Kha'n.

(A. D. 1681, A. H. 1093.)

Was a man of weak intellect. His wife, Rání Rangú, managed his affairs until his son Dúlú Diláwar Khán came of age, when Allah Qulí Khán was quietly deposed.

A daughter of Allah Qulí Khán was married on the 3rd Rajab, 1087, to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzib.*

XXXIV.

Du'lu' Dila'war Kha'n.

(A. D. 1705, A. H. 1117.)

Was a brave and powerful chief. He fought a battle at Bhakkar with Naçir Khán Liş by command of the emperor Bahádur Sháh, and gained a signal victory. He took Naçir Khán a prisoner and sent him to Dihlí. He rendered great assistance to the Mughul army in chastising the Afrídís and other Trans-Indus tribes. His tomb still exists at Phalak'har, near Kaler.

XXXV.

Mu'azzam Kha'n.

(A. D. 1726, A. H. 1139.)

Nothing remarkable is said to have occurred during the short rule of this chieftain.

XXXVI.

Muçarrab Kha'n.

(A. D. 1730, A. H. 1143.)

Many ballads are still extant in the district recounting the exploits of this celebrated warrior. It is related that Khojam Qulí Khán Khattak of Açak surprised and captured the fortress

* *Másir i 'Alamgírí.* Thus two Gakk'har ladies were married to Timurides.

of Ráwalpindí with the assistance of Nawázish 'Alf Gakk'har of Khánpúr. The fortress belonged to the sons of Mubárák Khán, chief of Takhtpári. The Gakk'hars of Ráwalpindí, headed by Amír Khán Firúzál, treacherously fell upon the Khattak garrison one day and slaughtered them all. On this Khojam Qulí Khán collected a large number of adherents and attacked Ráwalpindí. Muqarrab Khán came to the rescue of his kinsmen. The fight took place at Gházípúr, near the site of the ice-pits in the cantonment of Ráwalpindí, and the Khattaks were completely routed and destroyed.

Secondly. Muqarrab Khán had had a fight with Chaudhrí Mihr, a Kassar of Bádsháhání (zil'ah Jhelam) for having contrary to the custom of the country forcibly carried off some of his men who had fled to Muqarrab Khán and had found an asylum in his dominions. The Chaudhrí was killed, and his property given up to pillage.

Thirdly. Muqarrab Khán went as an ally of Dawán Ahmad Khán Gakk'har of Mírpúr against Asálat Khán Chib of Mauza' Punír. The Chibs were vanquished and their country was devastated.

Fourthly. Muqarrab Khan espoused the cause of Ahmad Khán in a dispute between the latter and Mulli Khán Mangrál of Saila Kotla, 'Iláqah of Jammú. The Mangrál's were defeated and Malik Khán killed.

Fifthly. Muqarrab Khan accompanied Nádir Sháh in 1738 to Hindústán, was present at the battle of Karnál (February, 1739), and then went on to Dihlí, where he was confirmed in his possessions of Dángalí and Pharwálah, and on Nádir Sháh's return to Kábul, he conferred on Muqarrab Khan at Láhor the title of Nawáb.

Lastly. The Sikhs who were rising into importance had in 1752 under their leaders Chart Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh come as far as Sayyid Kasrán and Basalí, and had plundered those towns. They compelled Muqarrab Khán to return from Láhor and to yield up his possessions beyond the Chanáb. They next attacked him at Gujráat, where he was slain in 1761, fighting desperately at the head of his men. The Sikhs then annexed the whole of his territories up to the river Jhelam.

XXXVII and XXXVI.I.

Na'dir 'Alí Kha'n
and
Sa'dullah Kha'n.

(A. D. 1761, A. H. 1175.)

Sultán Muqarrab left four sons, Nádír 'Alí Khán, Sa'dullah Khán, Mançúr 'Alí Khán, and Shádmán Khán. The two latter were mere children at time of their father's death.

The two former accordingly divided the parganahs of Dángalí and Pharwálah between them. They were, however, constantly quarrelling among themselves. In 1765, the Sikhs under Gújar Singh and Çáhib Singh invaded the Ráwalpindí district, and annexed the whole of the Gakk'har possessions to their own, leaving Milkha Singh, their Kárdár, to govern the country.

In 1805, Mahárajah Ranjít Singh succeeded Sirdár Çánib Singh, and appointed Jewan Singh and Anand Singh governors of the country.

Nádír 'Alí Khán and Sa'dullah Khán died without issue.

XXXIX and XL.

Mansu'r Ali' Kha'n
and
Shadma'n Kha'n.

(A. D. 1817, A. H. 1233.)

The latter enjoyed the jágír of Pharwálah up to A. D. 1817, when the governor Sirdár Anand Singh confiscated their jágírs, and allowed them a 'chahárum' (one-fourth) of the revenues. In 1825, Sirdár Búdh Singh deprived the Gakk'hars of all their property and expelled them from Pharwálah. Mahárajah Ranjít Singh, however, restored the Chahárums to them shortly afterwards.

In 1835, when Rájah Guláb Singh was appointed governor of the country, the Gakk'hars having again revolted, he imprisoned Shádmán Khán and Muddú Khán, the son of Mançúr 'Alí Khán deceased, together with all their families, and confiscated their Chahárums. They were in confinement until 1847. Shádmán Khán and Muddú Khán died in confinement.

XLI.

Hayátullah Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1837, *A. H.* 1253.)

In 1847, Major Abbott, Boundary Commissioner, had Hayátullah Khán, the son of Shádman Khán, and the other Gakk'hars, released. Hayátullah Khán enjoyed a pension of 1200 rupees per annum since the date of the annexation of the Panjáb by the British in 1849. The pension was granted to him in consideration of his having been dispossessed of his patrimony by the Sikh government. Hayátullah died in 1865, aged 55.

XLII.

Karamda'd Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1865, *A. D.* 1282.)

Son of Hayátullah Khán, lives at Duberun, Tahçil Kuhúta, and draws a pension of rupees 800 per annum for life. He is married to a daughter of Kamál Khán, his father's only surviving brother.

