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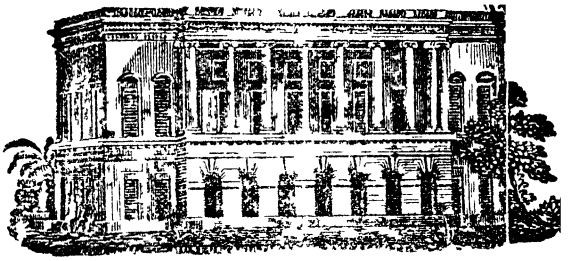
A

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MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWA'RI'KH

BY

'ABDU-L-QA'DIR IBN I MULUK SHA'H

KNOWN AS

AL-BADA'O'NI'

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

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TRANSLATION

OF THE منتخب التواريخ OF AL-BADAONI.[1]

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou[2] from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,[3] in what way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,[4] what my tongue speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my tongue.

1 *Al-Badáoní. Vide* Preface.

2 This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are commenced.

3 مَنزِل دیو وَدد شدَه.

4 حُدُوث That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-existing state or object, opposed to قِدَم—حُرُوف Particles, which alone convey no intelligible meaning—حرف also signifies a letter which is also *per se* meaningless.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling
2. in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloke [1] of meditation on men and regions [2] should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God,[3] so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality,[4]
Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised" [5] whose end is lauded;

[1] حدوث is of two kinds حدوث زماني which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence, and حدوث ذاتي which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. *Vide* Lane, art حدث. 1.

گريبان *Lit.* Collar or hood.

[2] انفسي و آفاقي Cf. Qurán xli. 53 سنريهم آياتنا في الآفاق و في انفسهم we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

[3] The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islám

سورة الاخلاص - قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد و لم يولد و لم يكن له كفوا أحد Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him. Qurán—Súrat-ul-Ikhláṣ.

[4] That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

أ إله مع الله بل هم قوم يعدلون Is there a God with God? Nay! but they are a people who make peers with him.

See also Súra vi. 1. Also the Súra quoted in note 3.

[5] محمد Muḥammad—the literal meaning of which is "Praised." He was thus named by his grandfather 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, "I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven" and he called the child Muḥammad. *Vide* Hughes, Dictionary of Islám Art. "Muḥammad."

Lord of the promised fountain,[1] and of the praise which is on every tongue[2] (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation[3] and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name.

The monarch of Arábia of whom the world is a manifestation,
The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name.
He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow[4]
To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless[5] praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalífahs[6] (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth[7] risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

1 M.S. (A) has, &c. حوض کوثر و ورد مورد صاف—a river in Paradise. إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثَرَ Verily we have given thee al-Kausar. Qurán cviii. 1. کوثر literally means "abundance."

2 مورود.

3 خطبه و سکه.

The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the *khuṭba* and issuing coin (*sikka*) stamped with his name.

4 Muḥammad was said to have no shadow.

5 Thousands upon thousands.

6 خلفای راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abú Bakr, A. H. 11. 'Umar, A. H. 13. 'Uṡmán, A. H. 23. 'Alí, A. H. 35, acknowledged by the Sunnís. The first three of these are rejected by the Shi'as who hold that 'Alí was the first legitimate Khalífah.

7 حق مبین Cf. Qurán xxvii. 81. فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ

Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth.

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.[1]

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a
3. lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and "*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,"[2] becomes a cause of misery

[1] الشرع. The sacred law. Cf. Qurán v. 52 لِكُلٍّ جَعَلْنَا مِنكُم شِرْعَةً وَمِنهَاجاً For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law is always called التَّوراة At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán الشرع is divisible into five sections إعتقادات beliefs — اداب moralities — عبادات devotions معاملات transactions — عقوبات punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Istiláḥát-ul-Funún, art شرع.—

[2] Qurán xvii. 84. وَنُنَزِّلُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ and we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers. *Vide* also Qurán xli. 44.

and everlasting loss "*and if they are not guided by it they say— "this is an antiquated lie.*" [1]

If this is the case with the Qurân.[2] what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,[3]
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony."

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,[4] because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the

1 Qurán xlvi. 10. In the original we read—فسيقولون In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Qurán.

2 I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase ذابذاريخ چه رسد.

3 مالیخولیا μελαγχολία. The orthography of this word is ماخولیا Sadídi الشرح فی الموجز) gives the etymology اخلط الاسود *the black humour*, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Jawáhir* says انما يقال مالیخوليا لما كان حدوثه عن السوداء غير محترقه و هو تغير الظنون والفكرعن المجري الطبيعي الى الفساد و الخوف لمزاج سوداوي يوحش الروح It is only called "málíkhúliá" where it is the result of (the humour called) "Saudá" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

4 اصل و مزع The two chief divisions of علم الفقه *Jurisprudence*. According to the Istiláhát-ul-Funún علم الفقه treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto, thus including all theological science; (Kashshâf Istiláhát-ul-Funún art. فقه) cf. الا شباة و النظائر *al Ashbáh wal Nazáir* by Zainul Abidín bin Najím, (H. K.774) الفقه اشرف العلوم قدراً.....واصوله ثابته وفروعه ثابته *i.e.* Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident.

seven sections [1] upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"*And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts*"[2] tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhárí [3] and Qází Baiẓáwí [4] up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthralling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

[1] سَبْعُ الْمَثَانِي The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. ولقد اتيناك سبعا من المثاني و القران العظيم .

مثاني being plural of مَثْنِي *repeating* or *reiterating*. The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also Tafsír ul Baiẓáwí الم

[2] Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

[3] Háfiẓ Abú'Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Abil Ḥasan Isma'íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Áhnaf Yezdibah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Mákúla a Maula of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám. He was the author of صحيح البخاري Saḥíḥ-ul-Bukhárí, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhárí is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of Khartang near Samarqand leaving no male issue. The صحيح البخاري is held in great esteem by Muslims.

[4] Qází Náṣir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abdullah Baiẓáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baiẓá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Alghâyatu fil fiqh. Sharḥ ul-Masábiḥ wal manáhij*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anwáru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baiẓáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. II., 252 and *note*.

recognised constructions[1] and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition.

"When the crow[2] becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction."

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root, its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands. 5.

This ancient Sháhnáma relates the affairs of the kings of the world.

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

1 مَحامِل is the plural from مَحمِل an inf. *e.g.* حَمَلَهُ أَحسَنَ مَحمِلٍ.

He put the best construction upon it, namely a saying (Lane, s.v. حمل.)

2 غُرَاب The Arab proverb runs thus:

مَنْ يَكُونِ الْغُرَابُ لَهُ دَلِيلًا يَمُرُّ بِهِ عَلَى جِيفِ الْكِلَابِ

"He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs." The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the Arabs say أَشْأَمُ مِنَ الْغُرَابِ More ill-omened than a crow.

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also غُرَابُ الْبَيْنِ The raven (or crow) of separation.

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with madness of the brain.
But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind, 'Abdul Qádir ibn Mulúk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999 [1] in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the Khalífah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí [2] when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír [3] which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian, yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metropolis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to the time of writing, in a concise manner,——

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the central point [4] (of Islám).

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

1 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

2 The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)

3 Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah Muḥammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-taranginí, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Aín-i-Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—*footnote* 1.

4 Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic phrase is السَّوَادُ الأعظم مِنَ المسلمين The collective body of the Muslims. *Vide* Lane *Art.* سواد.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying ——

> "These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are,
> Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies excel the stars in number,"

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted; and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexatious annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many; moreover by reason of fresh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place.

> "Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof."

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,[1] until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tárikh i Nizámí*[2] which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise.

1 در حیّز تعویق و تسویق می اُفتاد. *Lit.* used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.

2 Khwájá Nizámu-d-dín Aḥmad, son of Khwájá Muqím Haráwí díwán of the household of Bábar, is said in the *Zakhírátu-l-Qawánín* (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed díwán of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed *bakhshí* of the province of Gujrát.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author Tabaqát-i-Akbar-sháhí by which title Badáoni himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as Tabaqát.

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of
7. the chequered [1] hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindústan from the *Táríkh i Mubárak Sháhí* [2] and the *Niẓámu-t-Tawáríkh* of Niẓámí [3] which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Niẓámu-d-dín died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Niẓámu-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Niẓámu-d-dín's decease.

[1] معوج see Lane, *Art.* عوج. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return راجع عوج الأيام and العوج. The days.

[2] This work was written by Yahyá ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubárak Sháh. It commences with the reign of Muḥammad Sám, founder of the Ghorí dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhammad, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

[3] This must be the work already referred to, *i. e.*, the Tabaqát-i-Akbarí although the name Niẓámu-t-Tawáríkh does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name Niẓámu-t-Tawáríkh is generally restricted to the work by Baiṭáwí (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh*.[1] I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islám, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

"And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of the crow."

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it. 8.

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong.[2]

And since the first of the Emperors of Islám who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustán—(after Mahomed Qásim,[3]

[1] This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson, v. 477) specially given to a history by Haran ibn-Muḥammad al-Khákí ash-Shirází, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D). The work of Badáoní is known better as Táríkh-i-Badáoní.

[2] There is a play on the words زیان *wrong* and زبان *tongue* which cannot be preserved in translation.

[3] The incidents of Muḥammad Qásim's engagements and victories are related in the Chach Náma, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 131–211.) See also Futúḥu-l-Buldán of Al-Biládurí (E. and D. i. 113). His full name was Muḥammad ibn-Qásim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi 'Uqail, and he was sent during the Khalífatí of Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik 705–715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Biládurí Vol. i. p. 119.)

See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432, &c.

cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Ṣaqfí,[1] who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwáni[2] who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

[1] Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al.Ḥakam ibn-'Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málik ibn Ka'b, ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Auf ibn Qassí (called also Ṣaqíf). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walíd ibn Abdul Malik (705–715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slane) I. 356 and seqq). He founded the city of Wásit between Basra and Kufa (75 A H) He died on 21st Ramaẓán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slane *loc. cit.*).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God! thou hast caused him to die: let his example also die from among us."

"The tribe of Ṣaqíf was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Ṭáif, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát; the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Ṣaqíf) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies." (Caussin de Perceval, Hist. des Arabes, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muḥammad to Medina.

[2] Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik Marwáni, became Khalífah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalífate, his name was 'Abdul Malik ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwáni. It was during the Khalífate of Abdul Malik that al-Ḥajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyúṭí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalíf well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalífate many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyúṭí's Táríkhu-l-Khulafá, pp. 227–230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Rájá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muḥammad Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves.

country lost all order) were *Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín*[1] whose son was *Sulṭán Maḥmúd Ghaznaví* who every year used to make incursions into India with the object of plundering and engaging in religious warfare, and in the reign of whose sons Lahore be-

When they were summoned before the Khalífah Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik, he became enamoured of them and desired to retain them. They however assured him that Muḥammad Qásim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the Khalífah and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walíd being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muḥammad Qásim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital. Muḥammad Qásim received the letter at "Udháfar" (Oodypúr) obeyed its orders and was brought before the Khalífah dead.

The Khalífah taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, shewed the corpse to Dáhir's two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls." (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 210,-211, Appendix 437, Aín-i-Akbari, Vol. II. 345, and *footnote*). Muḥammad Qásim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendants of the Banú Tamím Ansárí from whom it passed to the Súmrá Rájpúts.

[1] "In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the Khalífate of Hisham b-Abdul, Malik Amín b-Abdullah Kashari, governor of Khurásán, conquered Ghor Gharjistán, the territory of Nímroz and Kábul, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbás it was held by the governor of Khurásán until under the Sámánís, Alptigín, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghazní and Kábul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktigín, father of the great Mahmúd, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of Ghazní"

I have quoted this *verbatim* from Jarrett's translation of the Aín-i-Akbarí Vol. II. p. 414, because it shews in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muḥammad Qásim and Subuktigín.

Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bukhára where he was sold to Alptigín, who from being governor of Khurásán had by revolt against Manṣúr (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over Ghazní.

Subuktigin some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptigín and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghazní, Alptigín having died two years previously, during which period his son Abú Iṣḥáq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznivide Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore. (See Briggs *Ferishta, Vol. I. pp.* 11-96,) also (Elliott and Dowson, *Vol II.* 207-221.) See also *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* (Raverty) page 70 and *footnote.*

came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

The Ghaznivide Dynasty.

From Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín to Khusrau Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hindústán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín

Was of Turkí origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amír Manṣúr-ibn-Núḥ Sámání.[1] In the year 367 H. after the death of Abú Isḥáq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded[2] to the imperial throne in the city of Bust[3] and raised the standard of conquest, and

[1] The eighth prince of the Samání dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sámání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sámán. It held sway over Khurásán and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhárá—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amír Abul Hirṣ Manṣúr died at Bukhárá 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Núh. (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sámání dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abú Isḥáq was appointed by Mansúr as governor of Ghaznín upon the death of his father Alptigín in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Alptigín died in 352 A. H. and Isḥáq in 355 A. H. upon the death of Isḥáq Balkátigín, the slave of Alptigín succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pírey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigín. (See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 71–73.)

[2] The *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* states that Subuktigín succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznín (Raverty pp. 46–74.)

[3] *Bust*, the capital of Zábulistán (*vide Abul Feda* II., ii. 201) which includes Kábul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yákút from Zábul, grandfather of Rustam. (*Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). "According to the Qánún Bust is situated in 91°83′ long: and 32°15′ lat: according to the Aṭwál in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [*see Aín-i-Akbari*. Vol. II. 115, *footnote* 4] Chief

girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustán on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Júd [1] and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the 9.
ruler of Hindustán, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát,[2] the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amír Náṣiru-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amír Náṣiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.[3] Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amír Núḥ-ibn-Manṣúr Sámání [4] and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurásán and the regions beyond the river.[5] Finally in the month of Sha'bán [6] of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.,) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMÍNU-D-DAULAT SULṬÁN MAḤMÚD IBN NÁṢIRU-D-DÍN GHAZNAVÍ.

When Subuktigín, in the month of Sha'ban 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznín, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (*Abul Feda* II., ii. 108) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmund) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iráq. (II. 76).

[1] *The Koh-i-Júd:* includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

[2] *Lamghán.* See Abul Feda II. ii. 201. According to the Lobáb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah. (See Abul Feda I. cccxlvi) *Lamghán.* Long 104°50′ Lat 34°3 Áín-i-Akbarí iii. 89.

[3] The reading of the خطبة (Khutba) and striking the سكة (sikka) that is stamping the currency, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islám, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

[4] See History of the Caliphs As Suyútí (Jarrett) pp. 432-433.

[5] ماوراء النهر Máwará-un-nahr. *Transoxiana.*

According to Yaqút in his Mushtarik, Túrán is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See *Abul Feda* "Transoxiana," for a full account of the countries included under this name.

[6] The eighth month of the Muḥammadán year.

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'íl as his successor.[1] When this news reached Maḥmúd who was the elder son of Subuktigín, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'íl should give up Ghaznín to Maḥmúd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'íl refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmúd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'íl, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznín for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'íl then came and had an interview with Maḥmúd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamínu-d-Daulat Maḥmúd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmúd and Manṣúr ibn-Núḥ Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Núḥ.[2] Eventually Maḥmúd got the upper hand. The Amírs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fáiq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Maḥmúd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznín, and the frontiers of Hindustán came into the hands of Maḥmúd.

Maḥmúd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábul[3]

[1] The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigín to nominate his younger son Isma'íl. The author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* ignores Isma'íl's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigín died in 387, and Maḥmúd succeeded according to Fanákatí in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'íl held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Mahmúd in Ghazní, represents his whole reign.

[2] The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmúd against the nomination of Bak-Túzún to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, pp. 49, 50). Manṣúr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáiq and Baktúzún who then by agreement with Maḥmúd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr. Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of Sulṭán and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, Coins of Kings of Ghazní, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481.

[3] She was the daughter of Alptagín, governor of Ghaznín, which is here meant by Zábul, the words 'that is Qandahár" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahár *] accordingly, he is called Maḥmúd Zábulí—as Firdausí [1] says:

The auspicious court of Maḥmúd Zábulí is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it:
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalífah of Baghdád Al-Qádir billáhi 'Abbási.[2] Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amíru-l-Míllat Yamínu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A.H., (997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadí [3] composed the following *qaṣída* in honour of this expedition:

When the king of kings marched to Somnát [4]
He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwál, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Maḥmúd returned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry, 11.

* Not in MSS (A) or (B).

[1] Firdausi. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1, and Majma'ul Fuṣahá I. 382.

[2] Al-Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Aḥmad-ibn-Isḥák ibn il Muqtadir was born in 336 A.H. His Khalífate lasted from 381 A. H. to 422, the year of his death, a period of forty-one years. As Suyúṭí quoting from Al-Khatíb says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p. 431.)

[3] Hakím Abú Naẓar 'Abdul 'Azíz ibn-Manṣúr contemporary of Hakím Ansurí, Hakím Farrukhí, and Hakím Firdúsi. He died in 432 A. H. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol. I. p. 340.) The qaṣída in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, *loc. cit.* MS. (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads ﺑﺎﺭ for ﺑﺮ. 'Asjadí was a celebrated poet of Merv. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansurí (p. 82, note 1).

[4] Somnát. Situated according to the Qánún in 97° 10′ long. and 22° 15′ lat. Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Saíd says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Guzerát or the country of Lar. (See Bayley, History of Gujerat, p. 18, etc., *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II. (Jarrett) 246, etc. Abul Feda II. ii. 116.)

See also Albirúní India (Sachau) I. 205, and Index *Somanátha.*

See also p. 27 of this volume, &c.

and reduced Peshâwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sulṭán Maḥmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand *dínárs*,[1] and the necklets of the others too, on the same

[1] Note 1. *Dínár.*

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the *Dínár*, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the Khalífate of Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyúṭí gives the following account: "Yahyá-b-Bakayr narrates:—'I heard Málik say that the first who coined dínárs was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the dínár "Say, God is One." (Qur. cxii.) and on the reverse, "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God" This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our dínárs the mention of what you will not like." Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dínárs which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D 694.)

The origin of the word *dínár* is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words فلس *fals* and درهم *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19–246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½*d*. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8·5 to 9·75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the *dínár* and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another *dínár* mentioned in the Rájá Taranginí and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,[1] the 8th of Muḥarram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Maḥmúd proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah[2] which was the residence[3] of Jaipál, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muḥarram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznín and proceeded to Hindustán by way of Seistán and assaulted Bhátia[4] which is in the vicinity of Multán. The Rájá of that place, Beji Ráí, fearing the punishment of the Sulṭán killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sulṭán. Many Hindús, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Maḥmúd took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Dá'úd ibn-Naṣr[5] the renegade ruler of Multán, being reduced to submission by the Sulṭán, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand *dirhams*[6] annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden *dínár* was double the weight of the silver *dínár* and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver *dínár* in terms of *dínárs* of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Dáud ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Blochmann I. p. 36) that "the Dínár is a gold coin weighing *one miṣqál, i.e.*, 1⅓ dirhams" but as both the *dirham* and the *miṣqál* were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. (Art.) *Denarius.*

[1] Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram.

[2] *Tabarhindah.* Firishta calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipál's capital in a history of the Rájás of Jamú. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*, pp. 76-80 *footnote*; see Tieffenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II. 438.

[3] MS. (A) has جای بودن Text has مقر which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

[4] MS. (A) has بهاتة Bháta MS. (B) has بهاتّه Bháṭa. The real name of this place is according to Elliott *Bhera*, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 439-440.

[5] Grandson of Shaikh Hamíd Lodí, first ruler of Multán (Briggs, p. 40.)

[6] Firishta says 20,000 golden dirams. According to the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Vol. I. 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18).

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmír, and the Sultán reached
12. Multán by way of Hindustán.[1] Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán[2] king of Máwará an-Nahr.[3] Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál[4] Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjúrí but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar[5]—which nowadays is known

1 Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihând or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

2 See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasirí*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí-Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, *footnote* 9.

See also Briggs' Firishta, pp. 42–44.

3 Transoxiána.

4 Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkpál Naba سوکپال نبه According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist. of India, p. 280.

5 This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort *itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra.* In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol. I, he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar cott est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Saktí or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thána of Bhím—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhím, and in the early part of the year 400 H. he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 401 H. (1010 A.D.) he left Ghaznín and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians[1] and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,[2] where they died. He took Dáúd ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghaznín and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghorí,[3] where he died.

In the year 402 H. (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thánesar[4] and Jaipál, the son of the former Jaipál, offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultán, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose; so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thánesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghaznín, the idol known as Chakar- 13.

[1] A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H. under Abu Táher, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sale's Qurán, Prel. Discourse, pp. 130-131) D. Herbelot (*Carmate*).

[2] MS. (A) درقلع

[3] Firishta غورک MS. (A) غوری

[4] Thánesar. 76·62 E. 29·30 N. *vide* Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, "Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien." The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Dehli giving the stages,—Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Carnal 14, Asamabad 7, Thanessor 9. It lies N.-W. of Dehli and is now called Thaneswar. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 330–332. See Alberuni, I. 199.

sûm,[1] on account of which the Hindús had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Ghurjistán,[2] and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sulṭán heard that he was of the Bátiní sect,[3] he exposed him to public ridicule[4] and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,[5] a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II[6] left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sulṭán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sáregh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznín.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot,[7] which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmíris, and returned to Ghaznín. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

[1] Chakrasvámin, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakra svámin, *i.e.*, the owner of the *Cakra*."

[2] Gharjistán, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. *See Jácut in voc. Gharshistán.*

[3] Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims. For an account of them see Cureton's كتاب الملل والنحل page 147 —They were variously called القرامطة الباطنية - الملحدة - التعليمية - المزدكية

[4] تشهير كردن Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

[5] Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberúni, Sachau trans, 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnát mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

[6] Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipál I.

[7] Called also Lohkot by Firishta. MSS. (A) (B) have لوهركوت.

with Abul Abbás ibn Mámún Khwárazm Sháh,[1] and sent her to Khwárazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of ruffians murdered Khwárazm Sháh, and Maḥmúd leaving Ghaznín, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwárazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamártásh, the commander-in-chief of Khwárazm. The Sulṭán's forces gained the day and Maḥmúd appointed Altún Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárazm Sháh, and returned (to Ghaznín) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H., he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,[2] and having crossed the seven[3] dangerous rivers of Hindustán, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kúraḥ,[4] the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

[1] For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Náṣiri*, pp. 231 &c., (*note* 2.) Khwárazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jurján) see Abul Fedá II. ii. 209. Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c. The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dacæ, Massagetæ and Soghdi. (Smith's Dict. of Geog.)

[2] Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindú capital of Northern India. Firishta states that when Maḥmúd approached Qanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled." (Briggs. I. 57). See also Alberúni (Sachau tr. I. 199). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op. cit, 376, &c).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia coubadj" ce qui signifie *la vierge bossue*. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

[3] These in the order Mahmúd met with them were the—

Indus *Skst.* Sindhu Gr. Ἰνδος "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus" (Pliny.)
Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes *Skst.* Vitastá (Vihut) or Viyatta.
Chenáb Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.
Rávi Hydraotes (Arrian) *Skst.* Iravatí. Hyarotis (Strabo).
Biáh Hyphasis or Hypanis *Skst.* Vipása.
Sutlej Zaradrus. Hesydrus (Pliny) *Skst.* Shatladar.
Jamuna Jaun or Yamuná.

(See also *Áín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Alberuni, Chaps. xxiv, xxv.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) کورج Kúrah. According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kúnwar Rái, see Elliott, Vol. ii. p. 461.

fortress of Barnah[1] whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Mahmúd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand[2] rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Mahmúd proceeded to the fortress of Mahawun[3] on the banks of the river Jon,[4] where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar[5] attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultán arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.
When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies
Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra[6] which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultán, a golden idol, the weight of which was

[1] Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mírath. *Baran.* See Elliott II. 458, on the reading برنه MS. (A.) has برته Bartah and gives بردت Bardat as the name of its ruler.

[2] According to Firishta 250,000 silver dínars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as $1\frac{5}{8}$ of a rupee. In the *Aín-i-Akbarí* we find no mention of a silver dínár, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{1}{10}$ of a dínár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dínár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

[3] *Vide* Tieff. 166. Mahában avec une forteresse en brique.

[4] The river Jumna. *Alberuni* "the river Jaun (Yamuna) p. 199.

[5] Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) کلچند Kulchand.

[6] *Vide* Tieffenthaler I. 201 *et seq.*

Muthra or Mâhurâ, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—*see* Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rájá Kansa. Arrian calls it *Methoras* while Pliny states that the river *Jomanes* (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindávana) Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 374-375.

ninety-eight thousand three hundred *miṣqáls*[1] of refined gold and a piece of sapphire[2] whose weight was four hundred and fifty *miṣqáls*: besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rájá Gobind Chand, one of the Rájás of Hindustán, which the Sulṭán had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultán's camp without a keeper. The Sulṭán was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádád.[3] When the spoil reached Ghaznín it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty-three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.[4]

In the year 410 H. (1019 A.D.), Maḥmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustán and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandá the Rája of Kálinjar,[5] who

[1] The Miṣqál = 1½ dirhams = 6 dangs = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin. (*Ain-i-Akbarí*, I. 36.) Cf. Hebrew *shekel* שֶׁקֶל see also Alberuni I. 160–164.

[2] ياقوت كحلي Firishta says ياقوت ازرق a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of ياقوت احمر ازرق ابيض — and آسمانجوني *i.e.* red, blue, white, and coerulean.

[3] The gift of God.

[4] From collating the MSS. A. and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is

و چون بغزنين رسيد شمار آن غنايم بيست و اند بار هزار هزار درم و پنجاه و سه هزار برده و سيصد و پنجاه و اند فيل بود -

Both MSS. have بوده but we must read برده as in Firishta, Vol. I p. 51, line 9, *et seq.* we read thus:—

و چون بغزنين رسيد غنائم سفر قنوج را شمار كردند بيست هزار دينار و هزاران هزار درم بشمار درآمد و پنجاه هزار برده و سيصد و پنجاه فيل و ديگر نفائس خارج اين بود -

and when he reached Ghaznín they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj, twenty thousand dinárs and thousands of thousands of dirams, and fifty thousand slaves and 350 elephants, besides other booty in addition to these. (Firishta, Vol. I. p. 51, l. 9 *et seq.*).

[5] *Kálinjar* in Dangaya, Bundelkhand. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 244. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Sháh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of Dangaya (Bundelkhand) from the time of Muḥammad, king of Dehli. (1718 to 1748). Lat. 25 N, Long. 85·5 E. (See *Ain-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 158.159).

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000[1] infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qanauj on the occasion of his submission to the Sulṭán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sulṭán. The servants of the Sulṭán who had gone forward to
16. the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sulṭán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmud proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwáliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.[2]

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sulṭán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sulṭán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sulṭán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

[1] The text has صد و چهل و پنجهزار Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

[2] Abul Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbarí*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Maḥmúd. The Sulṭán victorious and triumphant returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 414 H. (1024 A.D.), Mahmúd went to Balkh, and passed the river Jaihún.[1] The chiefs of the regions beyond the river,[2] hastened to meet him, and Yúsuf Qadr Khán king of the whole of Turkístán, came out to receive him, and visited the Sulṭán. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Alí Tagín, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sulṭán pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindustán, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghaznín. 17.

Once more[3] he led his army against Somnát, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,[4] a place of worship of the Brah-

[1] The Amú Daryá or Oxus. *Jaihún* is the name of the great river which separates Khwárazm and Khurásán from Bokhárá, Samarqand and that country: all the region on the Bokhárá side of the river is called the country beyond the river (má warā annahr) I. K. iii. 229. According to Abul Fazl Balkh is situated in Long 101·40 Lat 36·41. The Jaihún, is also called "the river of Balkh." See also Abul Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 198-199.

[2] ماوراء النهر - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwárazm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Badakhshán to the frontiers of Khwárazm. See Abul Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 212 and *seq.*

[3] The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow (Ibn Asír and) Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H. (Elliott, II. 468).

[4] Somnát, South-west of the peninsula of Guzerat, Long. 107·10, Lat. 22·15, (*Aín-i-Akbarí.* (J.) iii. 58,) on the sea shore. At a distance of 50 farsakh from Bazâna, (*Alb*). The river Sarsuti falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somanath (*Alb.* 261). It was here that the Yâdavas killed each other (*Alb.* 405).

The idol of Somanâth is stated by Alberuni to have been the linga of Mahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Somanáth means master of the moon. "The image was destroyed by the Prince Maḥmúd, may God be merciful to him!—A. H. 416." Alb. II. 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somanáth, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Śrávana is a fast day holy to Somanáth.

See also Elliot, II. 468–476, also Elphinstone 286, *note* 16-17, Briggs' Fir. I. 68, 73, 74. *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Vol. II. 246, and *note*.

Qazwíní in his *Aṡár-ul-Bilád* gives an account of the idol of Somnát and states that it was suspended in mid-air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindí language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.[1] The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan[2] which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Maḥmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where
18. it was placed at the door of the Jámi' Masjid and trodden under foot[3].

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,[4] one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Maḥmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíní died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

[1] Cf. Qurán LIII. 19, 20. Zamakhsharí in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzáa and Ṣaqíf, and that it was called Manát لان دمياء النسائك كانت تمني عنده (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

[2] Pattan. Tieffenthaler I. 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Ain-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' Firishta, I., 69., &c, Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

[3] Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

[4] Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Maḥmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (Kandama *Tárikh-i-Alfí*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île: mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies so exactly with Firishta's that there can be little

Sindh.[1] His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznín in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qádir billáhí[2] the Khalífah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultán[3] to the Governorship of Khurásán and Hindustán, Nímroz and Khwárazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahfu-d-Daulat wal Islám to the Sultán, and to his elder son Amír Mas'úd that of Shahábu-d-Daulat wa Jamálu-l-Millat, and to Amír Muḥammad his younger brother that of Jalálu-d-Daulat, and to Amír Yúsuf that of 'Aẓdu-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats[4] of the vicinity of Multán, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmúd brought an army to Multán—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multán river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultán, on which they had arranged some especial contrivance,[5] and the Jats were drowned and sank in the whirlpool of destruction, and the rest became food for the sword, their families were taken captive, and the Sulṭán, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznín.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Báward[6], he

doubt as to the identity of Gandaba with Canda. Cf. Elliott II. 473, *note* 1 Elphinstone Hist. of India, 289.

In the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* this rájá is called Parama Dev.

[1] For particulars of this march see Briggs' Firishta I. 78. Elph. 290, and *note*. *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* (Raverty) p. 83, cf. Elliott II. p. 192 from *Jámi'u-l-Ḥikáyát*.

[2] History of the Caliphs (Jarrett) p. 431, Al Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Aḥmad-b-Isḥáq b-il-Muqtadir. A. H. 381–422.

[3] See Elliott II. pp. 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmúd of title of Sulṭán, see also p. 16 of this volume *note* 2.

[4] Cf. Elliott II. p. 477, and I. p. 507. The Jats.

[5] Cf. Elliott II. 477. Briggs' Firishta I. 82.

The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the *rostrum* or ἔμβολος of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Pisæus. (Smith, Dict of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and *note*.

[6] Báward. MS. (A.) has بجانب ماورا آلنهر باورد رفته MS. (B.) is same as the text. Abîward ville du Khorâsân est située selon l' *Aṭwâl* par 84° de longi-

utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai[1] and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated
19. the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,[2] his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20′ de latitude. On la nomme encore, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

[1] A district of Persian 'Iráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Aṭwál*, in long. 76° 20′ and latitude 35° 35′. Its original name was he states, Rází.

Ibn Ḥauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaiján. It is the ancient Rhages or Ῥαγάι of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakaríya Ar-Rází, familiar to the medical world as Rházes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (فى الجدري والحصبة) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λοιμικῆς in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (*Hamadán*). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahán. The famous jurisconsult Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kisáyí the reader of the Qurán, are buried there. Persian Iráq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qáshán, Ispahán and Hamadán. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art. Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 *et seqq*.

[2] Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Maḥmúd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shews that this is not the case. The words are مرض سوء القنية يا سل بهم رسانيدند &c.

The disease سوء القنية *Sú-ul qinya* which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller *sub voce* قنيت "pravus habitus corporis, *gr.* κακέξια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of *Baḥru-l-Jawáhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined:

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (*i.e.* contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A.H.,[1] and was buried at Ghaznín. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was

restricted to another disease, this term *Sú ul qinyá* is made applicable to this condition."

In the *Istiláḥátu-l-Funún* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Mújaz* of *Sadídí*, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *dinárí* and *wardí* is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges; Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease." (*Al Mughní fí Sharḥi Mújaz* by Sadídí).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Maḥmúd died was not either hectic fever (Badáuní) or phthisis سل (Firishta), but an anæmia, very probably "idiopathic anæmia" or "progressive pernicious apæmia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anæmia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV. 188, *note* 1.

[1] This date is the same as that given by Firishta.

Raverty in the *Tabaqát-i-Naṣírí*, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi [1] the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí [2] says:

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the world
Save only this saying "He recognized not the worth of Firdausí.

Rabí'u-ṣ-ṣaní, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Maqámát of Amíd Abú Naṣr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

[1] Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorâsân where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzída). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Sháh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *miṣqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *miṣqáls*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sulṭan in the very copy of the *Sháhnámah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dínárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkada 'Áẕur p. 92 et seqq*, also Atkinson's *Sháhnamah, Preface*: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

[2] Mulla Núrud-Dín Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of "Yúsuf and Zulaikha" Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Átash-kadu-i-Áẕur* p. 78.

He was called مولانا *the holy* from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alí Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the Taẓkira of Muḥammad Ufí,[1] the following *Qiṭa'h* has been attributed to the Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

From the dread of the world-winning sword and the fear of the fort-crushing sceptre,
The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and riches
At another time following Avarice roamed I from country to country; 20.
Oft would I boastfully say Lo! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are equals.
I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of castles
With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without number
When Death made the final assault, naught then did my splendour avail me
Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

SULṬÁN MUḤAMMAD IBN SULṬÁN MAḤMUD GHAZNAVÍ,

Who was styled Jalálu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalán[2] a relative of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznín, and a month and a half after his accession Amír Aiyáz[3] came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahábu-d-Daulah Mas'úd who was at

[1] Muḥammad Ufí, author of a biography or "Taẓkira" *Lubábu-l-Albáb*, and of another work called *Jámiu-l-Ḥikáyát*. The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A.H.). He was a native of Merv which under the Saljúq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Núruddín Muḥammad Ufí. (Beale, O. B. D.). See also J. R. A. S., Vol. IX. 113.

Hájí Khalfa calls him Jamálu-d-Dín Muḥammad al Ufí. See J. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 111.

[2] Called in the *Taẓkirat-ul-Mulúk*, 'Alí son of Iyal Arsalán a relative of the late Sulṭan Maḥmúd. (Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 89 *note* 8).

Firishta calls him Amír 'Alí, son Kizil Arsalán father-in-law of Maḥmúd. (Briggs, 93). See Elliott, IV. 193. Alí Kurbat (Raverty), or Alí Khisháwandí.

[3] Abul Najm Amír Aiyáz (Firishta).

Sipáhán.[1] Amír Muḥammad despatched Súndhí[2] Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amír Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muḥammad. Amír Aiyáz joined Amír Mas'úd at Nísḥapúr,[3] and four months later Amír Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust,[4] and came out in full force from Ghaznín with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád[5] all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bajj[6] in Majbaristán[7] and having gone over to Amír Mas'úd with the whole army and treasures, went
21. to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muḥammad reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baiẓáví[8] it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the[9] *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh* writes that Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazna for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'úd, and after the murder of Mas'úd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch;

[1] Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).

[2] Sewand Rai (Firishta).

[3] The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).

[4] Fourteen marches from Ghazní in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazní. Abul Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).

[5] Takínábád, see Elliott ii. pp. 271, 293 iv. p. 193 note 1. Briggs places it 80 miles N. of Ghazní; see *Ain-i-Akbarí* (J) III. 68. Long. 101° 5, Lat. 33.°

[6] The reading ازمجبرستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read, در قلعهٔ فج که از بحر سناب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, however I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*.

[7] Variously called Walaj (Firishta) Mangsál (*Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

[8] Abú Saíd Abdullah ibn Abúl Hasan Alí Baiẓáwí. See Elliott, II. 252.

[9] Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Laṭíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslán[1] reach the sky in its grandeur,
Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslán beneath the dust.

SHAHÁBU-D-DAULAT SULṬÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAḤMÚD.

By the consent of the Amírs and Vazírs of Maḥmúd he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Harí[2] to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandí whom Sulṭán Maḥmúd kept a prisoner in the fort of Kálinjar, made him a Vazír. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghaznín and thence started for Sipáhán and Rái, and arriving at Herát engaged in war with the Turkománs, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkománs increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.[3]

In the year 423 H. Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandí died, and in 22.
the year 424 Sulṭán Mas'úd having undertaken to conquer

[1] Abú Shujá' Muḥammad, son of Chákirbeg Dáúd, son of Mikáíl, son of Saljúq, son of Duqáq surnamed 'Aẓdu-d-Daulat Alp Arslán (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljúqíyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorásán in 451 A. H. (see Raverty 132, *note* 2). Born 424 A. H., murdered 465 A H. The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* to Ḥakím Sanáí a celebrated poet of Ghazní. His most celebrated work is the *Ḥadíqat-ul-Ḥaqíqat wa Sharí'atu-t-Ṭaríqat* otherwise known as *Fakhrínámah*. His full name was Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanáí Al Hakím. He died in the year 525 H. (4th December, 1130) (H. K.).

See also *Majma'ul Fuṣahá* I. 254 and *Átashkada-i-Azur*, p. 108. cf. I. K. (Slane) iii. 230.

[2] Herát. The well-known city in Khurásán, the ancient Aria (Ἀρεια) (see D. G. R. G. $\frac{I}{210}$).(Abul Feda II. ii. 193,) founded by Alexander. Meynard *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 592, note 1, says:

L' opinion generale des Persans est qu' Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Nerimân le Pehlevân et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre ...
لهراسب نهاده إست هريرا بنياد گشتاسپ زنو بناي ديگر بنهاد بهمن پس
ازان عمارت دگر كرد اسكندر رومپش همه داد بباد.

Le nom d'origine qui en derive est Harawí.

[3] *i e.* The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljúqíyah in 429 H. by Tughril Beg.

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí[1] which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sulṭan Mas'úd reduced Amal[2] and Sári[3] and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there[4] and sent Tughdí Beg and[5] Ḥusain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Ḥusain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'úd.

Amír Aḥmad Niyál Tigín[6] the treasurer of Sulṭán Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,[7] on arriving in Hindústán revolted[8] and the Amír Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir[9] to oppose him. Aḥmad being overcome in battle fled to Manṣúrah[10] in Sindh and was drowned—his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

1 Sursatí. (Firishta) a fortress situated among the hills of Kashmír.

2 'Amol. the capital of Tabaristán, birthplace of at-Tabari. Abul Feda (*R*) *II. ii.* 177–179.

3 Sári or Sáriyah in Tabaristán (according to *al-Lubáb* in Mázindarán.)

4 *Lit.* had coins struck and the Khuṭbah read in his own name.

5 MSS. (A) and (B) تغدي بيگ و.

6 Cf. *Táríkhu-s-Subuktigín.* Elliott II. 116. He was supposed to be a natural son of the Amír Maḥmúd.

7 As governor, with kettle-drums and banners and all things usually given to generals of the army.

8 Elliott II. 125. Baihaqí says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Aḥmad Niyál Tigín having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.

9 Baihaqí says, Tilak the Hindu was sent: while Firishta states that Mas'úd sent Náth one of the Chiefs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Túlak ibn Ḥusain was sent who killed Aḥmad.

Briggs translates "Tilok the son of Jye Sein"—and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindú.

10 Al Manṣúrah in Sindh: the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muḥammad ibn ul Qásim ibn ul Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 20 *farsakh* from Bhâti, situated between the arms of the Mihrân river. (*Alberúni*) Almanṣûra. Tieffenthaler, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see Impe. Gazetteer. Also Abul Feda. II. ii. 113. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 327 and *note*. also III. 58, and *note*.

Sulṭán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign,[1] and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hánsí[2] and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat.[3] Deipál[4] the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipál's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'úd turned his steps towards the valley of Rám[5] who sent a large offering accom- 23.
panied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír[6] Abúl-Mujáhid son of Mas'úd,[7] the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznín.

In the year 428 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghaznín for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkománs who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sulṭán then

1 As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.

2 According to Baihaqí this fort had been hitherto known as "The Virgin" as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabí'-ul Awwal. Hánsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissár. Tieffenthaler I. 134.

3 Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tieffenthaler I. 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS. (A and B). read قلعهٔ سنپت

4 MSS. (A and B). دنبال

5 Firishta's account is almost identical here.

6 Firishta writes فرزند خویش ابوالمجد ودرا His son Abúl Majdúd. See also Raverty p. 95, *note* 7. In the text we should read ابوالمجاهد بن مسعود

7 Here I follow MS. (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازاب جیحون گذشته تمام ماورا النهر را متصرف شد و داود ترکمان که تغدي بیگ و امیرحسن را قبل ازین شکست داده بود بجمعیت تمام قصد بلخ نمود .

MS. (B) reads, و سلطان ازاب جیحون گذشته تمام قصد بلخ نمود

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first تمام and instead of continuing ماورا النهر را he has gone on قصد بلخ نمود that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shewn by the next line where he writes و درین اثنا تعدي بنواحي کورکان درازکرد for و درین اثنا تغدي دست تعدي بنواحی کورکان دراز کرد

crossing the Jíḥún occupied the whole of Transoxiána. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Ḥusain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'úd thereupon returned from Transoxiána to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán[1] leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg[2] had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú[3] the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sulṭán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ẓiáí[4] of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

24. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,
It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.
My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

1 See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

2 MS. (A) has تغدي not لغدي بگ.

3 Isráíl-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) p. 94, *note* 2, page 116, *note* 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty. See also Ibn Khall: (Slane) iii. 225 and *seqq.*

4 *Ẓiáu-d-Dín Khajandí Al Fársí*, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sulṭán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fusahá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)
Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding tears

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the love of thee, nor do I weep alone.

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping.

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me
Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next.

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass that the whole world should weep from my time to that of the king?

Béghú Malik Sháh, he who by his sword made the brave warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.

The King Nizám Dín to whom at the time of his conflict
Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dárá the sound of weeping.

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his eloquence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep, cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its zenith, 25.

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?
There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.

Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects
But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,
After all what use is praise to me with weeping.

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep like Wámiq and 'Azrá[1]
May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

26. The following is also by him:—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar[2] at the opening of each smile!
Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at one time.)
I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief and pain,
I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news of a smile.
Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of mourning
The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am?
It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.

27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful always to smile from joy and pride.

[1] The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Aṣmán, Lamáí; and the other by Muḥíd, a native of Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).

[2] ای لب شکرریز must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Niẓámu-ud-Dín, whose friends are always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling.
If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation, even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile.
A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son.
It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling.
Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden[1] of two doors.
Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel.
Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield.
Following after victory when thy sword is furious
There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven, a smile.
Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile.

In order that the saffron[2] may fulfil the promise of its properties, namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men; may the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from fear of thee smile from his want of success:

[1] *i.e.*, the world. Birth and death are the two doors.

[2] Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to. With regard to Saffron the مخزن الادوية says.

افعال و خواص آن مفرح و مقوي حواس و مغري و منضج و محلل و مصلح عفونت خلط بلغمي و مانع و حافظ آن از تغير و فساد و مدر بول و باقوة قابضه و محرک باه و مقوي جوهر روح حيواني و جگر و احشا و الات تنفس و مورث نشاط و ضحک و منقي گرده و مثانه و بشره و رساننده قوت ادويه به قلب و ساير اعضا و مفتح شده دماغ و جگر و سپرز *

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, excitant and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and badness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

28. Then Amír Mas'úd marched from Herát to Nísháپur and thence to Túس [1] and a body of Turkománs giving him battle met their death, the people of Báward gave up that town to the Turkománs and the Sulṭán having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nísháپur. [2]

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral [3] the

organs. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the بحر الجواهر gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيلان الرطوبات الى العين بطوخا و اكتحالا [يلين المواة] حار في الثالثة يابس في الاولى مفتح محلل قابض منضج محسن اللون و يسكر مع الشراب جدا حتى يرعن و يصدع و ينوم و يجلو البصر و يسهل الولادة و النفس و يقوي القلب و يدر و يسقط الشهوة و ينفع من الارجاع الباطنة و ارجاع الرحم و يذهب الخمار و يزيد في الباه و يوافق امراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sadídí, p. 143, says of Saffron. و له خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر الروح و تفريحه لما يحدث فيه من نورانية و انبساطه مع متانة و يعينها العطرية الشديدة —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

[1] Túس, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Nísháپúr, distant from the city of Nísháپúr about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Feda II. ii. 190. Dict. de la Perse, p. 396. According to Ibn Khallíqán the Saljúqs gained possession of Túس in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramazán of the same year they took Nísháپúr. I. K. (Slane) iii. 226.

[2] MS. (B) has گذرانيدند shewing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustán. A line or two lower he writes قرار نمود for فرار نمود This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

[3] Tughral Beg. Abú Ṭálib Muḥammad Ibn Mikáíl Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dukák Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (*cf.* Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slane) iii. 224.

Turkomán who had raised a rebellion in Báward, when Tughral took to flight Amír Mas'úd turned back and came to Sarakhs [1] by way of Mahnah [2] and gave orders to rase the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zírqán[3] in which place the Turkománs brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultán. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznín mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultán remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkomán leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazán, 431 H. (1039 A. D.). From thence Amír Mas'úd came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznín by way of Ghaur,[4] and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance 'Alí Dáya and Ḥájib-i-Buzurg,[5] and Beg Tughdí to Hindustán and imprisoned [6] them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amír Mas'úd now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkománs to punish them. With this intention he made Amír Maudúd [7] Amír of

[1] Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikaús, a city situated between Níshápúr and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 193.

[2] Mahnah. Firishta says مهتك Mahtaks but مهنه is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt ميهنه Maihana, a small town of the district of Khaberán between Abíward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 558.

[3] Zírqán is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dandángán a town in the vicinity of Merv, cf. Raverty, p. 94, note 3. Also Abul Feda II. ii. 197. Meynard, p. 239. It seems to me most probable that we should read زند خان though all MSS. give زير خان. Zandkhán, زند خان is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhs (Meynard, 288).

[4] Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herát, Karáwán and Gurjistán.

[5] Firishta حاجب شيباني Hájib Shaibání.

[6] MS. (B) در قلعها حبس كرد

[7] Shihábu-d Daulat Maudúd his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta.

Balkh, and having appointed Muḥammad ibn Abdus Ṣamad as his Wazír despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amír Muḥammad[1] with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multán, and sent the Amír of that district[2] to the foot of the hills of Ghaznín to restrain the Afgháns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Maḥmúd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznín and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustán and despatched mesengers *en route* to bring his brother Amír Muḥammad who had been blinded[3] and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand.[4] When Sulṭán Mas'úd arrived at the frontier fort[5] of Márikala,[6] his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amír Muḥammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed[7] perforce, approached the Amír Muḥammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sulṭán Mas'úd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amír Mas'úd from within the fort of Márikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kírí,[8] till at last in Jamádiu-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

[1] Firishta says امیر مجدود Amír Majdúd—the second son of Mas'úd MS. (A) has امیر محدودة Amír Maḥdúda, which should in all probability be read مجدود Majdúd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

[2] The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امیر ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amír Izad Yár was Mas'úd's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امیراین دیار را

[3] See page 21.

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) برغنه.

[5] رباط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives *casernes* fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontieres de l'empire as the meaning of رباط

[6] Márikala. Firishta says Márkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behát. Raverty in his *note* 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Ráwal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, *note* 2.

[7] MS. (A) این تعدي پیش MS. (B) این تعدي ازپیش In the text read تعدي از for تعدي او Cf. Firishta غلامان دانستند که اینقسم تعدي ازپیش نخواهد رفت.

[8] Firishta reads کیري Kírí. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) کیري See Elliott II. 273, *note* 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amír Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amír Mas'úd and to send his head to him. The Kotwál in obedience to this order severed Mas'úd's head from his body and sent it to Amír Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick underneath his head (in the grave). 30.

This story is according to the relation of Nizámi,[1] but the Qází Baiẓáwí relates that in the year 432 Mas'úd fled defeated from before the Seljúqs to Ghaznín, and Amír Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'úd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him.[2] The Government of Sulṭán Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qází Baiẓáwí (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H. as the date of the death of Mas'úd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd reigned in Ghaznín for fourteen years after his father,[3] one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

[1] Niẓámu-d-Dín Aḥmád, author of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.

[2] Baiẓáwí's account is as follows:—

Mas'úd after his arrival at Ghaznín sent Yúsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljúqs crossed the Jíhún and invaded Khurásán. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A. H. 432, he returned to Ghaznín where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Aḥmád, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A. H. 433; Elliott II. 256.

[3] That is from 421 A. H. to 434 A. H. with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'úd. Maḥmúd died in 421 A. H. Mas'úd was murdered on the 11th of Jamadíul-Awwal, 433 H. (Raverty, pp. 95-6.)

Muḥammad was put to death by Maudúd in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudúd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)

the time of Sulṭán Mas'úd is Manúchihrí [4] who speaks as follows in a *qaṣídah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán [5] the upright.

SULṬÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámián [1]) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Márí galah, but Abu Naṣr Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abduṣ Ṣamad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amír Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr [2] he engaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muḥammad and thus
31. passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sulṭán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid Manṣúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amír Muḥammad and his son Aḥmád and put them all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

[4] Manúchihrí Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Aḥmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شصت گله *shaṣt galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá).

[5] Naushírwán. Chosroes I son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D (Caussin de Perceval I. 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. *Cf.* D'Herbelot III. 57.

[1] Bamián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بد *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and خنگ بد *Khing bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábul are situated.

[2] Text has Deipúr (MS. A دینور Dínúr). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, *note* 2. The name is in all likelihood Dínúr as in Baihaqí.

named Fatḥábád.[1] This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H.[2] And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwája Aḥmad ibn Abduṣ Ṣamad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abú Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námí ibn Muḥammad[3] and Námí was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artagín at the order of the Sulṭán proceeded with an army to Tabaristán against Dá'úd[4] the Turkomán, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amír Maudúd. Afterwards when the Turkománs attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H. Amír Maudúd imprisoned Abú 'Alí the Kotwál of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Díwán of the kingdom and Kotwál of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yasúrí ibn Iyamghúr the Díwán, till at length he died in confinement; he also punished Altigín[5] and in the year 436 H. Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Aḥmad as Wazír, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám Abul Fatḥ 'Abdur Razzáq.[6] In this same year he sent Tughral Ḥájib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abú Manṣúr Zangí,[7] the brother of Abul Faẓl and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Seistán and having

[1] Raverty 96, *note* 2.

[2] The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'úd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.

The Táríkh-i-Mas'údí, however, writes as follows:—

و امیر مودود دربن شعبان که شاه ملک خطبه بگردانید [۴۳۲] بدینور آمد و جنگ کرد و عم را بگرفت با پسرانش و کسانی که با آن پادشاه یار بودند همگان را بکشت

See Thomas' Coins of kings of Ghaznín, *J. R. A. S.*, lx. 279.

[3] Firishta describes him as ولد محمد مکحول the son of the Blinded Muḥammad.

[4] See *note* 1, p. 38.

[5] Alptigín Ḥájib.

[6] Grandson of Ḥasan Maimandí.

[7] Firishta says also Zangí. Briggs in his translation has said "Oozbuky."

32. engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribáṭ Amír,[1] put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps[2] and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion[3] and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín[4] and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Maḥmúd and Manṣúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr[5] and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Ḥasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Ḥasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Ḥasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Alí Ḥasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

1 Firishta رباط امیر Ribáṭ Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J.) iii. 68. Both MSS. have رباط اسیر

2 Firishta also says سرخ کلاه and does not mention the word قزلباش though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Básh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. قزل Qizil *Red* is Turkish باش Básh. *Head* is Turkí.

3 In one copy we find بغي قصد ورزید Firishta has the following امیر قزدار طغیان ورزید so we should read here امیر قضدار بغي ورزید

4 According to Firishta باستگین MS. (A) reads بایتگین Báitigín, MS. (B) reads بابتگین Bábtigín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: وقزدار جنگ کرده شکست یافت which looks as if امیر قزدار Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557–559 from which the above is quoted.

5 Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Siálkoṭ[1] he was attacked with colic[2] and was forced to return to Ghaznín, and 33.
ordered Mírak to release Abú Alí Kotwál. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A. H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh*[3] states that Sulṭán Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz[4] Beg Saljúqí, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásán to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

[1] Firishta writes سانكوت Sánkot. Both MSS. read سيالكوت very plainly written.

[2] قولنج. Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term قولنج Qúlinj of which there are stated by Sadídí to be five varieties. Cf. Sadídí *Art.* قولنج.

i القولنج الحقيقي True or spasmodic colic.

ii القولنج السدي Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of بلغم or mucus in the cœcum or colon.

iii القولنج الريحي Flatulent colic.

iv ورم حار او بارد إمعاء و ما يجاورها مثل الكبد و الكلية An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys.

v القولنج الالتوائي Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

In the بحر الجواهر we find the following definition of the disease: "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحتباس غير طبعي) It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal."

Defining the Colon the author says: اكثر تولد القولنج فيها و اقولنج يشتق منها

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

[3] *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh*, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Laṭíf Qazwíní who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec. 1552. *See* H.K. *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh* also Elliott, Vol. iv. p. 293.

[4] Jaghar Beg. See Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p. 97, *notes* 3-4.

MS. (A) چغربيگ Chaghar Beg. MS. (B) چغزبيگ Chaghz Beg.

SULṬÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAḤMÚD.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Alí ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.[1]

SULṬÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAḤMÚD.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzáq ibn Aḥmad Maimandí who had been sent by the Amír Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,[2] and learned that Abdu-r-Rashíd ibn Maḥmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amír Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alí having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

SULṬÁN 'ABDU-R-RASHÍD IBN MAḤMÚD.

34. Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghaznín. 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Ḥájib who was one of the household slaves of Sulṭán Maḥmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghaznín. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashíd fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashíd with all the descendants of Sulṭán Maḥmúd[3] to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashíd's reign lasted for four years,

[1] The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznín; this arrangement was opposed by Báshtigín Ḥájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznín rose in arms, and eventually Báshtigín Ḥájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Ḥasan 'Alí to the throne. Compare also: *Ṭubaqát-i-Náṣirí* (Raverty, p. 97 and *footnote*).

[2] اسفرار MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feda II. ii. 188).

[3] كه نه نفر بودند Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nizamu-t-Tawárikh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,[1] and in the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth.

Sulṭán Farrukh Zád ibn Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd.

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghaznín, and Farrukhzád put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznín. Alp Arsalán[2] the Saljúq king brought an army against Ghaznín from 'Iráq and Khorásán, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznín to Khorásán. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both 35.
sides obtained their release, and since Zábulistán had been laid waste the Sulṭán remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H.[3] The period of his reign was six years.

Saiyyidu-s-Salátín Ibrahím ibn Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd.

Ascended the throne. He was a just and devout king, and used to write each year a Qurán with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustán and conquered many fortresses and districts.

[1] Firishta says "less than one year." *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says two and a half years.

[2] Alp Arsalán son of Dáúd, son of Míkáíl son of Saljúq was the second Sulṭán of the family and dynasty of the Saljúqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughral Beg in 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Merv.

For a full account of this prince see D'Herbelot, pp. 198–203.

See also Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) iii. 230 and *seqq*; where it is stated that Alp Arsalán was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabí'u-l Awwal 465 A. H. (1072 A.D.)

[3] Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammám.

From one city [1] the inhabitants of which were of Khurásánian descent, whom (Afrásiáb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons, [2] and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátín, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wálí. [3] In his reign in Ghaznín, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all
36. diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H, [4] after a reign of thirty years. Qází Baizáwí says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán [5] flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

[1] Named "Darra." (Firishta) where we read كه افراسياب از سر كشي ايشان بشك آمده بازن و فرزند از ولايت خراسان اخراج كرده بود و بهندوستان فرستاده .....

In our author's text we read —— و آخر ايشان را اخزاج كردة which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Ṭabaqát Akbar Sháhí* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراسياب for the words اخر ايشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

[2] Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

[3] والى Wálí. Abul Faẓl (*Áín-i-Akbarí*) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wálí: "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being: a lofty soul will indeed love God alone..... A *wálí* in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

[4] Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

[5] Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abúl Qásim Malik Maḥmúd Ibrahím ibn Mas'úd
In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger.

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says: —

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign
The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual.
Mas'úd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom's conquest
He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword.

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
Mas'úd, the world-conquering, for whom the age of fortune
Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
In Hindustán in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest. 37.
So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

high distinction in the service of Mas'úd bin Maḥmúd and Sulṭán Ibrahím of Ghaznín but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nái owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Faraj Rúní. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghaznín where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol. I. pp. 514 and *seqq.* See also Beale (O.B.D. p. 173.) and *Atashkada-i-Ázur*, p. 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of conquest
When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní[1] too was eulogist of Sulṭán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sulṭán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his *Díwán*, and Rúín[2] is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qiṭa'h* in praise of Sulṭán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the throat,
Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a peerless pearl.

38. And Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas'úd's imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá'í (quatrain) in prison.[3]

[1] Abúl Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna (رونا). in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sulṭán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as "Láhorí." His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwarí. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá I. 70). See also *Atashkada-i-Azur*, pp. 137, 138.

[2] *Beale* (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from "Rún a place near Lahore." It would appear from the text above that Badáoni attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Rúín. The author of the Majma'ul Fuṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

[3] He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá *loc. cit.*). See *note* 5, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs.[1]
That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmán
Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm.

The following verses are also by him :

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from regrets
Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb.

There are extant also Díwáns by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindí.

'Aláu-d-Dín Mas'úd ibn Ibrahím ibn Sulṭán Mas'úd,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year 508 H. (1114 A. D.), having reigned seventeen years.

Sulṭán Sherzád ibn Mas'úd ibn Ibrahím,[2]

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year. His brother Arsalán Sháh revolted against him and killed him in the year 509 H. (1115 A. D.).

Sulṭán Arsalán Sháh ibn Mas'úd ibn Ibrahím,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole of his brothers with the exception of Bahrám Sháh who fled and went to Sulṭán Sinjar[3] who was the son of his maternal uncle.[4] In spite of all the apologies for Bahrám Sháh which Sulṭán Sinjar 39.

1 تا بند تو پاي تا حداران شايد MS. (A).

2 Cf. Raverty, *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, page 107, note 7. Firishta also mentions the accession of Kamálu-d-Daulah Sherzád, and calls the preceding monarch 'Aláu-d-Daulah *also* Elliott II. 278.

3 Sulṭán Sinjar Muizzuddín Abúl Ḥáriṣ Sinjar was the third son of Sulṭán Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljúq dynasty in Khurásán. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A. D.) in the environs of Sinjár and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name. See I. K. (Slane) I. 600. He governed the province of Khurásán for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H., at Merv of a "colique compliquée avec un devoyement." D'Herbelot.

See also Beale (O.B.D., p. 236).

4 The sister of Sulṭán Sinjar called "Mahd-i-'Iráq" was married to 'Aláu-d-Dín Mas'úd father of Sulṭán Arsalán Sháh. Cf. Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, p. 107, *note* 6.

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sulṭán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sulṭán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámián and with the assistance of Sulṭán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D,). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.[1]

Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd ibn Ibrahím

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanái[2] was his panegyrist. *Kalílah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznaví[3] declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
"Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world."

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
40. I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to both my eyes

1 This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years. Baiẓáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

2 Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haqíqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhrí-námah*. Among his other works were :

طریق التحقیق - عشق نامه - سیر العباد الی المعاد - کارنامهٔ بلخ - عقل نامه -

According to Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see *note* 1 p. 35.

3 Ashrafu-d-Dín Ḥasan ibn Náṣirí-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥa I. 192.

Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king

The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another.

Bahrám Sháh from desire of whose sweet honied name

The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth parrots, (poets).

And the *Ḥadíqatu-l-Ḥaqíqat*[1] of Shaikh Sanáí is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fanaticism, with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdád received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanáí of heresy after he composed the *Ḥadíqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate:

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muḥammad, his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditionary sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed — the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird[2] which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

[1] The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Ḥadiqátu-l-Ḥaqíqat wa Shari'atu-t-Ṭaríqat (hortus veritatis et lex viæ)*, and it treated among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanífa and Sháfi'í, the founders respectively of the Hanífite and Sháfi'í sects of Sunnis.

[2] کس نیاید بزیر سایهٔ بوم ور هما از جهان شود معدوم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p. 327. The هما

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and
41. oppression is as a bird [1] which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted [2] for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michäel [3] were precluded from having any share therein: it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.[4] A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyazíd [5] and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

[1] The owl بومة on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

e.g. ماري تو كه هركه را بيني بزني يا بومى تو كه هركجا نشيني بكني

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

again بلبلا مژدهٔ بهار بيار خبر بد ببوم شوم گذار

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 349.

[2] Expunge كه from line 6 and read جبرئيل و ميكائيل از

[3] By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise صدرة المنتهى Ṣidratu-l-Muntahá. See Mishkát, XXIV. vii.

[4] Cf. Qurán II. 90–95.

[5] Báyazíd Anṣári also called Pír Roshan, founder of a Ṣúfí sect, called the Roshániyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.B.D., p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and *seqq.*

Shiblí:[1] these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Al-i-Marwán contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Alí, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Síddíq[2] and Fárúq[3] and Zú' Núrain[4] on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the Al-i-Marwán and the virtues of the Al-i-Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him.* If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake 42.

[1] Abú Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yúnus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As-Shiblí, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghdád, but his family belonged to Khurásán. This highly respected *Súfí* followed the doctrines of the sect of Málik and had for masters Al-Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. As-Shiblí died at Baghdád, A. H. 334 (A. D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qaizurán. He was born at Surra-man-ráa (Samarrá on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shiblí means belonging to Shibla a village in the dependencies of Osrúshua, a large town beyond Samarqand in Transoxiána. I. K. (Slane) I. 513. See also regarding Samarrá J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

[2] "The faithful." The title given by Muḥammad himself to the first Khalífah Abú Bakr, who reigned two years and died A.D. 634 (A.H. 13).

[3] The second Khalífah 'Umar, A.H. 13 to A.H. 23. Called *Fárúq* or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islám.

[4] Usmán. The third Khalífah, A.H. 23 to A.H. 35. Called *Zú-Núrain* "the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqaiyyah and Ummu Kulsúm.

The above three Khalífahs, the first three successors to Muḥammad according to the Sunní Muslims, are rejected by the Shí'ahs who assert that 'Alí was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the *Ḥadíqat.*

If the earth is a fit place for any court
It is for the court of Bahrám Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sulṭán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sulṭán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain Súrí who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súrí in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor[2] and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.
He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.
His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.[3]

[1] Cf. Raverty, *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p. 347 *note* 2.

[2] Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.

[3] The *humá* is according to the Ghiáṣu-l-Lughát "a bird which eats bones

God *be He exalted and glorified* became his guide.
That polished dagger became of increasing authority.
The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the seeds of justice,
Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
The flowing water retained [1] his image like an engraving on stone.
He raised [2] true religion and justice to the zenith.
The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender of the faith.[3]

Khusrau Sháh ibn Bahrám Sháh.

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain ibn [4] Hasan Ghorí came up against him. Khusrau Sháh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hin- 44.
dústán, and when 'Aláu-d-Dín, as has been related, returned from Ghaznín successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz [5] seized Sulṭán Sinjar he turned towards Ghaznín. Khusrau Sháh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity." See *note* 2 page 57.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) بداشته not نداشته as in the text,

[2] بر فراشته MS. (A) not سر فراشته as in text.

[3] MS. (A) reads دین ورز حق پناه

[4] The text has حسن با حسین but the MSS. A. and B. have بن which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain Ghorí Jahánsoz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

[5] A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprung the Seljúq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tús in the year 429 A. H., when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Dáúd they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Díárbakr in 433 A. H., and in 435 A. H. entered Mosul, but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasíbín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azarbaíján.

Cf. D'Herbelot, art. *Gaz.* who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgár, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthas the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjí'band*[1] and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qází Baiẓáwí and others[2] it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznah and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Abul-fatḥ Muḥammad and Shihábu-d-Dín Abul Muẓaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh[3] was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábu-d-Din, but since Khwája Niẓámu-d-Dín Aḥmad deceased, has written in the *Táríkh-i-Niẓámí* copying from the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-*
45. *Ṣafá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.[4]

Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

[1] The Tarjí'-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.

[2] See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) iii. 341 See also Elliott II. 258.

[3] The *Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baiẓáwí and other reliable authorities.

[4] Cf. Raverty *op. cit.*, p. 112 *note* 5.

Baiẓáwí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*, but its author called it *Ṭubaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Táríkh-i-Niẓámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghaznévíyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who is well-known under the title of Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Fíroz Koh [1] and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation
It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A. D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznévide dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sulṭáns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit." [2]

HEMISTICH.

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

And Qází Baiẓáwí *may God's mercy be upon him* states that

Táríkh-i-Niẓámí. Khwája Niẓámu-d-Dín Aḥmad was the son of Khwája Muqím Harawí Díwán of the household to Bábar, he subsequently served under Akbar. (Elliott V. 177 *et. seqq.*). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H.) (1187 A. D.), as is stated by our author.

[1] The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwán in Gharjistán. Fírúz Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghíyáṣu-d-Dín imprisoned Khusrau Sháh in one of the fortresses of Ghurjístán where he died a prisoner.

[2] Qurán III. 25 قُلِ اللّٰهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ - "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest.'"

46. the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sulṭán Maḥmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qází Yahya Qazwíní, *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Niẓámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.[1]

II. The Ghorí Dynasty.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí[2] who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám.

Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám Ghorí.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and 'Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,[3] and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

[1] None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tárikh-i-Niẓámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baiẓáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Maḥmúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qází Yahyá Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

[2] Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husain Jahánsoz.

[3] As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative العالي "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled المعظم "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p. 13).

In brief, Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d Dín when he had seized Tagínábád [1] which was one of the dependencies of Garmsír and had made over the governorship of that place to Sulṭán Shahábu-d-Dín, used continually to bring up armies against Ghazuín, till at last in the abovementioned year Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d-Dín brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznín the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sulṭán Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad, the titlè of Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín [2] Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

1 - تکینا باد که از اعاظم بلاد گرمسیر بود Takínábád which was one of the chief cities of Garmsír. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J.) iii. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293.

2 The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihábu-d-Dín is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Dín popularly known as Muḥammad Ghorí. (see Raverty's *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p. 446 *note* 5). It is true that the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Muizzu-d-Dín was originally called Zangí while Ghiyásu-d-Dín was called Ḥabshi—both of them being called Muḥammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyásu-d-Dín's accession to the throne Ghor he was called Shamsu-d-Dín and that Muizzu-d-Dín was called Shihábu-d-Dín. The actual statement is

و پیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب برادرش شهاب الدین بعد از مدتي که برتخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و برادرش ملک شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح خراسان سلطان معز الدین شد -

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dín and the title of his brother had been Shihábu-d-Dín. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d-Dín." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sulṭán.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihábu-d-Dín" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muḥammad Ghorí, as is the name "Muizzu-d-Dín," and Badáoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihábu-d-Dín."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sulṭán Al-Muazzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-d-Dunyá wad Dín Abú-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad ibn Sám.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz [1] and in the
47. year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhatí [2] tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh, [3] and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj [4] returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán [5] he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhím Dèv ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr, [6] and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sulṭán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Síálkot [7] and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Diwal by which is meant

[1] Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tajiks, *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* Raverty, p. 449, *note* 9.

[2] MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعهٔ بهتیهٔ For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, *note* 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rájá referred to according to the Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 451, *note* 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

[3] *Uchh.* On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán. *See* Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I. 118.

[4] So also Firishta علی کرماج though Briggs translates, Alí Kirmány.

[5] In the text read از راه ملتان Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

[6] بجانب پیشاور که در کتب سلف بکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشهور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, p. 452, *note* 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

[7] Sialkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler. "Un chateau tres fort bâti par Maḥmoud

Tattah [1] and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Síálkot retraced his steps, and from *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Síálkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubárakshákhi* [2] from which we learn that the building of Síálkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khúkhars [3] and other tribes, besieged the fort of Síálkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Dín again besieged Khusrau Shah in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnaví ... La petite riviere d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant." Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Dín founded the fort of Síálkot which lies between the Chenáb and Rávi and left Husain Kharmíl as governor, in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.)

[1] Cf. Raverty 452 *note* 2. See also Tieffenthaler, I. 121. Tatta est tres ancienne ... on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobil ..... Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karáchí. See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karáchí and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karáchí and N.-W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehrán (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size. It also lay a short distance to the North of Lárí Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward.

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batúta, Paris Edition, III. 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc. Geog., p. 299, 300.

[2] By Yahyá ibn Aḥmad ibn Abdullah Sirhindí. Elliott, IV. 6.

[3] The Khúkhars. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf. *Ain-i-Akbarí* (Bl.) Vol. I. 456 *note* 1, and Vol. II. (J) 383 *note* 1, but see also Raverty (455 *note* 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct.

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sulṭán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín at Fíroza Koh. Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

QITA'H.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
Time is like a wind, which at the first
draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
The world at one time brings forward by turn in the narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.
Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of poverty should court a favour from the sun?
49. Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merriment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of luxuriousness?
What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of toil?
At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to the brink of the pit of death.
Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín left Alí Kirmáj [1] who was governor of Multán, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznín he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah [2] which was the capital of the great rájás of Hindustán, and left Malik Ziáu-d-Dín Tukilí [3] with a *corps d'elite* consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rái Pathúrá the Governor of Ajmír, and Khandi Rái his brother who had been Governor of Dehlí before Pathúrá, arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan [4] on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven *krohís* [5] from Thánesar. It is now known by the name of Taráwarí [4] and is distant forty *krohs* [5] from Dehli. A great conflict ensued with the Sulṭán and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sulṭán evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandí Rái who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sulṭán. The Sulṭán also was struck on the head by the Rái's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. 50.
The Sulṭán got off his horse and taking up his son Khiljí upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the Sulṭán proceeded to Ghaznín, and Rái Pathúrá took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziáu-d-Dín Tukilí on peaceable terms after a

[1] *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says Alí Karmákh. Firishta. Alí Kirmáj, MS. (A) علی کرماچ MS. (B) علی کرماخ

[2] Both MSS. A and B have تبرهنده. Jarrett (*Aín-i-Akbarí* trans., III. 360 *note* 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* p. 457 *note* 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh-i-Hind*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind, which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikanír and Jhunjhnú in Rajputáná, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmír.

See also Raverty 458, *note* 3.

[3] Malik Ziyáu-d-Dín Túlakí, (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*) Raverty p. 457 *note* 3.

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) read ترابن. See Raverty; *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 459 *note* 7. Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narain, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol. I. p. 155.

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p. 327), S. E. of Thânesar.

[5] The کروہ Skr. क्रोश *krosh*, is equivalent to about two miles.

See also *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) ii. p. 116 *note* 2 and 414 *note* 2. Cunn. Geog. of I. I., App. B p. 571. See also *Tárikh-i Rashídí*. Elias and Ross, p. 424 *note* 1.

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sulṭán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Ráí having been overcome in battle was killed and hasted to his resting-place in Hell. The Sulṭán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsutí [1] and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Ḥazrat Khwájá Muínu-d-Dín Chishtí [2] *may God sanctify his heart*, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sulṭán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sulṭán Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Quṭbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Ráí. Then in the year 589 H. (1193
51. A, D.) Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Ráí Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár [3] and Aṭáwah, [3] killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol [4] fell into the hands of Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sulṭáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

[1] The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

[2] Khwájah Mú'ínu-d-Dín Ḥasan Chishtí was the son of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Ḥasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

[3] Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Aṭáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) also p. 476 *note* 1).

[4] Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.

commenced in the reign of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín Altamash [1] in the year 606 H., as will be related, *if God* (*may He be exalted*) *so will it*, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangar [2] and Badáon. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujerát and took his army to Nahrwálá which is known as Pattan,[3] and having taken vengeance for the Sulṭán on Bhím Rái Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d-Dín removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,[4] and Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín having heard this news when on the confines of Tús and Sarakhs,[5] turned towards Bádghís and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred [6] came to Ghaznín and brought an army against Khwárazm, and on the first occasion Sulṭán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh suffered defeat, and the Sulṭán pursued him and fought the Khwárazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihún, and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwárazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khiṭái [7] kings of Turkistán who had come to the help of Sulṭán Muḥammad, [7] on the banks of the river Jaihún—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhúd where he entrenched himself, and 52.

[1] Sulṭán Ul-Muaẓẓam Shamsu-d-Dunyá wau-d-Dín Abúl Muẓaffar, Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsíyah Sulṭáns. *See* Raverty 597 *note* 4.

[2] MS. (A) تهنكر Thankar, but it should be بنگهر apparently, as in Tieffenthaler we find Banghar described as "un Fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince. Indou nommé *Harcaran* ... *Banghar* est à 30 milles d *'Aunla* a 40 de Baréli et à 8 de la rive ulterieure du Gange.

Budáon, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons. Elle est a 20 milles de *Baréli*, à 10 d' *Aunla* et à 5 de *Banghar*."

Budáon was the birthplace of the famous Niẓámu-d-Dín Auliya, called "*Al Baḥḥáṣ*" or the controversialist, and "*Maḥfil-shikan*" the assembly-router.

[3] 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Tieff. I 385. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujarat 25 &c. Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 117. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J.) II. 262 and III. 59.

[4] He died at Herát.

[5] See Ravérty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) 257 *note* 2 and 471 text and *note* 5.

[6] The details of this partition are given in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* (Rav. p. 472.)

[7] Sulṭán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh applied to Gúrkhán of Qará Khiṭá for assistance. See Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) 473 *note* 2.

having asked for quarter[1] returned to Ghaznín; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sulṭán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyak,[2] which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitá'h* has been written to chronicle this event[3]:—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábu-d-Dín,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghaznín at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *máns*[4] of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Narímán
He obtained, like Maḥmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán
Governments of Sásán and many kingdoms of Sámán

[1] For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) 478 *note* 6.

[2] A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainly. Firishta (Bombay text) has رهتک! Rohtak.

[3] No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

[4] The Tabríz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs, (Raverty).

The *Aín-i-Akbarí* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels. Two *sérs* are equal to half a *man*. As the *sér* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 366 *note* 4).

The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)
That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhru-d-Dín Rází [1] *may God be merciful to him* who wrote the *Laṭáif-i-Ghiyaṣí* and other books in honour of his brother Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Abú-l-Fatḥ. He remained with the army of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sulṭán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sulṭán from the pulpit he said Oh! Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rází: The following *qiṭa'h* is by him: 53.

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
If not, then have patience for a few days
He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rází.

And after the assassination of the Sulṭán certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis, [2] and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

[1] Abú Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hasain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Alí al-Jaimi al-Bakrí at-Tabarestání Ar-Rází (native of Raí in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Sháfiite sect, he was born at Raí A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán). *See* D'Herbelot *art* Rází. See also *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. p. 374, where he is called Al-Quraishí at-Tamímí, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the *Laṭáif-i-Ghiyáṣí* among Ar-Rází's works, while on the other hand Háji Khalífa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. "11124 El-Letáif El-Ghíyathiyeh, subtilitates Ghíyáth-ed-Díní Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethicâ, quarta de precatione agit."

[2] The term Fidá-í is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Dín met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*. (See Raverty 485 *note* 3). This attempt to implicate Rází in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jámi'u-t-Tawáríkh*, and the *Táju-l-Maásir*. See Elliott II. p. 236.

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí [1] who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sulṭán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world has become like the famous Zulfiqár [2] of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sulṭán Muḥammad Sám, he whose love for the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

[1] *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

[2] *Zúl Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious." To this Muslím Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *kasída* composed by him in praise of Yazíd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aási son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aási being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that *Zúl Faqár* was given to 'Ali by the Prophet." I must observe that *faqár* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zúl Fiqár*. the word *fiqár* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that *Zúl fiqár* came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manṣúr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave *Zúl fiqár* to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Ṭálib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says :—

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghází Muizzu-d-Dín 54.
From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
The origin of victory, Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Husain
His very presence has become the mark for princely glory.[1]

And Názukí Marághaí too says in praise of him :—

Sháh Muizzu-d-Dín before whose princely might
The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance. [2]

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dínárs. From him it passed to al-Mahdí the Son of Al Manṣúr (Khalífah from 775 A.H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Músa al Hádi and from Músa to his brother Hárún ar-Rashíd."

Al Asmái relates that he saw Hárún ar Rashíd at Tús wearing a sword and that he said "Asmáí would you like to see *Zúl fiqár*" and on Asmái expressing a wish to see it Hárún ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on doing so he found on it eighteen *faqáras*—The word *faqára* is said in a note to the above to designate "a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else a notch on its edge. It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter."

The word *Zúlfiqár* meaning *vertebrated* I think it quite possible that the sword in question was so called from its strength and pliability, the vertebral column being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible elements.

[1] MS. (A) has مر سیاه را MS. (B) agrees with the text.

[2] *i.e.* In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra (میزان).

The sun enters	Gemini	Taurus	Aries	(Spring)	21st March.
	جوزا	ثور	حمل		
	Virgo	Leo	Cancer	(Summer)	21st June.
	سنبلة	اسد	سرطان		
	Sagittarius	Scorpio	Libra	(Autumn)	21st September.
	قوس	عقرب	میزان		
	Pisces	Aquarius	Capricornus	(Winter)	21st December.
	حوت	دلو	جدی		

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the earlier Greek astronomers as χηλαί cf. Virg. Georg, I. 33.

He in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
The revolving sphere has mixed together;
Oh Lord! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qázi Ḥamíd [1] of Balkh says:

Ghází Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious standard,

Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called Ζυγός (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the Almagest *Libra* is frequently represented by Λίτρα (a pound) or Λιτραι, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into Libra and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." *See* Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Ain-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and *notes*. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leant to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as χηλαί to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to ζυγός from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

[1] Fakhru-l-Ulamá wa Zínu-l-Fuzalá Ḥamídu-d-Dín Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose Maqámát called forth the praise of the poet Anwarí. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197

Bú l-Muzaffar[1] the Ruler of the East for whom in the field of battle
The Humá of his canopy carries as it were victory under its wing.

Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak

Who was one of the specially favourite servants of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon had a broken little finger,[2] and was known by this soubriquet (Aibak), they also call him Quṭbu-d-Dín[3] Lak bakhsh.[4] With the consent of 55.
the nobles of Hindústán he established himself as Protector of the kingdom of Dehlí, and after the martyrdom of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín his brother's son, Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Maḥmúd, the rightful heir of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Muḥammad in whose praise they wrote the following verse:—

[1] His full titles were: Sulṭán al-A'zam, Muizzu-d-Dunya wa-d-Dín Abul Muẓaffar Muḥammad. On his death difficulties arose as to the succession, the Turkoman generals claiming it for Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Maḥmúd, son of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, while the chiefs of Ghúr on the other hand favoured the claims of Bahán-d-Dín Sám, and a quarrel arose between the two parties as to the route to be taken in conducting the corpse of Muizzu-d-Dín to Ghaznín. Eventually this was settled by the diplomacy of the Khwája Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk. Táju-d-Dín Yaldkuz (Yaldúz) came out to meet the body, which was buried in an enclosed grave which he had built for his daughter, on the 22nd Sha'bán (Firishta).

[2] This is the reading of the text and of both MSS. and it serves in a measure to correct the current idea as to the etymology of the name Ibak. Raverty (514, *note* 1) states that Ibak in Turkish means *finger*. This does not appear to be the case, so far as I can learn from dictionaries ایبک means the comb of a cock, while the word finger is پرمق *parmaq*. On the other hand the word ای *ay* means *moon* and بک *beg* or *bek* means *Lord*. Whether the finger was broken at the time of the eclipse, or whether it was a congenital defect does not appear, but from the text before us the connection with the moon is the cause of the name, not, as has been said, the broken finger. See also Raverty *loc. cit.* and Thomas' Pathán kings of Dehli, page 32, *note* 1. Firishta however distinctly states وچون انگشت خنصر او شکسته بود اورا ایبک می گفتند if his text is correct.

[3] He was given the name of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak on the occasion of a public ceremony when he distinguished him by specie marks of his favour. (Firishta).

[4] The bestower of laks. So called from his lavish generosity.

Sulṭán from East to West, Monarch from West to East Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḥusain.

having sent to Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sulṭán,[1] and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshi* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Dín Ushí[2] said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks;
Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;
From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,
And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the Khuṭba in his own name in Ghaznín, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to
56. Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of Ghaznín and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of Ghaznín were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh[3]

[1] He appears to have already possessed the title of Sulṭán (see *note* 3 page 77).

[2] Baháu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufí as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer. (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá, I. 172).

[3] One of the routes between Ghaznín and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, *note*). The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Quṭbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, *note* 2.

Verse.

When the head of a Sulṭán becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head.

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse when playing *chaugán* at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died[1] and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sulṭán.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes;
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and moon and Jupiter.[2]

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín reached princely power in Hindústán and Ghaznín and Bengála and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places; among others Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Taráwarí, having fought with Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha[3] who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-

1 قالب تهي ساخت Literally, emptied the mould (*in which he was cast*). The word قالب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word كالب (cf. كالبد) in an Arab dress.

The game of *chaugán* is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the *chaugán* چوگان called in Arabic صولجان *Ṣaulajān* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called چوگان سنبل A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called چوگاني (Burhán-i-Qáṭi').

2 In the 'Ajáibu-l-Makhlúqát of Qazwíní we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Vazír and Jupiter the Qází. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد اكبر The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindús Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called 'Aditya,' *i. e.*, the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Albiruni (Sachau) I. 217 and *seqq.*

3 Who on the death of Quṭbu-d-Dín proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverty (530, *note* 6). The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha married two of the daughters of Quṭbu-d-Dín. (See *note* 4, p. 529) (*note* 2, p 532).

Dín and Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh [1] to Sarsuṭí and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'aiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí [2] being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín and trod the way to the next world. [3] Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar [4] he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhaṣiyána [5] elected to reside there [6] and used continually to

[1] 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhárí. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74·5 Lat. 28 5, Koram Long. 75·4 Lat. 29·4.

[2] See *note* 1 page 74.

[3] In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Maásir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* he was drowned while trying to escape. *See* Raverty 542–543, *notes*. cf. Elliott II. 304.

[4] Both MSS., but according to *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangír. (*See* however Raverty 544 *note* 1).

[5] MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sulṭán Kot (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána* etait autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitans est fort diminué, apres que le Rajáh Indou en a chassé, il n'y-a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de *Fatepour* au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sulṭán Kot.

[6] Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* where this fort is called Sulṭánkot.

harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín at the time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu-d-Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *krohs* from Gwáliár and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín and Baháu-d-Dín. Malik Baháu-d-Dín died a short time afterwards. [1]

Another is Malik Muḥammad Bakhtyár Ghúrí. [2] He was one of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsír, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín, and joined hands with Malik Ḥusainu-d-Dín Ughal Beg [3] ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patiálí [4] were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

[1] No date is given of these events.

[2] Called also Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 590 A. H. He belonged to the Khilj tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Aín-i-Akbarí* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khiljí. He destroyed the city of Nadíya (in 1203 A. D, 600 A. H.) and transferred the Capital to Lakhnautí. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 148.

He was a nephew of Muḥammad son of Maḥmúd. (See *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 549). Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him. (*See* Raverty, p. 550 *note* 6).

Maliku-l-Muazzam Ḥusainu-d-Dín Ughul Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Dín.

[3] See Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 550 *note* 6.

[4] MSS. (A.) and (B.) كنپله *Kanpila*. MS. (A.) پنيابي *Paneálí*. MS. (B.) پتّيالي *Patiálí*. Raverty p. 550 *note* 6, says *Patítah* پتيته (Lat. 25° Long. 2° 54′] and *Kuntilah* كنتله [Lat. 25° 7′ Long. 82° 35′] the Kuntíl of the ndian Atlas.

See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text كنيله is evidently a copyist's error for كنپله

try, reduced Behár and Munér,[1] and having taking large booty Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sulṭánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the
58. Sulṭán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sulṭán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,[2] but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sulṭán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí[3] in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muḥammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá[4] with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakhmia (Lakminia[5]) the governor of that

[1] *Manér* ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du *Gange*) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est á 6 milles, de *Patna*) l'embouchure du *Son* (Soane) se trouve entre Maner à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le *Son* se jette dans le *Gange* ¾ de cosse avant Manér. Tieff. I. 423 *note* (*a*).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Panchánáá river. Tieffenthaler desćribes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd'hui quélle ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Munírí is buried there).

Elle a été la capítale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles."

See *Hunter* Gazetteer of India.

[2] On the occasion of a public audience held by Quṭbu-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

[3] The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Humáyún. *See Aín-i-Akbarí* II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, *art Gaur*. *See* also Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣiri* 559 *note* 2.

[4] Both MSS. نوديا Núdiyá. Also *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*. See Imp. Gaz. *Nadiya*, Nadiya or Nabadwíp is on the west bank of the Bhágírathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadíyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágírathí at Nádiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty, *op cit* 559 *note* 2.

[5] *Aín-i-Akbarí* II, (Jarrett) 148. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers [1] the fame of Muḥammad Bakhtyár and his great power, fled thence to Kámrán, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muḥammad Bakhtyár having destroyed the place of worship and idol-temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur.[2]

VERSE.

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of heathen.
Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Alláho akbar"

And after having the *khuṭbah* read and the currency struck in his name,[3] having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amír Alí Masíj[4] (Mích) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestán and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.[5] A river

[1] For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived, immediately after delivery of her child the mother died. (see also Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*, p. 555).

[2] There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp. Gaz. *Gaur*.

[3] The recitation of the خطبہ or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muḥammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect.

As to this passage see Raverty 559 *note* 3. *See* Thomas Pathán Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muḥammad Bakhtyár issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsálár of the Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sám: moreover no such coins are known.

[4] A chief of the tribes of Kúnch and Míj called Ali Míj (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

[5] Regarding this the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmanputr,[1] which they also call Brahmkadi. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp[2] when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámrúd and went on his way. Muḥam-
59. mad Bakhtyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in

mountain tribes between Lakhnautí and Tibbat the Kúnch-Míj-and Tiháru who are all of Turkish countenance (همه ترک چهره اند) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muḥammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Koṭ (or Bardhan koṭ) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindí dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river *after* which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badáoní's statement has more *primâ facie* probability, the statements of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badáoni's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámrúd, where Badáoní says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) ابردین Abardín; MS. (B) ابردهن Abardhan.

Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí says Bardhan (Raverty 561 *note* 8). Calcutta text has بردهن گوٹ.

[1] *Ṭabaqát* calls this river the Beg-Matí (*see* Raverty 561 *note* 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámrúd, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta.

[2] See Raverty p. 561 *note* 9 and *Aín-i-Akbarí* III. (Jarrett) 328 *note* 4.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city [1] from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyár not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyár had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.[2] They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muḥammad Bakhtyár were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muḥammad Bakhtyár, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever [3] and used to say "no doubt Sulṭan Muḥammad Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alí Mardán one of Muḥammad Bakhtyár's greatest generals arrived 60.
at Deo Kot from the district of Nárnálí [4] and finding him

[1] Called Karpattan (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) see Raverty p. 567 and *notes* for a full account of Bakhtyar's retreat and disasters.

[2] See Raverty 570 *note* 9. regarding the possible locality.

[3] I take this to be the meaning of the text بزحمت دق منجر گشت.

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) نارنولي See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نارنكوي Náran-koe.

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín: and after the death of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *khutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sulṭán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sulṭán's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from?" They answered "from Iṣfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Iṣfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazírs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Iṣfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years.[2]

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Dín[3] abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jájnagar and Kámrúd and gained the title of Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

[1] Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

[2] Both MSS. have سی و دو سال but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 *note* 7.)

[3] Malik Husáinu-d-Dín 'Iwaz.

seventy thousand *tanqahs*[1] in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sulṭán's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (*be He exalted*) so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn[2] Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amírs,[3] and Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín[4] who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnaúti to Kámrúd turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.[5] The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustán incidentally with the affairs of the Sulṭáns of Dehlí was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizzíyeh kings who attained to the Sulṭanat of Multán and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places. 61.

Sulṭán Arám Sháh ibn Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak[6]

After his father, succeeded to the throne.

In the world no family remains without a master
If one departs, another takes his place;
This too is the way with this deceitful world
The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup.

By the consent of the Amírs he marched from Lahore to Delhí. In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín,

[1] *Tanqah.* For the value of this see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. i. p. 343 *also* Raverty 584 *note* 2. Thomas Chr. Pathán Kings of Dehli pp. 161 and p. 49 *note.*

The silver *tanqah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *kání* which was $\frac{1}{64}$ of a *tanqah*, while another coin was introduced under Muḥammad Tughlaq known as the *black tanqah* which was $\frac{60}{64}$ of the silver tanqah.

The value of the silver tanqah was about the same as the rupee. See *Ain-i-Akbarí* III. (Jarrett) 362, *note* 3.

[2] The text should read بن سلطان شمس الدين MSS. A. and B.

[3] Malik Izzu-d-Dín Jání. See Raverty, p. 594, *note* 1.

[4] Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Iwaz ... Husain Khiljí.

[5] He was the last of the Muizzí Sulṭáns according to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí.*

[6] Succeeded his father in 607 H. Cf. Raverty, 529, *note* 4. Thomas pp. 40.

and had tributary relations with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'íl, had come from Hardwár and Badáun to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year. [1]

[2]All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
62. This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish [3]

Called by the title of "Yamín-i-Amír-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehlí; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

[1] Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabáchah: Dehlí and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish: Lakhnautí was held by the Khilj chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehlí and Ghaznín. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

[2] *Not in either MS.* These verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí. (*vide* Sháhnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

[3] In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written ايلتمش This text has التمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehlí with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Mustanṣir b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muḥammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muḥammadan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.[1] His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sám to Ghaznín; and in these days Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sulṭán to sell him. Sulṭán Muḥammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 *tangahs*: at first he called him Amír Ṭamghách,[2] and appointed him to the Amírship of Tabarhindah,[3] and at the time when Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín fought with Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran[4] and its environs, and since he 63.
began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáon and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sulṭán Muizzu-d Dín in the service of Sulṭan Quṭbu-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river[5] engaged the enemy bravely several

[1] Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p. 44, *note* 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr. Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the ل has become displaced and that the word should really be written ايتلمش *ay-tutulmash* = *eclipse of the moon.*

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turkí the word التمش *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

[2] طمغاج MS. A. طمغاج MS. B.

[3] Tabarhindah in MS. A is written تبرهنذة.

[4] Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

[5] See *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*. It was the river Jhílam.

times: Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín bestowed on him fitting honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him; and that same day Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amír-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amírs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Quṭbíyeh Amirs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm obtained possession of Lahore; Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín coming from Delhi to meet him in the year 612 H. drew up in battle order on the confines of Taráyan which is known as Serái Taláwarí.[1] After a severe battle Sulṭán Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Dín who sent him to Badáon. The bird of his soul there escaped from the prison house of the body and took its flight to the nest of the next world. His tomb is in that city.

And in the year 614 H. Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín came into conflict with Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sulṭá-
84. Shamsu-d-Dín, and for the third time[2] Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhankar, and Nizámul-Mulk Wazír Jandí pursued him while the Sulṭán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Náṣiru-d-Dín sent his own son Bahrám Sháh into the presence of the Sulṭán and sued for peace. Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náṣiru-d-Dín was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Punjáb, and surrendered the property of life to the flood of death, and the Sulṭán turning back came to Delhí. In the year 618 H. Sulṭáu Shamsu-d-Dín raised an army against Sulṭár

[1] *Cf.* Raverty, p. 608, *note* 8.

[2] According to the Taẓkiratu-l-Mulúk this was the first occasion in which Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín had shewn hostility to Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha. On the other hand the *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badáoni is very likely correct in his statement. See *Raverty* p. 609, *note* 1.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní[1] son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changíz Khán after Táju-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changíz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sulṭán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Síwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.[2]

And in the year 622 H.[3] Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnautí and brought Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Khiljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,[4] established the *khuṭba* and *sikka* in his own name[5] and having given his elder son the title of Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín Maḥmúd[6] made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Maḥmúd having fought with Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnautí got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards[7] to each of the nobles of Dehlí. 65.

[1] So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, *note* 3). He was the last of the Khwarazm Sháhi dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H (Raverty 299, *note*.) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, *note* 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankbarnin, as he considers the final letter to be ن *n* not ی *í*. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (*meng*) in Turkí means *grain de beauté* while بورون means "nez" (*Dict. Turk. Orientale* Pavet-de Courteille) the word originally being میندبورون mengbúrún would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to منگبرن mangburun and with the addition of the yá-i-nisbat منکبرني Mangburuní.

[2] For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also *Aín-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and *notes*. D'Herbelot art. Jelaleddin, Vol. II. p 87.

[3] Mistake in text ۴۲۲ where 422 H. is in figures.

[4] "Thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure." (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*.)

[5] See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A H. as the first of the silver coinage.

[6] محمود MS. (A)

[7] The word انعام in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word دهلي. MS. A continues after the word فرستاد as follows :—

و سلطان شمس‌الدین در سنه ثلث و عشرین و ستمائة سپاهی گران

[It is well known that a poet name Náṣirí arrived in that country from Dehlí in the service of Hazrat Khwája .Quṭbu-d-Dín Ushí[2] *may God sanctify him* and said I have composed a Qaṣída in praise of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín. Read the Fátiḥa that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fátiḥa and he having been admitted to the Sulṭán's presence read this *Maṭla'*.

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and elephants.

The Sulṭán by the mere reading of that *maṭla'* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣída contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.[3] Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthanbhúr[4] and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیمت تسخیر قلعهٔ سندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سوالک در حیز ضبط
اورد و بدهلي مراجعت فرمود و همدرین سال امیر روحاني که از افاضل ان
روزگار بود و در حادثهٔ چنگز خان ازانجا بدهلي امد و در تهنیت این فتوحات
قصائد غرّا گفته ازانجمله اینست قصیده

MS. (B) reads as follows و سلطان شمس الدین ... عزیمت رنیتور نمود
رلشکریان طرف برده انقلعه را مفتوح گردانید و در سنه اربع و عشرین
و ستمایهٔ سپاهی گران بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه مندور نامزد ساخته...

I do not know what MS. the Maulaví Ahmad Alí used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

[1] The words in [ ] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

[2] A famous saint known as Kákí from the "Kák" or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, *note* 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Raverty p. 621, *note* 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

[3] The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

[4] A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandúr,[1] brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehlí, and in this same year Amír Rúḥání[2] who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehlí from Bukhárá in the affair of Changíz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,
From the record of victories of the Sulṭán of the age Shamsu-d-Dín,

Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
Hearing this good tidings, the[3] canopy of adornment.
That from the land of the heretics the Sháhanshán of Islám 66.
Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky;
The Sháh, holy warrior and Ghází, whose hand and sword
The soul of the lion of repeated attacks[4] praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one:—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

[1] Or Mandawar (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*, p. 611, *note* 3, Mandwar MS. (A).

See *Rennell's* map. Monorpour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 328, mentions "Manoarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djépour." This is probably the fort here called Mandú.

[2] Hakím Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Alí Samarqandí.

[3] MS. (A) we have instead of كلهٔ آمین as in the text, the words كلهٔ تزئین which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment," I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كلهٔ برتین which is evidently a copyist's error for كلهٔ تزئین

[4] حیدر کرار is a name of علی 'Alí who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shír-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has been traced by the pen
Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have been black as the pen
And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of the pen
That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament of the pen.
Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards from the pen,
Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the tongue of the pen.
'Tis from Khwája Manṣúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of test of the pen
That great one whose words load the burden of truth on the van of the pen.
He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his swift running pen.[1]
In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein of the pen.
His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt[2] bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnautí, and the Sulṭán, after completing the duties of mourning, gave his name (*i.e.*, Náṣiru-d-Dín) to his younger son after whom the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* is named. In the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnautí and quieted the disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the government of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Khálí[3] returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress of Gwáliar. Málik Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

1 MS. (A) خود بنان را سوار کردة بود.

2 This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustanṣir b-illah. See Raverty 616, *note* 2.

3 MS. (A) علاءالدين MS. (B). علاءالدين خافي as in the text. *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* reads Aláu-d-Dín *Jání*. See p. 618, *notes*.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone:—

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith:
That fortress of Kálewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty.[1]

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H.[2] having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Málwah and taken Bhílsá[3] and also captured the city of Ujain,[4] and having destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahákál, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rái Vikramájít from whom the Hindús reckon their era[5] (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H[6] with the assistance of Hindú pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindúí into the Persian tongue and called it Náma-i-Khirad Afzá—) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehlí[7] and ordered the people 68.
to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multán;[8] this expedition was in every way unfortunate

[1] 26th of the month Ṣafar 630, A H. (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*), 1232, A.D.

[2] 632 H (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*) p. 621, *note* 6.

[3] Bhilsa on the Betwá, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes.

[4] Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwá, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya See Hunter, Imp. Gaz, and Tieff. Vol. I. p. 346.

[5] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 15, *notes* 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 5, 6. The Samvat era commencing from 57 B. C.

[6] 1564 A.D. and 1594. A.D. Al-Badáoní died according to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Sháh Jahání* in the year 1024, A.H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of the Náma-i-Khirád Afzá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kálidása's poems. سي و دو الف و ثلث (B). ثلث و الف سي و دو (A). The text (C). agrees with MS. (B).

[7] See Imp. Gaz. art. Dehli.

[8] See Raverty 623, *note* 8, who holds that this should read بنيان. Banián. Both MSS. (A and B) have ملتان. as also has Firishta.

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-enthralling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you Rise [1]

And the prince of poets [2] (*on him be mercy*) says:—

[3] [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish
Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]
It is the same Dehlí one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?
It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?
The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake
At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sulṭán and shed some tears upon the Sulṭán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

[1] Nizámí.

[2] Mír Khusrú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ḥasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kada* his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

[3] Not in MS. (A).

Sulṭán, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages 69.
heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shah *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sulṭán Ghíyáṣu-d-Dín Balban and they said that when the Sulṭán wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].[1]

[1] The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

End of 1st Fasiculus.

NOTE.

This page will be reprinted in the next Fasciculus, and may be discarded in binding.

Sulṭán, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages 69.
heard this story from the lips of the Khalífah of the world, I mean Akbar Shāh *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fatḥpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban and they said that when the Sulṭān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].[1]

Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,[2] and Malik Tāju-d-Dīn his secretary[3] wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
Yamīnu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Dīn
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamānī[4] from its auspiciousness.

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
Except the tavern keeper[5] and the musician who will praise thee.

1 The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

2 633 A.H.

3 MS. (A) omits و before دبیر.

4 The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims. Burton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islām, 548. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II. 36, *note*.

5 مغ text MS. (A) مى.

And his mother Turkān Khātūn,[1] who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sulṭān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Quṭbu-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sulṭān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and
70. Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sulṭān, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn[2] and Kabīr Khān Sulṭānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sulṭān had fled to Kīlūgharī[3] and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpūr went to Dehlī and having sworn[4] fealty to Razzīyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sulṭān having returned from the army, arrived at Kīlūkharī, the troops of Sulṭān Razzīyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.[5] The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

1 Shāh Turkān, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

2 The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says, "Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn; Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budāun broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Ālāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

3 Kīlūkharī, a suburb of Dehlī.

4 MS. (A) برضیة خاتون.

5 In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāju-s-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. *See* Raverty, p. 636, *note* 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house.

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time][1] of Ruknu-d-Dīn was Shihāb Muhamra Badāoni[2] as Mīr Khusrū[3] *on him be mercy* says in one of his opening odes

In Budāon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the birds of Dehlī

And Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī[4] mentions him as a master[5] and since the speech of the modern (poets) after the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has become like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of 71.
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems[6] at the time of the descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

[1] [ ] not in MS. (A).

[2] The name is wrongly given in MS. (A) MS. (B) and the text. The real name of this poet is Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara (متمرة). He was known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows:

در مدا ران مست بر خیزد شهاب متمرة
بشنـــود گر نغمهٔ مرغان دهلـــي زین نوا

In Madārān Shahāb-i-Mutmara rises intoxicated
If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehlī in this melody.

Vide Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā, Vol. I. page 304.

[3] Mīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Patiālā 651 A.H. Died 725 A.H. the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (*Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā*) see *note* 4, page 68.

[4] MS. (A) لويكي Lūyakī We should read *'Amīd Lāmakī*. Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī, the panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn, said by some to have been a native of Gīlān, called also 'Amīd Lūmakī. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* 1. 353.

[5] MS. (A) و چون.

[6] The سبع المعلقات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jāhilīyat or pre-Islāmic age.

See *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, by C. J. Lyall, pp. xxxii (Effect of al-Islām on the old Poetry) and xliv. (The Mu'allaqāt).

See also Nöldeke (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe, pp. xvii and *seq.*

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp. xxxi and *seq.*

Lord of the world *on him be peace*, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the däis of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihāb[1] Muhamra [Badāonī] then says as follows:—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.[2]
My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.
I stand at the end of the row[3] in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.
I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.[4]
All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.
There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while I am careless like the lily.[5]

[1] See *note* 5, page 70.

[2] Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as ء *hamza*.

[3] Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in بقا *baqā*, or a syllable as in قامت *qāmat*. The Alif at the commencement has a *hamza*.

[4] MSS. (A), (B) کژی ندارد

[5] The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, *cf.* Ḥāfiẓ.

حیفست بلبلی چو من اندر چنین چمن
با این لسان عذب که خامش چو سوسنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues [1] ?

Since I can seize it [2] while thus at rest, Why should I pursue ?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path ?

By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

[1] The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, *cf.* Ḥāfiẓ.

بسان سوسن اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چوغنچه پیش تواش مهر بر دهن باشد

Were Ḥāfiẓ like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.

also

ز سر و قامتت بنشینم آزاد
همه تن گر زبان باشم چو سوسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress-like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues.

The lily سوسن *Sūsan* is of four varieties. The white variety is called *Sūsan-i-āzād*, see *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* s. v. سوسن; according to the *Baḥru-l-jawāhir* its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The *Makhzanu-l-adwīya* states that the word *Sūsan* is an Arabicised form of the Syrian *Sūsānī*. The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues.

[2] MS. (B) چون گیرم. MS. (A) چونگیرم

The text should read—

چو بگیرم آرمیده چه روم پسی دویده
چو نه بینم اشکارا چه دوم ره نهانی
فلک از زمین بحیلت نشناسم ارچه هستم
چو فلک بخیره گردی چو زمین بنا روانی

I am not made out of these four elements.[1] I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.[2]

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,[3] huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five senses have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings[4] of the *'ashars*.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle[5] in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,[6] if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

[1] For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) بحث الار كان *Baḥṣu-l-Arkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) نه ازين چهار طبعم زبخار پارگينـــم
فضـــلات پارگيني زده لاف پارگاني

[3] MS. (A) طمعم

[4] The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called *'ashars* consisting of ten Āyats.

[5] The دهره a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called داس *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*.)

[6] MS. (A) بحبّهٔ نيرزم

Oh Shihāb it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs are neither the Amīr of the Eight Squares [1] nor the Knight of the Seven Places [2]

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller, from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the grave, you have dressed yourself in Gūrkhānī silk. [3]

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation you have planted the foot of success. 73.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of your wisdom. The vein of your eye has shed blood from desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth. You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.

With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the whetstone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-designing, from your youth hasting with greed, you are like a child in weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four (elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance of one genuflection.

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach [4] the dignity of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

[1] The Wazīr at chess

"The Wazīr having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct." Bland. On the Persian game of chess, *J. R. A. S.* XIII, p. 11.

[2] The seven labours of Isfandiyār, see the *Shāh Nāma* (Turner Macan) Vol. II, pp. 1126 and *seqq.*

[3] Gūrkhān, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khiṭāī, the meaning of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the title of Gurkān which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khān.

See *Tārīkh-i-Rāshīdī*, Elias and Ross, p. 278, *note.*

[4] MS. A برسی I prefer نرسی as in the text.

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate [1] you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

74. When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz [2]; in your ode you scatter snow [3] perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

[1] MS. (A) یاری.

[2] *Tamūz.* The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; *see* Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffluence" *see* Gesenius s. v. תמרן. *See* also Albirunī's Chronology, (Sachau) pp. 68–82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albirūnī) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

[3] When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him کلامش یخ است. *Kalāmash yakh ast.* His speech is ice.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like bridge [1] over the fire
On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours, for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world.
Oh Lord! [2] keep a watch upon the enemy of the king's dominions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire and as an ant in the running water.

And he also wrote in praise of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things [3] as follows:— **80.**

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating [4]
Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.
The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros
The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.
I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me.
It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.
The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep
As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as hair from oppression.
The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros.
For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

[1] The Ṣirāṭ or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Ṣirāṭ or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art Ṣirāṭ. See also Qur'ān I. 5.

[2] MS. (A) خصم ملک شاه را یار بنگاهش دار به.

[3] The words کرگ *karg* rhinoceros, گورگ *gurg* wolf, شیر *shīr* lion, فیل *fīl* elephant.

MS. (A) هر زمان این پیر گرگ شیر خوی طفل خوار.

A maddened elephant [1] is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.
The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustum a strong move like "pīlband." [2]

[1] MS. (A) پیل مستست.

[2] پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184. The فیل or *elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen* does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyāda-i-Aṣlī or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it: under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Anhadī's Life of Khwāja 'Alī Shaṭranjī we find

خواجهٔ دهقان علي شطرنجي كه چون رخ بعرصهٔ فكرت نهادي شاهان
سخن را دو اسپ و فيل طرح دادي منصوبهٔ باز خيال در فيلبند حيرت پيادهٔ مات
افتادي

"When he moved his Rukh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Fīlband" of confusion."

This (فیلبند) was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) *mate*, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Baḥr-i 'Ajam* gives the following definition of پیلبند.

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج- و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن
بکشت پیل *

Pīlband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pīlband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pīl).

چو در جنگ پیلان کشائي کمند
دهی شاه قنـــوج را پیلبنـــد

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeatest the king of Qanauj with the "pīlband" (Nizāmī).

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.[1]

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs[2] appeared from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the 81.
tail of the wolf[3] *became evident.*

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet[4] of heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Ḥasan Dehlavī also says.

هیهات که پیلبند عشقت ۔
اسان اسان کشاد نتوان

Alas! that the "*pílband*" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1–70.

[1] This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشن صبرم ز چرم گرگ سازم تار تار.

[2] *i.e.*, when it became dark countless stars appeared. *See* Qur'ān XII. 1–15.

[3] The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب. *Ṣubḥ-i-Kāẕib* the false dawn; *see J. R. A. S.*, July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شولة Shaula. *Burhān-i-Qāṭ'*.

[4] تعویذ *ta'wīẕ* MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, 'Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

In the jaws of the lion and under the foot of the rhinoceros, and of this old wolf, my beloved one keeps me as though depicted upon the tear of the elephant on account of love.

My beloved with the rhinoceros-hilted sword is trotting like a wolf, I, like the elephant, am following him with a body thin as thread.

Afterwards the wolf in rhinoceros-like armour, the elephant-like heaven, the lion-hunter of the sky appeared like the torch of the king.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of the earth is trodden into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-swift horse[1] seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf of the sky, his club[2] like a pillar has cleft asunder the lions.

82. From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that happens to the wolf and elephant which happened to the life of Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied one.[3]

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for Gurgīn[4] like the pit of Bīzhan.[5]

[1] گرگ پویهٔ خنگش.

[2] MS. (A) گرز.

[3] Isfandiyār at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft khwān.

[4] Gurgīn-i-Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau.

[5] Bīzhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manījeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgīn being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bīzhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam; Gurgīn was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson's *Shāh Nāma*, pp 300–324.

See *Shāh Nāma*, Vol. II, pp. 771–797. (Turner Macan Edition).

The reflection of thy elephant coloured [1] sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes [2] of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest [3] thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.[4]

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

1 MSS. (A) (B) پیلگون.

2 عناب *'Unnāb*, Zizyphus jujuba (N. O. Rhamnaceæ), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustānī بیر *ber*, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Baḥru-l-Jawāhir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

3 MS. (A) برگرائی.

4 مهرهٔ مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya* says:—*Hajaru-l-Haiyyah* (حجر الحیة) called in Persian مهرهٔ مار *Muhra-i-Mār* is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as مار مهره *Mār Muhra*, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone; weight from one to two *miṣqāls*.

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them; when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape, ashy-coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance; and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated: and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.[1]

That Wazír who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused.

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook[2] and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

83. Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears.

Another test: When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makẖzanu-l-Adwiya*).

The *Baḥru-l-Jawáhir* says only

حجر الحية حجر الفادزهر منه ما هو ثقيل اسود و منه ما هو رمادي و منه ما فيه ثلثه خطوط

Hajaru-l-Haiyyáh. The stone Pādzahr (*Bezoar stone,*) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

[1] See *note* 3, page 115.

[2] گاوک MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindí अंकुस *Aṅkus.*

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and rhinoceros ?

For that purpose again and again,[1] this old wolf from the elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the he-lion[2] as a good omen,

If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering elephant.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badāon,

Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe, and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing[3] so long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer and elephant-like in strength,[4] be humbled in the dust before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the stony line in the public baths.[5]

Sulṭān Razzīyah bint Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn

Came to the throne in the year 634 H. (1236 A.D.), and followed the path of equity and the principles of justice; set in order the affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pursuit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 84.

[1] MS. (A) نونو MS. (B) has تونو.

[2] Text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has در سکون. To sight a jackal when going to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem over force.

[3] کرگ and گرگ. These words are exactly alike in writing.

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) پیل ایستاد.

[5] The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this.

Jundī (Junaidī) Chief Wazīr.[1] Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amīrs, and Sulṭān Razzīyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amīrs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death,[2] and Niẓāmu-l-Mulk retired to Sir Mūr[3] and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwāja Muhazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Razzīyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantanbhūr,[4] which, after the death of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, the Hindūs had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sulṭān Razzīyah whenever she rode horse or elephant used to rest upon his arm or shoulder.[5] He became an object of envy to the Amīrs, and the Sulṭān Razzīyah came out from the curtain of chastity[6] and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and *kullāh*[7] when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyāz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sulṭān Razzīyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multān also to his *jāegīr*,[8] and in the same year she brought up an army against

[1] See Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 104 and *seqq*. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī* states on the contrary, that Junaidī refused to acknowledge her. She accordingly issued orders for his arrest, but he became aware of this and went into hiding, eventually dying in the hills of Sir Mūr Bardār.

[2] Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī and his brother Fakhru-d-Dīn were taken prisoners and put to death. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, p. 640.

[3] MS. (A) در کوہ سر مور رفتہ. Retired to the hill country of Sirmūr.

[4] The fortress of Rantanbhūr in the province of Ajmīr, 75 miles south-east of Jaipūr, see p. 92, *note* 4.

[5] The text has بازي او مى كرد but this is a misprint for بازوي او مى كرد which is the reading of the MS. (A).

[6] In the MS. (A) we have the following از پردہ برامد came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of *purdah-nishíni* generally imposed on Musulmān ladies. This seems the better reading (see Raverty, p. 642, *note* 3, with reference to this subject).

[7] The قبا *qabā* and کلاہ *kullāh* were a tunic and hat worn by men.

[8] After making over Multān to Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān Razzīyah returned to the capital on the 19th of Shābān 637 H. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*).

A *jāegīr* was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.

Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turkī Amīrs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amīr,[1] and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.[2]

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world. 85.
For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.
[3] There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.
Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

SULṬĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH[4] IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhī. At this time Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūnīyah[5] the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah, and having gained over certain of the Amīrs and a body of the Jats[6] and Khūkhars, and all the landholders, brought an army towards Delhī. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, sent the Malik[7] Balban the younger (who eventually became Sulṭān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn) with a vast army to oppose Raẓẓīyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Raẓẓīyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katīhal[8] with the intention of conquering Delhī, and again being defeated at the hands of the

[1] *Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā* calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Raẓẓiyah see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that they put Jamālu-d-Dīn to death.

[3] *Hāfiẓ. Ode* beginning بیا که قصر امل سخت سست بنیادست. *See* Diwan Hafis Rosenweig-Schwannau I, p. 30.

[4] Son of Iyaltimish.

[5] Altūnīyah was appointed by Raẓẓīyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *see* Raverty 647, *note* 9.

[6] Elliott I. 507. Tieffenthaler II. 206.

[7] Malik Badru-d-Dīn Sankar Rūmī had become Amīr-i-Ḥājib on the death of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn. He was the patron of Ghiyāṣu-d Dīn Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amīr Akhūr. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but see Raverty 648, *n.* 2.

[8] Kaithal Skr. Kapisthala. Lat. 29° 48′ 7″ N., Long. 76° 26′ 26′ E. 38 miles distant from Karnāl, and about 100 miles N. W. of Dehlī. See Hunter, *Gaz.* vii, 309.

Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūnīyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs[1] and were put to death by order of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),[2] and the duration of the reign of Raẓẓīyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily
That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Ītkīn who was
66. formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sulṭán, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhaẓẓabu-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muhaẓẓabu-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāīs,[3] by the orders of the Sulṭān, and in this year the Sulṭān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

[1] The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have کواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sulṭān Raẓīyah with Malik Altūnīyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (*See* Raverty's translation page 648 and *note* 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārās They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonīpat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (*see* Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol I. page 126).

[2] 638 A.H. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H, and that Raẓẓīyah and Altūnīyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Raẓẓīyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, *note* 2.

[3] فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مستان Minhāju-s-Siráj writes. p. 192, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک مست را بر سم فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāīs, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāī is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) *see* Raverty *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 *n.* 7.

some, as for example Badru-d-Dīn Saṇgar Amīr Ḥājib [1] he sent to Badāon where they died in prison. Among them was Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qāẓī of Badāon, and Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn the Qāẓī of Mārhira [2] they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H. the troops of the Mughūl Changīz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarāqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehlī, where the Sulṭān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Niẓāmu-l-Mulk [3] Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sulṭān, to oppose the Mughūl force in the Panjāb. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sulṭān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sulṭān to come. The Sulṭān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility [4] till then." He shewed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām 87.
Shāh sent Ḥaẓrat Shaikhu-l-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwājagān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Ūshī, [5] *may God sanctify him*, to the Amīrs to put

[1] Who had been appointed Amīr Ḥājib when Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn was murdered.

[2] The MS. (A) reads قاضي شمش‌الدين قاضي مرهرة را تة پاى فيل which reading I follow. Ferishta writes

قاضي شمس‌الدين و قاضي قصبهٔ مارهرة را در پاى فيل انداخت

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahrām Shāh to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town *Mihir*. (Raverty 657 and *note* 4), MS. (A) has مرهرة Marhira.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that the Sulṭān nominated Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥusain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, together with the Wazīr the Khwājah Muhaẓẓabu-d-Dīn for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (*See* Raverty 657, 658).

[4] MS. (A) تو بايد كه تا انزمان با ايشان مداراني بكني. Carrying into effect the maxim بادوستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا.

[5] See Raverty, p. 658, *note* 2. Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ūshī after whom the Quṭb minār of Dehlī is called died in 633 H. *See* Raverty 622, *note* 6.

See also page 92, *note* 2. This was another man Saiyyid Quṭbu-d-Dīn.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhu-l-Islām returned and came to Dehlī, and just at this juncture Niẓāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sulṭān in Dehlī,[1] and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world[2] and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīrozshāh

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban[3] (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥasan as Deputy, and Malik Muhaẕẕabu-d-Dīn Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Wazīr of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Niẓāmu-l-Mulk the Wazīr.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazīrship was conferred upon Ṣadru-l-Mūlk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sulṭān,[4] became Amīr Ḥājib and in succession to him
88 the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

1 On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Ẕī Qa'dah (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 659).

2 On the 13th of Ẕī Qa'dah 639 H.

3 Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, *note* 1.

4 Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650–51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Ḥājib.

See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balbau, the elder, Budāon was conferred upon Malik Tāju-d-Dīn; and in this year 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughā Khān who had advanced from Karrah [1] to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautī sent Sharfu-l-Mulk Asha'rī to the Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn with a written despatch, the Sulṭān then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh [2] for 'Izzu-d-Dīn Tughā Khān who was in Lakhnautī, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, and Bahrāij to Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughūl forces [3] arrived in the district of Lakhnautī, the assumption is that the Mughūls must have come by way of Tibat and Khiṭā, and Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn sent Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg [4] to the assistance of Tughā Khān and the Mughūls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughā Khān and Malik Qīrān,[4] Tughā Khān came to Dehlī, and Lakhnautī remained in the hands of Tīmūr Khān.[4]

[1] The printed text has آگرہ ! but MS. (A) has کڑہ which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat. 25° 41′ N. Long. 81° 24′ E. (*see* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*) Vol. VIII. Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government.

[2] Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāsānī (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

[3] This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 665.

The original reading was کفار جاجنگر *Kuffār-i Jājnagar* which by some strange perversion became کفار حبکر خان thence to کفار چنگز خان and so to our author's statement.

Jājnagar or Jājpūr on the Baitarānī river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* II., 219 *n.* 1.) (*see Imp. Gaz.* Vol. VII., and *Stat. Acc. of Bengal*, XVIII. 85–89).

The کفار جاجنگر Infidel hordes of Jājnagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughūls, hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnautī is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

[4] The real name of Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru-d-Dīn Qīrān-i-Tīmūr Khān and he is the Malik Qīrān referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qīrān and "Tīmūr Khān" are one and the same person. In the text فیران is a misprint for قیران MS. (A). *See* also Raverty 666, *n.* 9.

In this year the Mughūl army[1] arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sulṭān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sulṭān on reaching Delhī took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahrāij, and upon his arrival at Delhī in the year 644 H, they threw Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd into prison and he speedily[2] exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.
In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

89. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULṬĀN NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-dīn.[3]

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

[1] 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mangūtah" (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

[2] On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

[3] Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A.H (*see Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, *l.* 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a Ḥātim in generosity and a Rustam in energy.
Nāṣir-i-Dunya wa-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Iyaltimish.
That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the heaven.
In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture.
How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his auspicious titles.[1]
Or how compute the exultation of the *Khuṭbah* at the mention of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[2] which was composed in his honour.

The Sulṭān entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khān said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action,[3] for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring shame upon me and upon thyself." The Sulṭān himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'ān and in repeating the sacred names of God *may He be glorified and exalted*; and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to 90.
devote his time to the copy of the Qur'ān which he was writing,[4]

[1] His titles as given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* were:
As Sulṭānu-l-A'ẓamu-l-Muaẓẓam, Nāsiru-d-Dunyā wau-d-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmūd Shāh ibn-i Sulṭán Iyaltimish Yamín-i-Khalīfatu-llah Nāṣir-i-Amīri-l-Mūminīn.
The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj was written in his court and dedicated to him: hence its name.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Abū'Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn Uṣmāu ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al Juzjānī. See Elliott II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[3] زنهار کاری بد نکنی

[4] Ibn-i-Batūta states in his history (French edition, Vol. III, p. 169).
وکان ملکا صالحا ینسخ نسخا من الکتاب العزیز و یبیعها فیقتات بثمنها
وقد وقفني القاضي کمال الدین علی مصحف بخطه متقن محکم الکتابة

further that he used to write it himself in private so that no one might recognize his handwriting and buy it for more than its fair value, and he used to sell (these) in the Bāzār. They relate also several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed Khalifs – among them I have seen it written in a book that one day his wife was complaining of not having a servant, and she said "Whenever I bake bread for you my hands get burned and blistered." He wept and replied, "The world is passing away, bear your toil for these few days for God Almighty on the morrow of resurrection (*we trust in Him and believe in Him*) as a reward for this labour, will surely give you a Ḥūrī to wait upon you, as it is, I cannot possibly buy a slave girl for you from the public funds. His wife too, agreed to this.

The world is but a dream in the eyes of the vigilant,
A wise man does not set his heart upon a dream.

And the Sulṭān in the month of Rajab in the year of his accession, took an army towards Multān[1] and in Zūl Qa'dah having crossed the river of Lahore (Rāvī) and having appointed Ulugh Khān as leader of the forces,[2] sent him towards the Jūd hills[3] and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus. Ulugh Khān having punished that part of the country brought it into subjection, and having given a lesson to

C' était un souverain pieux : il copiait des exemplaires du livre illustre (le Korân), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait. Le Kâdhi Camâl eddîn m' a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégamment ecrit.

[1] We find, بنيان Baniān in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty 677, *notes* 5, 6.) but both MSS. (A) and (B) read Multān.

[2] مقدمة الجيش Also in MSS. (A and B), but this must be a copyist's error for مقدم الجيش.

[3] The Kohi Jūd (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehoud) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat. 32° Long. 71°. Bāber states that the tribes of Jūd and Janjūhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Bahrah. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 405, *note* 2).

Tieffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandanpour (forteresse en brique sur un montagne) between the Behāt and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshāwar.

the Khūkhars[1] and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sulṭān and returned to Dehlī, and in the year 645 H, having taken Mīwāt[2] turned his attention to the country of the Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehlī with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Ranṭanbhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, 91.
and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān.

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Multān, and after some days Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,[3] but when the Sulṭān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Chāndērī and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev[4] the Rāi of that

[1] Khūkhars, *see* Tieff. I, 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les *Khocares* ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines, c'est un nation qui á quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p. 67, *n.* 3.

[2] Text and MS. (A) میوات Mīwāt. This place is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, it is mentioned in the *Aīn-i-Akbari* (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naṣrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbāl Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Mēvāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehlī et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harsana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Narnol, 57 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitee par beaucoup de Mahométans qui etaient ci-devant gentils. Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le tems qu'ils regnoient a *Dehli*. La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux *Mogols*. Maintenant le *Djat* (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de *Djepour* (Jaipūr) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahométans.

He speaks of the abundance of Nīm (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. *See* also Rennell's Memoir (1788), p. 75.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian.

[4] This Rājā is called in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Chāhar Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chāhar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription श्री चाहड देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (*see* Thomas 67 *et seqq*: and Raverty 690 *note* 1.)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sulṭān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar [1] was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegīr* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehlī intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sulṭān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehlī, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills [2] of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

[1] Narwar.—In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (*see* also Raverty 690, *note* 1).

In the text بزور is a misprint for نروز MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about ½ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30′ N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest 93° 24′. (*Cf. Āīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

[2] Of Bardār and Bijnōr (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*). In the text instead of

the ford of Mīāpūr[1] and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,[2] and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,[3] invaded the country of Kaṭihar[4] going to Badāon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amīrs, namely Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and Arsalān Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, the brother of the Sulṭān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sulṭān thereupon marched from Dehlī, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrām and Kaithal,[5] by the intervention of a party of Amīrs, the Amīrs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sulṭān; and the Sulṭān conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H. the feelings of the Sulṭān underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jahān. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Malika-i-Jahān was married, a *jāegīr* in Oudh,[6] and a short time after turning against him also[7] sent him to Bahrāij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān and certain other Amīrs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sulṭān 92.

کوہ پایۂ لشکر ہجور which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پایۂ بجنور لشکر as in MS. (A).

1 Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS. (A) reads as follows:—

و از آب گنگ بگذر میا پور گذشتہ which is intelligible and tallies with *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. Whore the reading جوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say.

2 MS. (A). The text reads تالب آب راست رسید: *see* Albirūnī (India) (Sachau) II. 261: also Elliott, I. 49 as regards the Rahab.

3 و بتاراج واسر دادہ MS. (A).

4 The Calcutta text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī* calls this کایتھر *Kāethar*. Our text has کٹیہر *Kaṭihar*, MS. (A) has کتیہر (?) MS. (B) کشمیر (!) *see* Raverty 696, *note* 4.

5 *See* Elliott, II. p. 354.

6 The printed text gives در اوردہ. It should be در اودہ MS. (A)

7 This should read و در اندک مدت انرا نیز تغیر نمودہ not as in the printed text.

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army[1] to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikhu-l-Islām Saiyyid Quṭbu-d-Dīn and Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehlī, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;[2] the inhabitants of Dehlī joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sulṭān's court, and the Sulṭān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*[3] in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehlī, but did not find the party
93. which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sulṭān's presence.[4] And in the year 655 H. the Sulṭān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Dehlī, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sulṭān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sulṭān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnautī.[5] And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sulṭān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,[6] *may God magnify his power and exalt his*

[1] This account differs from that given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (*See* Raverty p. 703 and *seqq*).

[2] و تطمیع دران ملک کردند MS. (A). The word تطمیع is omitted in Calcutta text.

[3] About 180 miles, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about 1¼ miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 2¼ miles. The Akbarī *kos* was rather less than 1¾ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

[4] These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlu Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

[5] Compare the account in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

[6] Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,[1] left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment.

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnautī as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghauṣu-l-'Ālam Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī[2] the Multānī, *may God sanctify him*, raised the tent of[3] close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date:

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmī*)
the other perished (*khūn*).[4]

Multān in the reign of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. p. 363).

His tomb is mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Patan or Patan-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badāonī gives 656 H. as the date of Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar's death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H. and the former 668 H. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* gives 668 H. as the date of the death of Farīdu-d-dīn Ganj-i-shakar and 665 H. as the date of the death of Bahāu-d-dīn Zakarīyā

[1] MS (A). اجل الله قدره و اعلی ذکره. The printed text is wrong here.

[2] Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā was a famous Muḥammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamālu-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Qureishī who left Mecca for Khwārazm and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-l-Islām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Wajīhu-d-Dīn by the daughter of Ḥusām-d-Dīn Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhī about the year 666 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif with a command to give the missive to Bahāu-d-Dīn. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست بدوست رسید. "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 362 and *note*.

The tomb of Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā is in Multān.

[3] MS. (A). در جوار قدس ذو الجلال.

[4] The word زخمي gives the date 657 H. the word خون gives the date 56 H. *See* page 133, *note* 1.

94. And in the year 658 H. Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt [1] and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.[2] He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr [3] whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mīr Khusrū, [4] *may God sanctify him*, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

[1] The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads:

خان معظم الغ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي براي دفع فساد متمردان ميوات كه ديو از ايشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمود

Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, *note* 2, of this Volume.

[2] On the 11th Jamādiu-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H. his reign was *twenty* years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy.

[3] There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā* or the *Ātashkada*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Ḥanīfah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

[4] Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, *note* 2), son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patiālā 651 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A H. (Beale p 151).

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangāla and Kāmrūd had left him in the service of his elder son Nāṣiru-d-Dīn[1] Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou[2] of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance; thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment.

All night I kept my eyes awake and[3] I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.

I keep my heart[4] exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver.

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Nāṣiru-d-Dīn died. The *Majma'ul Fuṣahā* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehlī from Turkistān in the time of Changīz Khān's invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amīr Khusrū was appointed as his successor in his Amīrship, which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 725 H. and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shakarganj (Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar see *note* 1, page 133).

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with his son Sulṭān Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghāgra, and of several other works (*see* Elliott, III. pp. 523 and *seqq*).

[1] MS. (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدين Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān second son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubād. (*See* Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* 716 *n.*).

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehlī* there is given a copy of an inscription of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A.H 652, and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861.

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn himself, (*cf.* Thomas *op. cit* 129–130).

[2] MS. (A) اي.

[3] MS. (A) و

[4] MS. (A) پخته دارم دل

95. I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love[1] since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said "no Muslim will eat raw flesh," but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

[2] You call me "raw," if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready.

So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū—

Conqueror of the world[3] and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain.

The king Maḥmūd Shāh, that Sulṭān from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single[4] desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.[5]

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide[6]

[1] MS. (A) عشق

[2] MS. (A)
خام میخوانیم ار سینهٔ خود بشگافم
پخته بنمایم ان دل که تو میخوانی خام

[3] MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

[4] MS. (A) دیگ یک ارزو یش

[5] MS. (A) ناید از شاخ.

[6] This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrank and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, *note* 2. Muḥammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit a raw-hide.[1]

Thy enemy bathes in blood,[2] instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw-hide. 96.

Every deed of thine is like[3] perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame.

Thy enemy is that naked demon[4] who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him is a raw-hide.

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of despair from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined[5] what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence.[6]

Of what avail[7] is the sorcery of Fara'ūn since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.

Oh Khusrū! Shamsu-d-dīn[8] is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler.

He himself is experienced[9] and his verse is like purified gold—his words are not like the best sayings of Khāqānī still in the rough.

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom[10] for thee—Oh Lord

MS. (A) چه بنشاني خام.

MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads

غل خصم است بخون جای زه پیراهن

The textual reading is adopted with زه in place of زره

[8] MS. (A) چو.

[4] MS. (A) ان غول که از کل جهان

[5] برباد MS. (A).

[6] کشخان - بمعنی دیوث (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*.)

[7] MS. (A) چه یارد چو.

[8] شمس الدین دبیر. See page 134 *n.* 3

[9] MS (A) هست اورا پخته و.

[10] MS. (A) بهر تو ملکت یارب The line as it stands in the text will not scan.

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amīr Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī[1] writes in a Qaṣīda of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes[2] the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhīd[3] with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy.

7. Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhīd at that instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.[4]

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed[5] at that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,[6] because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

[1] Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn.

[2] MS. (A) reads ..... چو بردارد نگارم چنگ و بندد زخمه بر ناخن MS. (B) reads پردازد *i.e.* plays the lute.

[3] *Nāhīd.* The planet Venus زهرة, *zuhra* whose seat is in the third heaven (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) called also رقاص فلك. *raqqāṣ-i-falak.* (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

[4] از تأثیران تب MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

[5] ازین مشکن MS. (A).

[6] بیاور دد بلطف مهر دلداري. MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshāh Nāṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Maḥmūd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying[1] hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,[2] just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.[3]

His head is in danger of severance[4] by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Ḥadīṣ.[5]

[1] MSS. (A) (B) زباز تیز تر

[2] MS. (A) آید. امد is the better reading as in the text.

[3] Compare the Arabic proverb. في رأس اليتيم يتعلم الحجام. *In capite orphani discit tonsor.*

There is also a Hindī proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

سیکھیگا ناو کا کٹیگا بٹاو کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) سرش بر ذروۂ قتلست. The reading in the text is a copyist's error.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) تقلیم. تقلیم الاظفار. In the جامع الاخبار. *Jāmi'u-l-akhbār* of شیخ صدوق. we find تقلیم الاظفار یمنع الداء الاعظم و یزید فی الرزق

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (*i. e.*, poverty) and increases the means of subsistence." Also,

من قلم اظفاره و قص شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال بسم الله وعلى سنة رسول الله اعطى بكل قلامة عتق رقبة من ولد اسمعيل -

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying, "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'īl.'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammadan who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with sore eyes. It is also said in a Ḥadīṣ by Ḥamīd ibn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān.

من قص اظفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء و خرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him." The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb, thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring-finger.

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight [1] when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,[2] that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the [3] moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.[4]

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger [5] of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.[6]

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment [7] like a finger nail.

[1] چو پر ناخن. The text should read thus.

[2] چنان بینند MSS. (A) (B).

[3] MS. (B) writes چرم قمر.

[4] This line should read. نشاند در ضمیر آهن وقلب حجر ناخن. MSS. (A) and (B).

[5] Text ازسوز پسر MSS. (A) and (B) have از سوز سپر which must be wrong

[6] The text is wrong, we should read برد از پنجهٔ جور سپهر سگ سیر ناخن MSS (A) and (B).

[7] The text it appears should read انگاهی MS. (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.[1]

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,[2] if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envier of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

I have brought in the word nail (*nākhun*) as *radīf*[3] in this poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.[4] 99.

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amīd, who was controller of all the states of Hindustān, it is essential to reproduce some thing from poems of his which are rarely met with :

Arise 'Amīd, if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love-poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world.

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azure dome without the irksome aid of tools ;

1 MS (A) و هدر ناخن

2 MS. (A) پناه روی عالم

3 ردیف *Radīf*. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word ناخن *nākhun* is the *radīf*, the rhyming letter or قافیه *qāfiyah* being ر (r). In MS. (A) these verses are in the order given here.

4 In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair, lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the blade bones of sheep for the same reason, as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses" we find "69, to send plagues, take (parings ?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No. 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house" J.R.A.S., Jan. 1896, p. 185.

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.[1]

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (*i.e.*, fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.[2]

His skill has caused the crimson anemone[3] to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī[7] and Rāhū[7] to blossom in the garden.

[1] The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are :—

1 فلک القمر Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).
2 فلک العطارد Falaku-l-uṭārad (Mercury).
3 فلک الزهرة Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus).
4 فلک الشمس Falaku-sh-Shams (Sun).
5 فلک المریخ Falaku-l-Mirrīkh (Mars).
6 فلک المشتري Falaku-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).
7 فلک الزحل Falaku-z-Zuḥal (Saturn).
8 فلک الثوابت Falaku-s-ṣawābit (Fixed stars).
9 فلک الاطلس Falaku-l-Aṭlas (The plain sky).

N B.— اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Qhiyāṣu-l-Lughāt.*

See also *Āin-i-Akbarī* III. (Jarrett) 37, *note* 1.

See also Kashshāf Bib : Ind. Vol. II., p 1134 and seqq.

[2] The constellation Libra, called ترازوی چرخ (*tarāzū-i-charkh*) or فلک ترازوی (*tarāzū-i-falak*) or میزان (*mīzān*).

[3] سوري "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (*sic.*) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amīr Khusrū, we find لب پر از خنده چون گل سوري . A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. راهو None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is. شقائق النعمان *Shaqa'iqu-n Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شقيقة of lightning or from شقائق النعمان in the sense of "blood" as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) *s. v.* شَقِيقَة

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty he has limned the form of the mouth : at another with the pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows.

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 100.

The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of blackness.

The kings of the earth [1] with submission and humility, in search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one time curved like the *chaugān*,[2] at another round like the ball.

So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression.

That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek of the plum.[3]

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the partridge.

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all-encompassing bounty upon Chīn and Khaṭā [4] the perfume of the bag of the musk deer.

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp.

Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers, such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company ?

[1] سلاطين مجازي (*Salāṭīn-i-majāzī*) So-called kings, as opposed to سلاطين حقيقي (*Salāṭīn-i-ḥaqīqī*) true kings, *i.e.*, the prophets.

[2] چوگان According to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* this name is given to any stick with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the "duhal" and "naqqāra" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia of royalty. Here it is a "polo" stick.

[3] Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ān, II. 216 and V. 92.

[4] خطا *Khaṭā* Cathay vid. D'Herbelot, II. 431 Khathai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū [1] bears witness to this beneficent one.

101. Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-natured loved one

Do thou 'Amīd again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls.

Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,[2] and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

[1] کوکو. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

رباعي

آن قصر که بر چرخ همي زد پهلو
بر درگهٔ او شاهان نهادندي رو
ديديم که بر کنگره اش فاختهٔ
آواز همي داد که کوکو کوکو (Omar Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin blue
Where kings did bow them down and homage do
I saw a ring dove on its arches perched
And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo, Coo Coo (*Whinfield*).

The pious Muḥammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is سبحان تيري قدرت. *Subḥān terī qudrat, Subḥān terī qudrat.* Praise be to Thee for thy power.

[2] روح *Rūḥ* is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the نفس *nafs* or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي *wa nafukhtu fīhi min rūḥī*, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتُ قُلْتُهُ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَهُ تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

In kunto qultuhu faqad 'alimtahu ta'lamu mā fī nafsī.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldst have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس *nafs* and a روح *rūḥ*.

It would seem as though the word نفس *nafs* connotes the same idea as the word *mind*, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul [1]
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary influence of a husband.
Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā [2] and what is Qaiṣar
In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halākū ?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath of its own will,
Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the other.

the action of the روح *rūḥ* or vital principle upon matter: the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind: the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be رُوح *Rūḥ*.

1 These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس *nafs*. نفس *nafs*, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (*a*) نفس لعقل *nafsu-l-'aql* which is also called النفس الناطقة *annafsu-n-nāṭiqah* the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (*b*) نفس الحياة *nafsu-l-ḥaiyāt* the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids: thus they say فلان يوامر نفسيه *fulānun yu'āmiru nafsaihi*. Such an one consults his two minds, *i.e.*, weighs the *pros* and *cons*.

See Lane article نفس and روح, also *Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt*, and *Kashshāf* art. نفس.

2 كسرى The Chosroes. Qaiṣar قيصر Cæsar; an Emperor.

خاقان A Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (*See* de Courteille *Turk. Orient. Dict.* خاقان). Khāqān. Originally the title Qaān was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Chingizi lines were styled only Khān.

After a time the higher *Qaān* lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi* (Elias and Ross), p. 30 *n.* 1).

هلاكو Halākū, descendant of Changiz Khān.

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,[1]
Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.[2]
On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience and engulfed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him* [3]

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the[4] adornment of the soul as the ornament of its divine Creator

102. I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,
Because the two worlds are an indication[5] of the embroidery of its sleeve;
Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard[6]

1 The word چنگ *chang* in its original sense means *bent* or *curved*, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak گجک" with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*). The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخمهٔ *Zakkma*, and from its description as کوز *Kūz* and سر نگون *sarnigūn* was like the عود *'ūd* of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

2 یاهو. *Yā huwa.* An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "*My God and my Lord.*"

3 These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has ولهٔ قصیدهٔ فی النعت.

4 MS. (A) بچرید. MS. (A) بجرید. 5 MSS. (A) and (B) کنایهٔ.

6 سنبل Sumbul (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) νάρδος, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Baḥru-l-Jawāḥir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindī, and Sumbul-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a hæmostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindī while the Sumbul-i-Rūmī is also called Nardīn.

See also Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 *et seqq.*

the morning breeze has never borne from Chīn to Māchīn [1] a rarer odour from the fragrant musk.

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth of the world in the five stated times of prayer [2]

His onyx-like [3] eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

[1] Cf. Tieffenthaler III. 107. Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. II., 122. D'Herbelot Vol. II. Art Khatāi. Māchīn or Mahā Chīn see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, II. 118 and *note* 2. "Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chīn who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Māchīn his first born."

[2] The phrase تنورهٔ مسدس means literally the six-sided oven-shaped (world). The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالم الانس *'ālamu-l-ins*, the world of mankind.
عالم الجن *'ālamu-l-jinn*, the world of the jinn or genii.
عالم الملائكة *'ālamu-l-malāikah*, the world of angels.
عالم الحيوان *'ālamu-l-ḥaiwān*, the animal world.
عالم النبات *'ālamu-n-nabāt*, the vegetable world.
عالم المعادن *'ālamu-l-ma'ādin*, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

ظهر *ẓuhr* عصر *'aṣr* مغرب *maghrib* عشاء *'ashā* and فجر *fajr*.

The two standards علم *'alam* are the sun and moon, *cf.* Qur'ān, XXXVI., 38, 39.

[3] M. S. (A) reads جزعش. His onyx-like eye, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muḥammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies." According to the *Nukhbatu-d-dahr* (p. 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious.....There are several varieties of onyx.....the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth..... The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes. The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light..... The people of China (صين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald-head in children: it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks."

See also Lane Art. جزع where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon [1] because there is the stamp of his seal upon everything from the moon above to the fish below.[2]

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,

Earth [3] and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven pledged to him.

His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to both worlds,

His gulangabīn [4] (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,

The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand, and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,

The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard [5] is one of the marks of his seal,

The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation,[5]

[1] Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name."

See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. *n.* 15. This stone was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Solimān.

[2] Called يهموت Yahmūt upon which the world is said to rest. *See* page 152, *n.* 2.

[3] MS. (A) زمي و زمان

[4] گلنگبين The properties of the rose are said in the *Baḥru-l-Jawāhir* to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac: while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. *Sadīdī* further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but *Sadīdīs* statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

[5] This line should read. بزبان سو سماري رقمي بد سجلش See page 110;

In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth.[1] 103.

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both reminders of his love andwrath.

The garden, in submission[2] to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of[3] the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muḥammad was fleeing from Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as-Siddīq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Ṣaur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave.

Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb. See also Muir's Life of Mah. II. 257 *note*.

Compare the following lines by Ya'qūbu-l-Manjanīqī, quoted by Ibn Khalliqān.

ایها المدعی الفخار دع الفخر لذی الکبریاء و الجبروت
نسج داود لم یفد لیلة الغار و کان الفخار العنکبوت

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave The honour was all given to the spider.

See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane), Vol. IV., p. 375.

According to another account immediately after Muḥammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance. D. Herbelot II. 231 *art.* (Hegrah).

[1] MS. (A) چو قرارہ.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B) چمن از نیاز خلقش.

[3] MSS. (A) and (B) کہ صفاء روح انسی.

When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards thehighest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahāni,[1] the second step reached to the Sidra[2] from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshôe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity[3] which was his
104. mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band[4] like the ants of the ground travelling fast[5] along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.[6]

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into leaven[7] by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

1 See *note* 2, page 105. See Qur'ān Sur. XVII.

2 A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth : " After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears " (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ, Vol. II. p. 694.

See also Hughes' *Dict. of Islām.* (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

3 حبل عصمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

4 MS. (A) گوهي. This alludes to the Muslims.

5 MS. (A) پويان.

6 MS. (A) شمع دينش.

7 MS. (A) and Text بخمير MS. (B) تخمير. These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit [1] since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice.[2]

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars [3] there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter [4] are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring. From the two earrings [5] sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes.

'Amīd has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality [6] is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup.[7]

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

1 دغا MS. (A) (B).

2 MS. (A) (B) کعبتین. کهٔ نهٔ چرخ *Ka'batain.* The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem.

3 The first four Khalifs the "rightly-directed." MS. (A) reads دو قران.

4 Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate. *See* Ibn Khaldūn Proleg: (De Slane) II. 217 and seqq.

5 دو قرطه; Hassan and Husain. هشت جنت Their eight children. دو نور 'Alī and Fāṭima.

6 See Ibn Khalliqān (Slane) III. 344 *n.* (8). Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الحلال *As-saḥru-l-ḥalāl.* Hāfiẓ says,

معجزست این شعر یا سحر حلال
هاتف آورد این سخن یا جبرئیل

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?
Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām* article Magic, *also* Lane *sub voce* سحر.

7 This couplet is omitted in MS. (B).

MS. (A) reads چو می که صرف صفوت چو پیاله شد معینش.

105. are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QAṢĪDA.[1]

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.[2]

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night[3] as an angel.[4]

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.[5] Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.[6]

1 MS. (A) has the words ایضا له. *Aiẓan lahu* Also by him.

2 The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmiḥ, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka *to rise, to be exalted.* See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. *note* 11. Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*).

3 دم سه *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows: *Also* a pigeon all black with a white tail.

4 MS. (A) reads غلک which seems to have no meaning. The text reads غلك with a variant ملک which we find in MS. (B).

5 Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form; crescent or decrescent.

6 پرک Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans.[1]

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf.[2]

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouge of adornment like the beauties [3] do over the patches.[4] 106.

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek, displayed its buds. Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays its face from the heavens.[5]

On the extremity of the plain of spring, issuing from the door of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield, the willow stands with its arrow.

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and cheek.

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt.[6]

Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at secondary existence.[7]

In the eye of truth there is *kuḥl* [8] (of ornament), in the eye

1 These are according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

بحر جرجان *Baḥr-i-Jurjān*, بحر طبریه *Baḥr-i-Ṭabariya*.
بحر نیطس *Baḥr-i-Niṭas*, دریای روم *Daryā-i-Rūm*.
دریای مغرب *Daryā-i-Maghrib*, دریای چین *Daryā-i-Chīn*.
بحر خوارزم *Baḥr-i-Khwārazm*.

2 MSS. (A) and (B) read خبك

3 ترک مثال MSS. (A) and (B).

4 خچک - خال "A patch" for the face (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

5 I read here چون رخ ترک مه کوه اُو روی نماید از فلک. This seems the best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading in the text is impossible.

6 That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called پرورش *parwarish*.

7 قدم. (*qidam*) Existence from all eternity. For حدوث (*ḥudūṯ*) see *note* 4, page 1.

8 The كحل *kuḥl* was used as a collyrium. میل کشیدن (*Mīl Kashīdan*) is to put out the eyes. میل *mīl*, called also ململ *mulmūl*, is the bodkin or style used for applying the *kuḥl*.

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way [1] verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak [2] cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,[3] just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.[4]

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed [5] cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants [6] several laks.

107. As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants [7] from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito [8] not by the advanced guard of an army.

1 MS. (A) reads دهش but this is an error.

2 نوح بن لمک. The text and both MSS read نوح بن ملک. See Genesis v. 28–30. Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14.

3 ز دام غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly زداغ غم

4 When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

5 MS. (A) کلل کلک [MS. (B) کل کلک Text فلک کلک]

کلاه پردار=کلل کلک *kulah-i-pardār*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

6 MSS. (A) (B) اهل جریده.

7 MS. (A) جبابره [MS. (B) حبابرا Text حباب را.]

8 پشهٔ MS. (A)

In the *Nāsikhu-t-tawārīkh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:—

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall."

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.[1]

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness.[2]

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent. By thy help it is that this joyful sound[3] has been placed in my hand by destiny.

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation.[4]

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground.

A carpet if it be of silk[5] is more fit to be burnt than thorns.

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him; then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man.

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field.

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty, the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nīmrūd, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nīmrūd, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort Suddenly a single mosqnito entering after him stung his lip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nīmrūd died in abject misery."

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

[1] در غثیان MS. (A). The text reads wrongly در غشیان

[2] That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent, like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell, not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness.

[3] خمک *khumak* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.

[4] MS. (A) کلک بي

[5] By the laws of Islām, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called مشروع *mashrū'*.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels is refreshed while the musk of Chīn remains dry as a husk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave; that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret [1] of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars [2] is a sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.[3]

108. May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (*i.e.*, four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Alī is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune [4] either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak." [5]

[1] MSS. (A) (B) شيرحق.

The term رافضي *rāfiẓī* is applied by Sunnī Muslims to any of the Shī'ah sects. *See* Hughes. *Dict. of Islām.* Art. Rāfiẓī.

[2] The four khalifs.

[3] *Hadīṣ.* مثل اصحابي كالنجوم بايهم اهتديتم اهتديتم. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

[4] بنغمة در MS. (A).

[5] *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muḥammad left to his daughter Fāṭima.

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fāṭima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl [1] boasts of being a Khārijī [2]

him, he replied: "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslims.

نحن معاشر الانبيا لا نورث ما تركنا ها صدقة

The Shī'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse.

[1] يوم شوم. The ill-omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في البومة خير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuisset, eam venator non reliquisset. Freytag *Meid. Prov.* II. p. 572.

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahrām points in the same direction. *See* Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane). Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān* there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows:

يا قصر قد جمع فيك الشوم واللوم متي يعشش في اركانك البوم
يوم يعشش فيك البوم من فرحي اكون اول من نعيك مرغوم

Oh palace ill-luck and curse are assembled in thee;
When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?
Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!
I shall be the first to announce thy downfall.

He explained this before Al Mā'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace.

[2] The name Khārijī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imāms (see Cureton's Shahrastānī *Milal wa Nihal*, page 85.)

See the article Khawārij in Hughes, *Dict. of Islām.*

The Khārijī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalīfah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslims.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's Qur'ān. Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (Ed. of 1857) (Badger. *Imāms and Seiyyids of Omān*, Appendix, pp. 374, and *seq.*) (Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Alī and Mū'āwia met at Siffīn from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Alī was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika-l-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Alī's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave[1] is like the night-flying bat[2] in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun).

Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.[3]

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.[4]

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears *What brought you into hell ?* [5]

Oh Lord ! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak [6]

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Alī's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Alī recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Moslims "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Usmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwia being settled by arbitration.

1 *Abū Bakr.*—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medīnah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40.

إِلَّا تَنصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ إِذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ثَانِيَ اثْنَيْنِ إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Ṣaur).

2 شب پرک. MSS. (A) and (B) have شب ترک which seems to have no meaning.

3 Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Āzar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555. H. and ended in 622. H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587. H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

4 فنک. *fanak.* The animal commonly known by the name دله *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

5 Qur'ān lxxiv. 43, فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكُمْ فِي سَقَرَ.

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners — what drove you into hell-fire ?

6 *Chigil.* The *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says : A city in Turkestān where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nūn* and *dāl* of my age (54) after the year *kẖā* and *nūn* and *hā* (655 H.),[1] thanks be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the bonds of this net and gone free. 109.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay pellets from a pea-shooter.[2]

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent," my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open dealings are with thee.

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxication of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are cold and shrunken.[3]

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yāqūt says: A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Turkestān near Turrār. Thence sprang Abū Muḥammad 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Yaḥīn ibn Yūnas Aljigilī the Khaṭīb of Samarqand in the days of Qadar Kẖān he died in Sha'bān 516. H.

Yamak. Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. *Burhān-i-Qāti'.*

Yāqūt does not mention this.

[1] The above shews that 'Amīd Lūmakī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended *double entendre* here; though the word نه which stands for 54 means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the خنه which stands for 655. *See* page 99 *note* 4.

[2] تفک *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath *cf.* تفنگ. Steingass' *Dict.*

It is also called پفک *Pufak.*

cf. English pop-gun, traced by Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*) to the base *Pu* expressive of the act of blowing. *Skt.* bukk.

پف کردن *puf kardan* to blow out—to puff..

چراغی را کہ ایزد بر فروزد
هرانکس پف کند ریشش بسوزد

A lamp which God has lighted.
He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard.

[3] و must be added in the text after the word سکرات. MS. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to be the effects of the wineskin.

a missile, then the stone of the balista [1] of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.[2]

Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,

At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat," [3]

Shewing his helplessness Amīd thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.

Accept these few brief words from this vile cur,[4]

For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.

Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

AN EULOGISTIC QAṢĪDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils of the violet-hued locks.

By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.

Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth

Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.

110. Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.

Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).

Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles; Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.

Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

[1] This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

[2] If we read گزک for کزک the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word گزک One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

[3] قُنُق گزک should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read قنک کرک.

قُنُق (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.

گزک (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of قُنُق. (*qutuq*).

[4] This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.[1]

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four[2] thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.[3] 111.

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār, ambergris gained a fresh odour[4] from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

[1] These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

[2] شصت و چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

[3] MS. (A) افیونش گر بماند. The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* sums up the properties of opium thus قلیله ینفع وبنوم و کثیره یقتل *qaliluhu yanfau wa yanūn wa kaṣīruhu yaqtulu.*

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

[4] نسیم ترش MS. (A). The text reads نسیم سرش.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.[1]

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory,

That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless[2] obstacles.

Like Naushīrwān when thou knockest at the door of justice,

Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.[3]

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head[4] is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

[1] Both MSS. (A and B) have هر که افگند. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

[2] بیشمار باند.. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

[3] *Platanus orientalis.* The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

[4] عقدهٔ گردن *met* caput et cauda (رأس و ذنب) pro quo etiam dicitur عقد تین (dual), qui est term, techn: astron: *Bh.* "Caput et cauda draconis *i. e.*, nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller *sub voce* عقد. The *Istilāḥātu l-Funūn*, says that the *'Uqdatu-r-Rā's* is also called *'Uqdatu-sh-shimālīya* and the *'Uqdatu-z-Zanab* is called *'Uqdatu-l-Junūbīya*, and the two together are called *Jawazahr* جوزهر. These terms are fully explained in the Article الذنب p. 510, Vol. I. *See* also Lane s. v. تنّين where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse [1] in the knot of the dragon's tail,[2] like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl taken from the casket of my heart. 112

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon, the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

[1] As regards the word كسوف *kusūf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف *khusūf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyāṯu-l-Lughāṯ* applies it to either: while the *Kashshāfi Iṣṭilāḥāt-i-Funūn* lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse; كسوف moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. *Lane* however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language الكسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun, and الخسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

ان الشمس والقمر لا يخسفان لموت احد او لحياته

As ک is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at al events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

[2] Compare the Hindū mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindūs, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, *Sūrya Sidāhānta*, p. 50.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson *Dict. of Hindū Mythology*, p. 252.)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.

No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession,
And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.[1]

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself,
Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned.

Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release,
My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

3. But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me[2] with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west,
Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet?

Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice,
Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,[3] Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

[1] MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسي نیم دانگ زر
ور دید بهران نکنـــم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

[2] MS. (A) مي کشیدم

[3] MS. (A) باز کشادد

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since[1] you 'Amīd girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QAṢĪDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark live in the midst of the raging billows of blood? 114

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,[2] and resting on the four anchors.[3]

[1] MS. (A) چون

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt ..... would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qaṣīda that 'Amīd Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā*.

[2] The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the هفت اندام *haft andām* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet *or* (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

[3] The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. الدم *ad-dam*. The blood. البلغم *al-balgham*. The phlegm. الصفراء *aṣ-ṣafrā'*. The bile. السوداء *as-saudā'*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of death?
In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jīhūn in the month of Mehrgān [1]
In front of the claws of this crab [2] and the revolution of the nine heavens, loosen [3] thy four anchors and then launch thy bark.
The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise [4] one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

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Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of *death of a tyrannical king*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kisrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; *i.e.*, March 21st.

3. بکشا و.

4 MSS. (A) and (B) have و بنه.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge.[1]

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony[2]-like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world.

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness
For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tāju-l-Haqq, who 115
made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar[3] who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawān.[4]

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2 He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony ابنوس is said in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* to be "a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the عود (*'ūd*) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder."

The *Baḥru-l-Jawāhir* says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water," hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

3 Abul Hāriṣ Sinjar Ibn Malakshah ibn Alp Aralān was Sulṭān of Khurāsān, Ghazna and Māwarāu-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sulṭāns, He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalliqān in A. H. 479, in the environs of Sinjār whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) I. 600.

See also D' Herbelot art *Sangiar*. Vol. III, p. 202, *et seqq*.

4 Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunis. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwān. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa. *See* Abul Feda (Renaud) II. i. 198. The ocean of Qairawān is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annales), we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 50 H. (665–666 A.D.) and was completed five years later.

From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces from every dry stick the branch of saffron.[1]

When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.

The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.

At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the blood of his brave enemies,

If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry (sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears.

Thy enemy saw his life like a snare (from which he must escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by thy bond-loosening arrow.[2]

By the good fortune of thy arrival the ship sails along on its breast, on the tops of the waves to the very highest heavens.[3]

Thy dagger lays open the breast of thy envious enemies just as, by means of its keel, the ship opens the lips of the waves and the mouth of the ocean,

At that time when, in pursuit of the punishment of thine enemies, the morning breezes hasten their march and thy ship goes with slackened rein.

116. From this lake Khusrū demanded a ship (ode),

Saying such and such a ship is fit for this wide ocean.

I obediently set it sailing over the face of that ocean,

Although that ship was not fitted for such a sea.

When the sea of my mind burst into waves in thy praise, I made the word کشتی (*kishtī*) the *radīf* by way of trial.

If the ship had not been like a fish, tongueless in its essence.

It would not have addressed me except as "Ocean of benevolence and mine of eloquence"

Among the profoundly learned is there anyone better than

[1] See page 41, *note* 2.

[2] MS. (A).

ز تیر بند شگافش حیات را دشمن
چودام دیده همه رخنه ایرمان گشتن

MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رخن for رخنه in line 2.

[3] MS. (A) and MS. (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.[1]

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four[2] thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.[3] 111.

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār, ambergris gained a fresh odour[4] from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

[1] These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

[2] شصت و چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

[3] MS. (A) افیونش گو بماند. The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* sums up the properties of opium thus قلیله ینفع وبنوم وکثیره یقتل *qaliluhu yanfau wa yanūm wa kaṯīruhu yaqtulu.*

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

[4] نسیم ترش MS. (A). The text reads نسیم سرش.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.[1]

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory,

That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless[2] obstacles.

Like Naushīrwān when thou knockest at the door of justice,

Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.[3]

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head[4] is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

[1] Both MSS. (A and B) have هر کهٔ افگند I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

[2] بیشمار بند. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

[3] *Platanus orientalis.* The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

[4] عقدهٔ گردن *met* caput et cauda (رأس و ذنب) pro quo etiam dicitur عقد تین (dual), qui est term, techn: astron: *Bh.* "Caput et cauda draconis, *i. e.*, nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller *sub voce* عقد. The *Istilāḥātu-l-Funūn*, says that the *'Uqdatu-r-Rā's* is also called *'Uqdatu-sh-shimālīya* and the *'Uqdatu-z-Zanab* is called *'Uqdatu-l-Junūbīya*, and the two together are called *Jawazahr* جوزهر. These terms are fully explained in the Article الذنب p. 510, Vol. I. *See* also Lane s. v. تنّين where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse[1] in the knot of the dragon's tail,[2] like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.
Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl taken from the casket of my heart. 112.
Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation?
I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon, the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.
Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.
Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

[1] As regards the word كسوف *kusūf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف *khusūf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* applies it to either: while the *Kashshāfi Iṣṭilāḥāt-i-Funūn* lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse; كسوف moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. *Lane* however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language الكسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun, and الخسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

ان الشمس والقمر لا يخسفان لموت احد او لحياته

As ک is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at al events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

[2] Compare the Hindū mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindūs, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, *Sūrya Sidāhānta*, p. 50.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson *Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, p. 252.)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.

No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession,

And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.[1]

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself,

Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned.

Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release,

My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

3. But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me[2] with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west,

Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet?

Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice,

Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,[3] Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

[1] MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسي نیم دانگ زر

ور دید بهران نکنم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

[2] MS. (A) مي کشیدم

[3] MS. (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since[1] you 'Amīd girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QAṢĪDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark live in the midst of the raging billows of blood? 114

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,[2] and resting on the four anchors.[3]

[1] MS. (A) چون

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt ..... would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qaṣīda that 'Amīd Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majmaʿu-l-Fuṣaḥā*.

[2] The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the هفت اندام *haft andām* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet *or* (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

[3] The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. الدم *ad-dam*. The blood. البلغم *al-balgham*. The phlegm. الصفراء *aṣ-ṣafrā'*. The bile. السودا *as-saudā'*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of death?
In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jīhūn in the month of Mehrgān [1]
In front of the claws of this crab [2] and the revolution of the nine heavens, loosen [3] thy four anchors and then launch thy bark.
The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

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guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge.[1]

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MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رخن for رخنه in line 2.

[3] MS. (A) and MS. (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.

'Amid who has launched his ship from the Nile of excellence into this Clysma[1] of eloquence.

Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the ocean of the sky,

May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire, float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

QAṢĪDA.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances the stag is intoxicated.

The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to shame.

The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances.

The stag is harassed by envy of those musk-laden locks.

Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy cheeks.

What magical power is there in that eye which, with one glance,[2] captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag 117.
from without.

From envy of the musk-coloured spot[3] which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

[1] The بحرقلزم *Bahr-i-Qulzum.* Clysma. The Gulf of Heröopolis, or Western Gulf of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed on dry land. It is the modern Gulf of Suez, and it is probable that Suez occupies the site of the ancient town of Clysma. Epiphanius mentions τὸ κάστρον τοῦ κλύσματος as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Berenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter Lakes" are remains. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clysmon.

[2] MS. (A) (B) ازغمزة.

[3] *Cf.*

يا حياتي حين يرضى و مماتي حين يسخط
آه من ورد على خديك بالمسك منقط
بين اجفانك سلطان على ضعفي مسلط

Thou my life art when thou smilest
But my death when thou art angered.
Ah! thy cheek like summer roses
With the grains of musk be sprinkled!

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares of thy locks.
When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.
The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine eyes,
And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the assembly of the world-subduer.
The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion, Sinjar,
In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.
The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor [1] taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khiṭā as a memorial.
Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became [2] the ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.
Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted fear and shun as [3] the stag avoids the lion.
An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;
Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the lion?
At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than
118. thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-footedness.
At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy charger's hoofs?
Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sulṭān,
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the commonest similes among Persian poets.

1 The sun is called شمامهٔ کافور *shamāma-i-kāfūr*.

2 بود MS. (A).

3 MS. A. چو.

Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast [1] of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes.[2]

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk.

In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him.

The day that thou pursuest him he shews only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder.

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess?

What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee.

At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

[1] MS. (A) ناز کند.

[2] The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

The following is abridged from the *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān*. "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions, and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it, this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind, more especially as a remedy for impotence, and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder."

119. In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"[1] with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radīf* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amīd has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag pridesitself.[2]

Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Nārwan[3] slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān[4] pale like the saffron.

1 The word آهو *āhū* stag, occurs in every couplet of this qaṣīda.

2 مشک *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khiṭā. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* and *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castoreum) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bīsh* (aconite) and *qurūnu-s-sumbul*. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

3 نارون The Nārwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also گلنار *Gulnar*.

4 ارغوان The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.[1]
Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarīr[2] through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawān.
How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the Khīrī.[3] 120.
How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous ?[4]

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baiṭār (Sontheimer) says, (Vol. I. p. 28).

"The tree is very abundant in Iṣfahān and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmatic The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic" Sontheimer does not give the botanical name. See *note* 4 page 109.

[1] *See* p. 41, *n.* 2.

زرير *Zarīr*. The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also *asparag* (اسپرک) According to some however it is the leaf of *Zard choba* (turmeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*)

In Vüllers we find اسرگ (*Asparag*) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias زرير (*Zarīr*) or ورس (*wars*).

According to Ibn Baiṭār, (Sontheimer) ورس *wars* is Memecylon tinctorium—N. O. Melastomaceæ, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake.....they are also good for dyeing clothes red...by itself it gives an evanescent yellow.

[3] خيري A flower of which there are many varieties

خيري خطائي *Khīrī-i-Khiṭā'ī* — is dark purple

خيري ميرديني *Khīrī-i-Mīrdīnī* — is violet. It is also called هفت رنگ *Haft rang.*

خيري صحرائي *Khīrī-i-Ṣaḥrā'ī* — is red and white; called also خيري خرامي *Khīrī-i-Khirāmī.*

خيري شيرازي *Khīrī-i-Shīrāzī* — is yellow; called also گل همیشه بهار *Guli hamesha bahār* and in Arabic عصفير *'Aṣfir* (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

See also Vüllers.

According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) this plant is the wall-flower *Cheiranthus Cheiri.* N. O. Cruciferæ.

[4] MSS. A and B have توان. The text reads نوان which is a better reading.

His form stately as the Nārwan is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Nārwan and cypress of the garden?
Till his face, which was like a full-blown rose, drew back again into the bud there was no certainty that the rose and the garden had commenced their fast.
Till his full moon once more became a crescent moon [1] who had clearly seen fasting overtaking the sun and moon of the heavens.
The shaft of grief is broken in my heart, for his stature has been brought by fasting from the straight form of an arrow to the shape of a bent bow.
It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar [2] in that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.
I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and fasting in the middle.
Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.
Look! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter sweetness.
With a glance she drinks my heart's blood because she thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly break her fast.
21. This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.
In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the pomegranate.[3]

[1] The text has هلاک MSS. A. B. have هلال which is right.

[2] Niẓāmī Ganjamī says.

تنگ شکر *tangshakar*, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar of special form having a very narrow mouth.

تنگ. شکر ز تنگیِ شکرش
تنگ دل ترز حلقهٔ کمرش

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her honied lips, is more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

[3] Cf. Niẓāmī (*Sikandasnāma*).

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.[1]

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her.

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it).

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord;

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast;

Muḥammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point.

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age[2] to break its fast on this side of the seven stages.

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty.

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd, has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.

Thou art like the two first fingers,[3] a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand-in-hand with prayer.

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zakāt*, *Ḥajj* and *'Umrah*.[4]

لب از ناردانه دلاویزتر
زبان از طبرزد شکر ریزتر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate
A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar.

A favourite simile with Persian poets.

1 These couplets occur in this order in MSS. A and B.

2 MS. (A) reads كشادة دهر which is the reading adopted here.

3 وسطيي سبابة The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb.

4 زكواة *Zakāt* or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion, Qur'ān ii. 77. وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَ أَقِيمُوا الصَّلٰوةَ وَ آتُوا الزَّكٰوةَ.

"And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms."
The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.

122. The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster,[1] has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens[2] just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jamshīd till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrūd on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

Ḥajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

'Umrah. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zūl Hijjah *See* Hughes (*Dict. of Islām.*)

1 نسیم خلق تو چون طیب مشکبوي خلوف *Text*. (MSS. A and B read چون طشت مشکبوي خلوق.

خُلُوف *khūlūf* is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Ḥadīṣ says.

خُلُوف و فم الصائم اطیب عند الله من الطیب.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane.. *Art*. خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

و خَلَفَ فم الصائم خلوفاً و خلوفةً تغیرت رائحته.

2 Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word ابهات *abāhāt* to be a plural formed by Badāonī on the analogy of امهات *ummahāt*, and to stand for the نُه آباي علویه *nuh ābā-i-'ulwīya*, the nine heavens.

On this earth, the worlds children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.[1]

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me[2] and said, 123.

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting.

The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast[3] and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food[4] is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "*radīf*" better than 'Amīd, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

[1] MS. (A) reads زبایزید نه پیدا ونه نهان روزه MS. (B) reads زبانرید..... the reading in the text is

زمانه برني وپیدا ونی نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation.

زمانرید نه پیدا ونی نهان روزه

[2] The text reads شمار برد but MSS. (A) and (B) read نماز برد

[3] مفطر MS. (A)

[4] "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (سحور) or morning meal." (Burton's *Mecca* I. p 110 note) see also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* for the observances of the month of Ramaẓān.

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,

Mayest thou be famed [1] for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QAṢĪDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Sīmurgh [2]

I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere. Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land? [3]

124. I have gone like the 'Anqā [4] and have made my resting place in the mountains.

1 MS. (A) reads نشانهٔ instead of فسانهٔ as in the Text. Lull

2 The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said "Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety" See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 *et seqq.*

3 There is a play on the word بوم here which cannot be preserved.

4 Another name for the Sīmurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* under the name عنقای مغرب)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Ḥayātu-l-Ḥaivān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the 'Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of a way of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is حلقت به عنقاء مغرب *which is* said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. "May the Anqā fly away with him."

They also say الجود و الغول و العنقا ثالثة اسما اشیا لم توجد و لم تکن Liberality, the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables[1] of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant[2] garden.

The parrot has left for the garden, the kite of lust which is following it circling round and round my nature I have detained within the midden of the body.

In many an art for which[3] the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.[4]

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such 125.
a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse of the treasury of secret knowledge.

Once by way of vaunting in the rose-garden of desire,

[1] *The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading* بر دونج *the real reading is* نزد زیج *as is seen in MS. (A).*

[2] سبز گلشن MS. (A) There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن *(gulshan)* garden and گلخن *gulkhan* dust heap in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words *garden* and *midden*.

[3] MS. (A) کزان The text and MS. (B) read گران.

[4] MS. (A) and (B) both read در مغیلش The text has درفتیلش.

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.[1]

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bīzhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manīzha[2] nor have I committed the crime of Bīzhan.

[1] The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

[2] The daughter of Afrasiyāb. When Bīzhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Girgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manīzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bīzhan to death: by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bīzhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manīzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rustum, Bīzhan was freed and he and Manīzha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, pp. 300 and *seqq*). See also page 116 *note* 5.

Patience has the strength of Rustum,[1] as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the arm of Rustum-like patience.
All of my companions are free to follow their occupations while I am fast in prison,
God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have committed this fault. 126.
The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of the Ishrāqī philosophy[2] which I followed so excellently have thrown me into misfortune?
The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and through from the back, although I had armed my breast with the cuirass of patience.
My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart as its meat.
Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent)[3]
Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow) from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise.
I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

[1] Rustum extricated Bīzhan from the pit by drawing him up with his *kamand* or lasso.

[2] اشراقیة. The Illuminati. A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their own proper inspiration and mental illumination, which they held to be the result of spiritual meditation. Ḥājī Khalifah, III. p. 87, writes as follows: "*Philosophia illuminationis (Hekmet el-ishrāc) sive Neo-Platonica inter veteres disciplinas philosophicas eundem locum tenet quem Theosophia inter doctrinas Islami simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas locum tenet quem theologia dogmatico-scholastica inter has.*

In the شرح منظومة by حاجي ملا هادي سبزواري we find: Philosophers are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation, those who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retirement, those who arrive at it by combining these two. These last are called the Ishrāqī sect.

See Ḥājī Khalifāh علم الحكمة See also de Slane, *Proleg.* Ibn Khal: III. 167.

[3] The MS. (A) has خیشتن را دہ زبان The text follows MS. (B).
See *note* 1 page 101.

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan [1] into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā [2] superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.[3]

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Āmīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

127. I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of *Qiṭrān*,[4] not now only but long ago.

1 لادن *Ladan.* The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* it is called also عنبر عسلی *Honey-ambergris* and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit, fœtus ille mortuus illico excidit.* See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) I. p 409.

It is the לט of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh.* The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (*Ar.* مر *murrun*) is different.

The اشهب *Ashhab* is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فیض عز یزان but غربزان is a better reading.

4 *Qiṭrān*, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر *'ar'ar*, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makẖzanu-l-Adwīya*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, hœmorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antisudorific. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savine) which is powerfully ecbolic. According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sontb.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. *See* also II. p. 189, *sv* عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word مستروں is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* from استر and ون *i.e.* mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem [1] of mine is worth a whole *Dīvān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair [1]

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge.

Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,[2] hypocrisy, hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Khurd

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Maliks and Amīrs adorned the throne by his accession in the Qaṣr-i-Safed

[1] شعر The word شعر here has its double meaning. Saifī in his prosody says, "A bait (poem) is called *bait* for the reason that *bait* means a house and they compare the *bait* of poetry (شعر) with the *bait* of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Ma'rrā

الحسن يظهر في البيتين رونقه بيت من الشعر و بيت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents
The tent of poetry (sha'r) and the tent of hair (shi'r)

[2] شرک *Shirk.* "Idolatry: paganism: polytheism." Ascribing plurality the Deity. Associating anything with God.
The Wahhābī writers define *Shirk* as of four kinds:

شرک العلم	*Shirku-l-'ilm.*	Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
شرک التصرف	*Shirku-t-taṣarruf.*	Ascribing power to others than God.
شرک العبادة	*Shirku-l-'ibādah.*	Offering worship to created things.
شرک العادة	*Shirku-l-'ādah.*	The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

Hughes. *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 579, Art. *Shirk.* 9. v.
See also Qur'ān. xxxv. 38 and xlvi. and 3, and various other places.

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.[1] He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of
128. the Sulṭān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum[2] on the condition that if the Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.[3] When this request was represented to the Sulṭān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them[4] he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;
Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

1 Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Baranī only begins from Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

2 MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبيل and بسيار.

3 MS. (A) reads نقد و جنس گرانمند

4 يكدوي رابسته. According to Firishta one of these was Ḥaidār Khān the Amīr of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (*See* also Elliott, III. 101)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
And he strove in prayer and supplication
His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a cauldron;
A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;
Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
All that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnautī sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sulṭān proceeding to Patīalī[1] and Kanpila, built the forts of Patīalī, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāithar[2] and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Dīn the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharīs,[3] and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Mīwāt, which lies in the Doāb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintūr 129.

[1] MS. (A) پتپالي Patiālī. The printed text has بيتالي Betālī.
Patiālī. In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*)
Kanpila. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(*Imp. Gaz.*)
Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainiah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a *pargana* in the Sirkār Rohtās Bihār.

[2] So also *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*. Firishta reads كتيهر Kateher. MS. (A) reads كانتهر Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant.

[3] Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands.

hills,[1] and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hiṣār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army[2] towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the çastle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness[3] reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughral, Nāib of Amīn Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amīn Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkīla (Nārkīla)[4] and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās[5] was ordered to pursue him, the Rāi of Sunārgām named Dhanūj[6] offering his services to the Sulṭān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a a jungle,[7] walking about off his guard, and having put him to
130. death sent his head to the court. The Sulṭān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

[1] MS. (A) reads کوهایهٔ سنبوز *Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz.* This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

[2] حصار نو نام نهاد MS. (A).

[3] Neither Firishta nor Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

[4] MS. (A) reads در بجرهٔ سور نشته and نارکیله

[5] MS. (A) ملک اختیار الدین تنکرس را Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sulṭānī. *See* Elliott, III. 117, *note.*

[6] Called Danūj Rāi in *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī. See* Elliott, III. 113, *note.*

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgānw, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being 'once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonnergong." *See* Map N. 6. *See* J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

[7] The printed text and MS. (A) both have که در جنگلی گریخته می گشت The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sulṭān and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and Governor of Lāhor and Dībālpur, and had read the *Khuṭbah* in Ghaznīn in the name of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened [1] to the Mughūls, accordingly Sulṭān Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sulṭān Muḥammad, who is known as the *Khān-i-Shahīd*, and *Qāān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession. Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Ḥasan of Dehlī remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shīrāz and begged that Shaikh Sa'dī,[2] *may God have mercy on him*, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mīr Khusrū to the care of the Sulṭān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sulṭān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sulṭān Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

[1] The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading وانشده بود Thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MS. (A) has, correctly, واشده بود

[2] Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abdu-llah as-Sa'dī. He was a native of Shīrāz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Ḥajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude: He died in the year 691 H. (1291 A.D.) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amīr Khusrū of Dehlī who entertained him. His Kulliyāt are of world wide reputation. The *Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā* (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'dī's birth, and gives the date of his death as 791 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa'dī was born "about the year 571 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A H. or 579 A.H. Of his works the Gulistān and Būstān are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'dī see the preface to Platt's *Gulistān*. See also *Ātashkada*, p. 284.

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sulṭān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehlī, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year Itimar[1] the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvī by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a
131. petition to Khān-i-Shahīd[2] telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,[3] on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,[4] and Mīr Ḥasan[5] of Dehlī composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehlī. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mīr Ḥasan.

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

[1] *I'timar.* Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Tīmūr Khān.

[2] Called *Khān-i-Shahīd* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz Khān" (Elliott, III. 122.)

[3] MS. (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سر the text reads باغ سرور Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

[4] Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

[5] Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amīr Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mīr Khusrū. The *Ḥasan* which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A)(B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we 132.
see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,[1] *may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies*, on Friday the last day of the month of Ẓū-l-Ḥijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Ītimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,[2] elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

[1] Qāān-i-Mulk Ghāzī. The eldest son of Ghiyāṯu-d-Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. *See* page 187 *ante*.

[2] آن ملاعین را MS. (A)

of Bāgh-i-Sarīr[1] on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accor-
133. dingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers[2] should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde[3] and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,[4] and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion[5] (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

[1] باغ سرير MS. (A) باغ تيز Probably the باغ سبز before mentioned.

[2] The Rāvī and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

[3] I read صخاذيل شاذه MS. (A).

[4] MS. (A) reads در نشانهٔ ماهي

جاء القضا ضاق الفضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following:—

اذا نزل القضاء بطل الحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

اذا نزل القضاء عمى البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

[5] The three stars in Orion's belt. *See* Lane s. v. الجَوزاء

manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "*In face of Fate wide becomes strait*" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khān-i-Ghāzī at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them',[1] drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar.[2] After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tātār infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild- 134.
loving desert-born savages, placing the feathers of the owl[3] upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzīs of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,[4] reciting the *takbīr*[5]

[1] *See.* Qur'ān IX. 5.

فَاقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ

[2] The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia: commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog. *See* D'Herbelot Vol. I. p. 640, II. p. 282. Ibn Khaldoun, *Proleg.*: I. 162.

[3] The owl called by the Arabs غراب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (*Ḥaiyātu-l-Ḥaiwānāt*).

Hence the proverb لَوْ كَانَ فِي الْبُومَةِ خَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا الصَّيَّاد.

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. *See* also page 157, *note* 1. *See* also J. A. S. B. 1877, p. 81.

[4] According to Ṣūfī writers there are two *Jihāds*. *Al-Jihādu-l-Akbar* or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts: and *Al-Jihādu-l-Asghar* or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (*See* Hughes. *Dict. of Islām* art. *Jihād.*)

[5] Crying *Allāhu Akbar* الله أكبر God is Almighty. See *Miṣhkātu-l-Masābih* X, ii. 1.

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of ablebodied men of the Mughūl cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the weft (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.[1]

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.
As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All-powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.[2]

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.
Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.
The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.[3]

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and
135. warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

[1] There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. تیر *tir* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

[2] عین الکمال An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs says فقا الله عنک عین الکمال May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

[3] سپند According to *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. *See* Vüller's Lexicon.

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

> Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger.[1]

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head, lest the close-eyed beauty of the heaven,[2] who sits on the fifth roof near the door of the eighth mansion,[3] sitting in ambush, out of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of error from the bow of fraud and malice; the lasso was saying, to-day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate conflict and ill-considered battle; wait a while! for Islām and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

> I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
> Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks.

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray[4] deafened the ears of the world and of the sky,[5] and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

1 MS. (A) has فسده as has the text. MS. B فنده Neither is intelligible. Possibly we should read مفسده *mafsada*. *Jauzhar* the head and tail of Draco, *see Burhān-i-Qāṭi* also *'Āin-i-Akbārī*, II. (J.) p. 9, also *Kashshāf*, I. 202.

2 مبادا ترک تنگ چشم فلک MS. (A).

3 I read نزد درخانهٔ هشتم MSS. (A) and (B) have ترادرخانه which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as رسانیده for which there is no sanction. The text reads و بر but it seems to me نزد is more likely to be right. It might easily have become ترا by copyist's error.

4 MS. (A) و غوغای غالبان وغا و غلبان طالبان غزا. This is a better reading than the text.

5 MSS. (A) and (B) read صماخ سما for اسماع سما in the text.

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this Āyat *A day when a man will flee from his own*
136. *brother*,[1] the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons [2] was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword
Oh! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Riẓwān [3]

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.[4]

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed [5] was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

1 Qur'ān Sur: lxxx. 34.

2 MS. (A) پسر بیاد دادهٔ. The text has بصر بیاد دادهٔ which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS. (B) the word پسر is omitted.

3 MS. (A) گلشن جنان و روضهٔ رضوان *Riẓwān*, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."

4 The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).

5 بیضهٔ إسلام see Lane, Ar. Dict. بیضة الاسلام. The place which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindūstān because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle rent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn [1] which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish [2] before the Sun, and like the Ram [3] in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,[4] changed 137.
the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave-cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury [5] who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny [6] was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

1 خار عقرب. *Khār-i-'Aqrab* The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called خار عقرب.

2 حوت *Hūt*. The sign Pisces.

3 حمل *Ḥamal*. The sign Aries.

4 زاد في الطنبور on the analogy of يزيد في حديثه said of a liar.

The طنبور *ṭanbūr* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally دنب برة from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).

5 Mercury is called دبير فلك *Dabīr-i-Falak*. The scribe of the sky.

6 تظلم *taẓallum* MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading نظم must be wrong.

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this for thee
Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the Earth.
If thou goest out to the chase (*i.e.* diest) thy dust is my life:
My life! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee? I do not wish it for thee.

May God, *be He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mīr Khusrū[1] also on that day fell a prisoner into the hands of Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circumstance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose."[2]

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehlī two elegies written in *tarkīb-band*[3] which are found in the anthology known as

[1] میر خسرو For an account of Mīr Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the Mughūls—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 545.

[2] جل means both *horsecloth* and also *rose*. There is a difference in the readings. MS. (A) reads, تو برد بر سر نهاد و گفتا جل MS. (B) is like the text.

[3] ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In Tarjī'band as

Ghurratu-l-Kamāl.[1] For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those *tarkīb-bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them :—

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven which has come to light? 138.

Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?

That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustān has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world.

The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind.

Autumn the leaf scatterer has, one would say, appeared in the garden,[2]

Every eyelash, in the absence of friends, has become a spear-point to the eye, and each point of the spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length.

The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread of companionship;

When the string is broken, the pearls are scattered far and wide.

Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multān.[3]

I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words;

When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth.

has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkīb-band and in Tarji'band.

[1] *Ghurratu-l-kamāl.* The longest of the four Dīwāns of Amīr Khusrū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life; for an account of this and the other "Dīwāns" see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also Hājī Khalīfah, IV. 311.

[2] MS. (A) reads گلستان for بوستان.

[3] MS. (A) agrees with the text. MS. (B) has a worthless reading

هیچ دیگر اندر مولتان آمد پدید

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes [1] perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

It is essentially impossible—how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades [2] (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen [3] did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

[1] The text has در چشم we should read در چشمم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

[2] This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkīb band, see* p. 196, *note* 3.

بنات النعش *Banātu-u-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major. See* Lane, *s. v.* نعش.

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the Prolégomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعازر *Feretrum Lazari*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla.*" The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of Ibnu-l-Amīd (*see* de Slane, *Ibn Khall.*: III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

[3] MSS. (A) and (B) read تاچه طالع.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.[1]

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies[2] over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth.

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention.

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muḥarram[3] for him, not for him only but for all people. **140.**

[1] These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B) read بر سر خون پر کشید.

[3] MS. (A) reads غرهٔ مه شد محرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Ẓūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muḥarram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. We read in the *Mishkāt* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaẓān." Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl Hijjah he drove his dagger into the neck of his enemies.

That the day of 'Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks of holy war like Ḥusain; the dust of his steed served as collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of the army!

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and came upon them unawares.[1]

Thou didst see the king's steed,[2] casting the cloud of dust to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck sparks.[3]

What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle,

What terror was there! at another time raising the battle cries.[4]

From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered hea and oppressiveness around him.

the day 'Āshūrā I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year." (Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

"It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*).

1 MS. (A) reads آن چه ساعت and جوق جوق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسید.

2 MS. (A) reads خنگ instead of جنگ as in the text.

3 MSS. (A) (B.) read وز سم هر آتشین نعلی.

4 MS. (A) آن چه هیبـــت بود گاهی کارزار آراستن
وان چه دهشت بود گاهی تیرو دار انگیختن

MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like so many thorns.
The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their enemies,
The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.
[Whiles, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that field of battle,
Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].[1]
Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the unmanly cowards,
And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered sword.
Raising aloft like Jamshīd the standard, to restrain the demons,
Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.
Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.
Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*[2] with that dust.
[At that time when there was a distinction between brave and coward,
Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks pale].[3]

[1] These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گاه شاه مرد پرور اندران میدان کار
کار مردان کردن و مردان کار انگیختن

[2] تیمم. *tayammum*. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Wuẓū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'ān V. 9. "If...ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muḥammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

[3] The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding *band* as though this poem were a *tarjī'band*. The following is the correct reading as given in MS. (A).

اندران وقتی که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
ای بسا کس را که لبها خشک و روها زرد بود

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled[1] one upon the other,
The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger.
The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords[2] were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.
The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,
The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.[3]
142 The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.
The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,
The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.
When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword
Those infidel heads[4] which were matted together like the locks of black hair.
Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears[5] from the sword
So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.
Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

1 MS. (B) reads تافتند which is the best reading.

2 This is the reading of MS. (A) که از زنگار تیغ MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read از جنگار تیغ. *i.e.* The warriors' swords.

3 MS. (A) has the following :—

شاه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از هردو سو

MS. (B) has شانه را مانند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شانه را زانست.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however بافتند (text) and MS. (A) for تافتند MS. (B) in the second line.

4 MS. (A) کافران هردو.

5 Insert از before تیغ MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain [1]

Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.[2]

The king [3] wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

[4][His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain 143

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it [5] in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.[6]

[1] MS. (A) reads كشتگان افتاده در اطراف آن صحرای سبز which is the reading adopted.

[2] MS. (A) reads. زو بروی و مو بموی و بسو بسو بر یافتند

MS. (B) زو برو و مو بمو و بسو بسو بر یافتند

[3] MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد

[4] The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندران میدان, see page 196 *note* 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر ابدالش نیاسود از قتال

از زوال روز تا شب اندران روز زوال

[5] MS. (A) يبزي

[6] These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side.

The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling.

The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders bowling along.

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.[1]

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

144. The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

[2][The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.[3]

1 These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چون کسی کز تیر بجهد.

2 Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شود
ناگهان میزان مارا پله دگر گون شود

3 These are omitted in MS. (B.). MS. (A.) reads آفتاب بخت را
This and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Ḥusain of the famous Kerbelā[1] was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water.[2]

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.[3]

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

[1] A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Ḥusain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwia on the 10th of Muḥarram; the name of the place where Ḥusain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā. *See* Hughes *Dict. of Islām* art. *Husain*.

[2] MS. (A) reads كه در آتش به آب افتاده بود but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahīd, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muḥammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughūl Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I. 143. *Bombay Edition.*) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed. It was here Amīr Khusrū was taken prisoner but escaped.

[3] The following is greatly abridged from the *Qiṣṣaṣu-l-Anbiyā*.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Aṣṭarjī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yamīnah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermilion.[1]

145. The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].[2]

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islām to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.[3]

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Āṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (راهب) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurāt (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Aṣṭarjī the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted. Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

[1] MS. (A) reads کشتگان را سر. The text and MS. (B) read کاسهای سر which seems preferable.

[2] The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are

نی نزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیدهٔ ام

گر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیدهٔ ام

[3] MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دایرات آسمان بن MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پرگار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave[1] with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muḥammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.[2]

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right[3] for the wrath of Nimrod at last com- 146.
mitted Abraham to the fire.[4]

And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him[5] for 'Īsā through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour which was shewn to ('Alī) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).[6]

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.[7]

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

[1] Qur'ān, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) reads سگست آن آدمي کونه. MS. (B) which the text follows reads شکست; and the text reads. گونه for کونه.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B) read از رزم خصمان.

[3] The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading MS. (A) is از تیر خصمان هم رواست.

[4] Qur'ān, xxi. 52–69.

Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so
We said Oh fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

[5] MSS. (A) and (B) read از ننگ شان دل بدمکن. The reading in the text ننگنا is inadmissible.

[6] Abdur Rahmān ibn Muljim slew 'Alī with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramaẓān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.

[7] *See* Shāh Nāma (Turner Macan), Vol. II., p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life;[1] we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate).

The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Ḥijjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].[2]

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one.

Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants[3] who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

147. That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.[4]

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

1 MS. (A) و گه جان دهد

2 MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جمعه بود و سلخ ذی الحجه که رفت آن کارزار

آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.H.)

3 MS. (A) بندهٔ فرمان بن.

4 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *waẓū* in the water of their eyes,
Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,
So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.
Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the throat of the slain,
So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead.[1]
And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of calamity,
Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow.
[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears were greater than those of the Jīhūn.
This was my own condition, the state of the others how can I describe !][2]
Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth make my arm livid,
Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue heaven ?[3] 148
Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of the king leaps forth on my arm.
Alas ! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping beneath the earth, while[4] because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark).
There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are wearing blue (as mourning)
[5] [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

[1] This is the order of the couplets in MS. (A).

[2] MS. (A) گریهٔ چندان شد که موج دیدهٔ از جیحون گذشت
حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

[3] Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia.

[4] MS. (A) وز

[5] This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B) MS. (A) reads

آسمان را گویا بدرید و قسمت کرد خلق
بسکه اطراف زمین از جامهٔ شد هرسو کبود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.[1]

In every street[2] of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.[3]

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

9. [How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning!

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].[4]

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

1 MS. (A) reads يا كو for ما كو the latter is the correct reading.

2 MS. (A) بهر كوى.

3 MS. (A) پير هنهاى عروسان

4 MS. A. موى سر تا چند از اين غم زار و گريان بر كنم Not in the text.

اين تن چون موى باري از سر جان بر كنم

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends.

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water.

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed
That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends.

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise,
I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends.

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight.[1]

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,
My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium). How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued.[2]

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),
Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my[3] head.

Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends.

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends.[4] 150.

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,
Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends.

[1] MS. (A) حیف باشد مرد مان در چشم و یار از چشم دور

[2] MS. (A) The order in the text differs.

[3] MS. (A) در هوای دوستـــانم گر سرم بیرون کننـــد

[4] I follow the text here. MS. (A) reads.

پارهٔ پارهٔ کردن اکنـــون از برای دوستـــان

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,
Because nothing shews you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].[1]
O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls,[2]
May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.
In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,
May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.
If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,[3]
May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.
The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,[4]
Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.
[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection
May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].[5]
When they give[6] into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,
May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."[7]

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

1 یاد می کن خفتگان را خاصه در حال دعا
کت برحمت راه ننماید مگر دال دعا

دال دعا *Dāl-i-du'ā Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du'ā* begins, while *Dāll* also means "that which shews the way."

2 یارب از MS. (A).

3 در هوایش گر ملک پرد گردد مگس MS. (A).

4 MS. (A) در ظلمات گور.

5 This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون ز خورشید قیامت رویها گردد سیاه
بر سر از پر ملائک سایه گردان باد شان

6 MSS. (A) (B) بر کف دهند

7 See Qur'ān lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 "and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirsty ones [1] whose souls departed for lack of water,
May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads.
For the captives [2] who were long subjected to hardships, 151.
Oh Lord! may the hope of speedy release make their way light for them.
May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the cause of their eternal salvation,
And those who have survived and have returned from that calamity,
May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,[3] and may the favour of the Sulṭān be theirs.
Since Muḥammad has departed may the event be happy for the king. May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and his son Kaikhusrū be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody] [4] is as follows:

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left therein.

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous occurrence:

Behold this calamity [5] which has be fallen this year on the frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated [6] by the infidel ranks.

right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go back to his family joyfully."

[1] MS. (A) تشنگان را که جانهای شان ببي ابی‌گذشت I follow the text here.

[2] This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads کشتگان MS. (B) تشنگان

[3] Vüllers. یزدان.

[4] These words are not in either MS.

[5] MS. (A) reads همین بلا نگر امسال. This is the preferable reading.

[6] MS. (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

52. What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.[1]

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,[2]

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,

Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,

Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

[1] MS. (A) reads ز میں رزم که شد یار کشته بود همه

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه.

[2] دوال بازي. *See* Richardson s. v. دوال پای.

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle of a club.[1]
Not a breath remained in my wind-pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger.[2]
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns.
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the neck of a bride.
A *Qurūna*[3] driving me on in front followed along the way 153.
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Fœtor ab isto ore teterrimus axillæ odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi.[4]
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion[5] at another his javelin.[6]
I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body unhurt by the sword.
When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years.
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the *Muhājir* and *Anṣār*[7]

[1] چقمار *Chuqmār.* Pavet-de-Courteille in his Turkī dictionary gives this word as چوقمار *Chūqmār*, with the meanings *massue, gourdin.*

[2] These lines are as follows in MS. (A).

دمی نمانده بنایم ز بودن تشنه
دفی شده شکم من زماندن ناهار

[3] I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turkī قورچي *qūrchī*, an armed soldier.

[4] See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.

[5] طغانه *ṭaghāna* there is a Turkī word طوغان *tūghān* which means a falcon, and another توغانک *tūghānak* oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P. de C.). Hence the above translation by the word *falchion.*

[6] تخمار *takhmār* a dart having no point (Richardson).

[7] The *Anṣār* or 'helpers of the prophet' were those tribes of El Medīnah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those who can smell their perfume,
How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud at this treatment![1]
Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.

154. Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
Now that the date is 684 (H.)
To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good tidings of the thirty-fourth.
Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.
I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then I shall become dust.
I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* he writes some epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot-stool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy a victorious Emperor* rose to such power in the districts of Lakhnautī and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of Muḥammad.

The *Muhājirīn* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and strife between them and the *Anṣār*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirīn*. This bond was however broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III. p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qur'ān, p. xxxiv. and Hughes *Dict. of Islām s. v.* Ansār.

[1] These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr, and Qāẓī Aṣīr desired to retain me by seizing my garments,[1] but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to[2] the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāān Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela,[3] and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,[4] so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words; unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjāb and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars;[5] 155.
the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun[6] sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher." The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

How can we describe that day of resurrection,
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

1 بلبا سانم دامن گیری بکنند MSS. (A) and (B).

2 مصرجامع. See Muqaddasī. DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207.

3 MS. (A) دمریله.

4 باورسید MS. (A).

5 مریخ نحس. Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نحسان *naḥsān*. The two misfortunes. (See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg ii. 218).

6 MS. (A) reads افتاب مشرق MS. (B) افتاب مشرف. So also footnote variant to the text. The former is the reading adopted.

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām [1] and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of Paradise.[2]

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī [3] on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sulṭān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself
156. in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn,[4] to Lakhnautī saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

[1] The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, و آن شاهراه بلا را لا زدم which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads و از شاهزادهٔ بدار الا زدم. The word شاهزادهٔ here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads و از شاهراه بدار الا زدم and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase دار الا *house of benefits* is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

[2] This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, lv. (Sūratu-r-Raḥmān). وَمِن دُونِهِمَا جَنَّتَانِ ..... فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ نَضَّاخَتَانِ.

And besides these are gardens twain ..... In each two gushing springs.
The proverb runs بهشت در پای مادران See Roebuck O. P. 484.

[3] Patiālī "Ancient town in Aliganj *tahsil* Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. *Tieffenthaler* I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihlī and about 20 from Furruckābād.

[4] See page 186.

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāṣiru-d-Dīn who[1] had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnautī) put off for some time coming to Dihlī, and even after coming to Dihlī at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"[2] so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission[3] together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnautī and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country?
Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend?
I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sulṭān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaikhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnautī. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

1 MSS. (A) and (B) ..... نصیر الدین را که. The text and both MSS. call him Naṣīru-d-Dīn.

2 His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is ذوق چمن ز خاطر بلبل نمیرود, *ẕauq-i-chaman zi khāṭir-i-bulbul namīrawaa*, *i.e.*, the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

3 بی رخصت پدر. MSS. (A) and (B). The reading in the text برخصت پدر is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Barnī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnautī so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father" (E. D. III. 124).

157. the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.[1] He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart! the world is no place of permanence and stay,
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād bin Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn bin Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amīrs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.[2] Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn[3] was appointed *Dādbeg*[4] and they gave Khwāja Khaṭīru-d-Dīn the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Ḥājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of *Wakīldar*: and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Kīlūghaṛī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khiẓr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslims, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa the
158. Wazīr (this Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad 'Aufī composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and

[1] 1287 A.D.

[2] Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khwāja Ḥusain Baṣrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهتی که آن بکشف احوال عورات دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

[3] Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

[4] Chief Justice.

Tażkiratu-ṣ-Ṣhu'arā); and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra [1] and Manikpūr, and whom Mīr Khusrū eulogises in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* in these words,[2]

Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets [3] formed from the lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmāna, his daughter was united in marriage to Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zūl Ḥijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatār infidels whose leader was Ītimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sulṭān appointed Shāhik Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatārs as far as the foot of the Jūd hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sulṭān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sulṭān Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued; and Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa seeing that the

[1] Not كوره as in the text, but, كره MSS. (A) and (B) also Barnī. *See note* 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B) تعريف كرده و گفته. See Hājī Khalfa IV. 510, 9399, for *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*.

[3] In the original there is a play on the word كره *Karra* which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows: MSS. (A) and (B).

خان كره چهجوی كشور كشای كزلب خانان كره بستي بپای

See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. 167, *note* 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batūta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn and Naṣīru-d-Dīn. See also *Karra* Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. VIII. but Karra is on the Ganges, and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti — Dihlī, but so also does the river Sarjū.

Sulṭān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

159. In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslims, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihlī and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū *may the mercy of God be upon him*, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,[1] and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*[2] we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihlī, and Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū[3] lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets. Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524.

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

[3] The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghar (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gumtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amīrs and Maliks of Ghiyaṣu-d-Dīn's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnautī. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods, and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value; and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amīrs of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Nāṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits: Mīr Khusrū relates in detail this meeting [1] in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qaṣīda*:

> Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.
> Hail! to the happy era when two troths are as one.

Āīn-i-Akbarī II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarjū, see Tieff. I. 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 292, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shewn as it was in 1768.

The *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhya on the banks of the Ghāgra.

[1] Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn. Paris Edn. 1855, Vol. III. p. 177, see also Elliott III. p. 596.

Behold! the son is a monarch, the father a Sulṭān,
Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
That for the world, two world-protecting kings become as one.
One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sulṭān,
Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,
In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four kings

On the last day[1] when Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Niẓāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amīrs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramaẓān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

[1] MS. (A) در روز آخرین.

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements.

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart
For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure.

And the elephant saw Hindustān[1] in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice?[2] and what counsel? 162

I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it."

In opposition to this view is the following,

It befits not a king to be drunken with wine
Nor become entangled in lust and desire;
The king should be always the guardian of his people,
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken.
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf.

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,[3]

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum;
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihlī where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.). There certain of his notable Amīrs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

1 See *note* 2, page 219.

2 The text has كدام پد misprint for ددام پند.

3 The text reads اين نكنة but MS. (A) reads preferably نكبة

to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān [1] who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khilji, who eventually obtained the title of Sulṭān
163. Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,[2] and entrusted the district of Baran [3] to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.

> Thou hast digged a pit in the way [4] that thou mayest overthrow others.
> Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Niẓāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sulṭān was attacked by paralysis [5] from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amīrs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

[1] MS. (A) reads ارسر خان Arsar Khān.
[2] MS. (A) شايستي خان.
[3] MS. (A) اقطاع برن.
[4] MS (A) تو چاهي كندهٔ در دل.
[5] لقوة. *Laqwa* Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the بحرالجواهر *Baḥru-l-jawāhir* "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."

Kai Kāūs who was an infant[1] of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A.D.) they made terms with Shāyista Khān who had distanced all his rivals.[2] Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from Baran,[3] and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amīrs of the party of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, who was 164. reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kīlūgharī where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him.[4] In the meantime Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, who had acquired the title of Kishlī Khān cried out "I wish to place Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn upon a boat and take him to his father at Lakhnautī and remain myself in the service of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs"—In spite of this the people of Dihlī, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Dīn, and having assembled in front of the Budāon gate stood up[5] to oppose Shāyista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shāyista Khān, and Malik Ḥimār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn to kill Shāyista Khān and carry off Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn (Kai Kāūs),[6] had fallen by the hand of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn son of Shāyista Khān; accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Fakhru-d-Dīn) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shāyista Khān removed Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs from the throne by force and carried him off to Bahāpūr,[7] where Shāyista

[1] MS. (A) omits the word طفل.

[2] The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) reads عديلي مانده بود.

[3] MS. (A) omits the words (بود و) after طلبيده.

[4] حركة المذ بوحي. I can see no other meaning for these words.

[5] MS. (A) reads ايستادند.

[6] MS. (A) omits the word كيكاوس.

[7] MS. (A) reads بهياپور Barnī says Bahārpūr (E. and D. III. 134).

Khān was; they then ordered [1] a man whose father had been put to death by Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kīlūgharī, which he did, and finding the Sulṭān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. This occurrence took place in the middle [2] of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).[3] The duration of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow;
165. At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* [4] that Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
To-day alas! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkha and the people of Dihlī subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory [5] unstable

[1] MS. (A) فرمودند.

[2] MS. (A) در اواسط.

[3] Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muharram 689 H.

[4] The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muḥarram A. H. 689.

[5] MS. (A) omits فانی.

world, and realised that all that wanton enjoyment had been but a dream and a phantasy.

Quatrain.

If with your love you have lived in peace your whole life long,
Should you taste all the sweets the world can give your whole life long.
Still at the end comes Death to meet you, and then you find
'Tis but a dream you have vainly dreamed your whole life long.

Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs.

The son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād nominally ascended the throne[1] in Bahāpūr in the year already mentioned, by the co-operation of Shāyista Khān and Malik Chhajū; and the uncle of Shāyista Khān, named Malik Ḥusain, who had kept quiet at Kīlūgharī during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, had established great confidence. Shāyista Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān undertake the duties of Regent, 166.
and handing over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhinda, Debālpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up the Regency and Vazīrship to Shāyista Khān[2] asked for the district of Karra for himself. Shāyista Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl having congratulated Shāyista Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave.

Shāyista Khān used to bring the prince into the durbār hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state. After a month or two, he brought Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn on horseback to the palace of Kīlūgharī, and imprisoned him, and giving him as his fellows the inhabitants of the prison-house of the grave, sent him to the secret abode of destruction.

[1] MS. (A) reads برتخت سلطنت.

[2] MS. (A) reads او بعهدهٔ.

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Dīn Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.[1]

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,
The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khiljī

Whose name was Malik Fīroz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said,
167. with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom [2] the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,[3] the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, deduces the pedigree of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mālwī from the stock of Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj [4] with the meaning

[1] Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaiumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljīs. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizīr when Niẓāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Baran had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Āriz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

[2] MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

[3] See the *Tabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*.

[4] The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلج *qalj* and قالج *qālij* are the same, the *alif* in قالج being in place of the *fathah* which follows the ق in قلج in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians خ is frequently used for ق.

of *a sword* and in some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfiṣ, (Japhet) the son of Nūḥ (Noah) *on whom be peace* and that the Khiljīs descend from him. God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khān Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkalī Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Ḥusain the title of Tāju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Mu'izzī palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nau" (New-town)[1] and in Sha'bān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān went to Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amīrs of the party of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāna with the intention of attacking Dihlī, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Karra,[2] (and)[3] Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn left Khān Khānān in Dihlī and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon,[4] sending Arkalī Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū. Arkalī Khān fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sulṭān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārs.[5] Arkalī Khān crossed the Rahab,[6] despatched Bairām

1 MS. (A) شهر نو موسوم گردید.

2 MS. (A) reads کرا از راه کرة برآید. The reading in the text is adopted.

3 MS. (A) inserts و here.

4 MS. (A) reads از راه کول و بداون رسید. The text is preferable.

5 The text gives an alternation reading دورانیان.

6 MS. (A) عبور کرده.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amīrs of the Ghiyāṣi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsābād,[1] and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbanī Amīrs in fetters and chains[2] into the presence of the Sulṭān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

169. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sulṭān,[3] and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān[4] was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sulṭān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mīr Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him:—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see the Khāqān.[5]
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the mine.
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see him not.

1 MS. (A) omits باشد.

2 MS. (A) بد بند و غل.

3 MS. (A) has ملک علاء الدین را which is a mistake: and omits the و after the word داماد inserting it after the word بود.

4 MS. (A) which reads گه بعد ازان الغخان گشت.

5 There are plays on the words خطا meaning *a fault*, and the kingdom of Khatā or Cathay, and چین meaning *a wrinkle* and the kingdom of Chīn or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, *note* 1.

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers standing round him on all sides,
All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān.
When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish for sight?
He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see Maḥmūd Sulṭān!

And in the year following, Arkalī Khān came from Multān to Dihlī, and the Sulṭān leaving him in Dihlī proceeded to Mandāwar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghīyāṣī Amīrs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlaṭī,[1] sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhiudah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted 170.
series of marches to Dihlī; and in those days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,[2] relying upon Him, bountiful,[3] adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sīdī Maulā [4] by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia) to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Farīd, Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his resting place*, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustān. They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings." When he reached Dihlī, Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sulṭān, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple.[5] In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amīrs of the Balban party [6] used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who would not accept anything from any one. People used to credit him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS. (A) ملک مغلطی.
2 صاحب تقربي MS. (A).
3 باذلي MS. (A).
4 *See* Beale's Dictionary, page 240.
5 MS. (A) ارادهٔ إعتقاد.
6 MS. (A) omits کہ.

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sīdī although he engaged always in vigils[1] and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public[2] worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī (and)[3] Qāẓī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sulṭān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sīdī Maulā with the Qāẓī and the other Amīrs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sīdī laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sīdī denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sulṭān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sulṭān
171. deposed him, and nominated him as Qāẓī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sīdī, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sīdī Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulamā of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sulṭān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sulṭān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sīdī Maulā[4] were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sulṭān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsī Ḥaidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

1 MS. (A) قبچه.

2 MS. (A) adds نیز.

3 MS. (A) omits و.

4 MS. (A) omits the words مولا شیخ.

said "Why do not you darveshes avenge me of *this* tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sīdī several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers[1] with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side[2] with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkalī Khān, the second son of the Sulṭān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sīdī, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him.* They say that this same Sīdī, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good;
The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there **172.**
was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sīdī and as evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

God has never cursed any nation
Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkalī Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sulṭān; and in this same year the Sulṭān for the second time marched against

1 وصحاسن مبارک MS. (A).
2 بر پهلوي او MS. (A).

Rantanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkalī Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sulṭān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingīz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sulṭān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sulṭān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sulṭān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country:
173. and Alghū[1] the grandson of Chingīz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sulṭān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sulṭān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāṣpūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Niẓāmul Auliyā[2] *may God sanctify his resting place.* It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sulṭān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Dīn the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa[3] and attacked that country[4] and brought much booty thence to present to the Sulṭān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.[5] These services of 'Alāu-d-Dīn being highly approved,[6] the *jāgīr* of Oudh also was added to his other estates; and since 'Alāu-d-Dīn was very angry and incensed

1 See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross) p. 34.

2 Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā. *See* Beale O. B. D., p. 211, also *Āīn-i-Akbārī* (J) III. 365.

3 MS. (A) reads بهلسه Bhilsa. The text has بهيلكه which is meaningless.

4 MS. (A) آن ولايات را.

5 MS. (A) omits معهود after معبود and has خلق for خلائق.

6 MS. (A) افتاده for افتادر.

against the Sulṭān's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sulṭān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sulṭān's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sulṭān[1] to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dihlī came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogīr; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sulṭān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sulṭān was exceedingly sorry.[2] Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Dīn having gone up against 174.
the rebel Deo Gīr, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sulṭān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Dīn[3] had gone to that country without permission from the Sulṭān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahān who was the consort of the Sulṭān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now[4] that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sulṭān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sulṭān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alāu-d-Dīn had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

1 MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.
2 MS. (A) دلنگرانی تمام داشت.
3 MS. (A) omits کہ.
4 MS. (A) omits و.

to speak[1] of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sulṭān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sulṭān was in the neighbourhood of Gwāliār he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.[2] "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazīr of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sulṭān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Kaṛṛa, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to
175. the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sulṭān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé[3] and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sulṭān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sulṭān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this[4] pomp and royal display has arrived at Kaṛṛa and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sulṭān he repeated the following lines—

1 MS. (A) سخن از.

2 MS. (A) کنکاشی طلبید و گفت که.

3 MS. (A) پرورده براورده.

4 MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size.

The Sulṭān then came from Gwāliār to Dihlī, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having reached Karra[1] wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sulṭān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnautī, and having sent his brother[2] Ẓafar Khān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alāu-d-Dīn's request and sent it[3] by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu-l-Mulk and the other[4] Ẓīāu-d-Dīn. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and 176.
bearing[5] that the face of affairs was altered[6] and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having prepared the dish for the Sulṭān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over[7] those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sulṭān,[8] and sent it to Dihlī, couched in these words: "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sulṭān I proceeded to Deogīr, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sulṭān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

1 بکڑا رسیدہ.

2 MS. (A) برادر خود ظفر خان the word خورد in the text is omitted here.

3 MS. (A فرستاد.

4 MS. (A) دیگری.

5 MS. (A) طرح وضع او.

6 کہ ورق دیگر گون شدہ literally "that the leaves had changed colour."

7 MS. (A) سپرد.

8 MS. (A) کہ اوہم داماد سلطان بود.

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sulṭān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that [1] letter before the Sulṭān, he on the instant sent [2] Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water,[3] on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnautī,[4] but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnautī when the Sulṭān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogīr, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped [5] in the very height of the rainy season.[6] At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary,[7] and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot." [8] Since the cup of the life of Sulṭān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full [9] and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure,[10] and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him:

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
177. All the wise men became [11] blind and deaf.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him,[12] he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

1 MS. (A) آن نامه را.
2 MS. (A) رخصت فرمود و وعده کرد.
3 MS. (A) بر روی اب روانه شد.
4 MS. (A) و اورا بر رفتن بلکهنوتی تحریص نمود.
5 MS. (A) ایکسال.
6 بشکال or پشه کال Turkī word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles.)
7 MS. (A) هر اندیشه که باید اندیشیم.
8 MS. (A) همانجا and omits می.
9 MS. (A) پر شده و
10 MS. (A) مال مو هوم شوم.
11 MS. (A) گشتند.
12 *Lit.* striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

sowārs, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Kaṛṛa: he sent Malik Aḥmad Chap the Vazīr with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,[1] Malik Aḥmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sulṭān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Kaṛṛa on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramaẓān: and 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Kaṛṛa and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp: then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sulṭān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sulṭān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sulṭān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that[2] if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "and to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers stuffed his ears[3] with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sulṭān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.[4] There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sulṭān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

[5]The Sulṭān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

1 MS. (A) روان ساخت.
2 MS. (A) گه.
3 MS. (A) گوش اورا.
4 MS. (A) omits و.
5 MS. (A) omits و.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented [1] saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sulṭān [2] and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sulṭān's clemency." [3] Accordingly the Sulṭān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sulṭān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sulṭān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram [4] the Vakīldar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display [5] before the Sulṭān, with an eye to future advantage," the Sulṭān in accordance with the saying "When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" [6] up to that moment even did not discover the deceit of his enemy, but of his own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of the dragon.

Verse.

When the day becomes dark to any man,
He does that which is hurtful to him.

When he said to the stony-hearted Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far,[7] even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him [8] to get into a boat and come to me?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sulṭān empty handed [9] and with reserve.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him."

179. He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,

[1] MS. (A) نمود.
[2] MS. (A) سلطاني.
[3] MS. (A) سلطاني.
[4] MS. (A) ملك خرم.
[5] MS. (A) شان و اجاب در نظر سلطان در آرد.
[6] *See* page 190, *note* 4.
[7] MS. (A) آمدم.
[8] MS. (A) نمي كشد.
[9] MS. (A) دست تهي.

and is quite occupied in that service[1] and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sulṭān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sulṭān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having got every thing ready[2] came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sulṭān and fell at his feet.[3] The Sulṭān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sulṭān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and[4] had given his hand into his, 'Alāu-d-Dīn seizing the Sulṭān's hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sulṭān. Then Maḥmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sulṭān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sulṭān made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alāu-d-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sulṭān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d-Dīn.[5] By Alāu-d-Dīn's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kaṛṛa and Manikpūr: from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body-servants of the Sulṭān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Aḥmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sulṭān's army brought it to 180.

1 MS. (A) بآن خدمت مشغول.
2 MS. (A) omits و.
3 MS. (A) افتاد. و
4 MS. (A) adds و.
5 MS. (A) آورد.

Dihlī and [1] pending the arrival of Arkalī Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sulṭān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sulṭān, upon the throne of Dihlī, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amīrs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,[2] but on the very day of the assassination of the Sulṭān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head [3] was addressed as Sulṭān and [4] in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihlī, and showering *dīnārs* and *dirhems* like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,[5] came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amīrs of the Jalālī faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

> Liberality is the alchemy [6] of the copper of faults;
> Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amīrs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

[1] MS. (A) inserts و.

[2] MS. (A) reads علاؤالدین فرصت ندادة هم در روز.

[3] MS. (A) برسر خود گرفتة.

[4] MS. (A) inserts و.

[5] MS. (A) reads در عرادا و منجنیق.

[6] کیمیا *Kīmiyā*. Cf. Roebuck. *Proverbs*, 398. هر مس کة بکیمیا رسد زر گردد.
All copper which is affected by Kīmiyā becomes gold.
"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."
See Proleg: Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, *s. v.*

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramaẓān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months. 181.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its arched vault?
How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khusrū after the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, came into the service of the Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'ān-keeper to the Sulṭān, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amīrs of the Sulṭān[1] and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amīr Ḥasan and Muīd Jājarmī and Amīr Arslān Kātibī and Sa'd-i-Manṭiqī and Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb and Qāẓī Mughīṣ of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālu-d-Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres[2] of which this is the opening:—

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with fresh youth dight,
Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's height.

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sulṭān's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems, and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sulṭān's genius:—

1 MS. (A) امرای سلطانی.

2 غزل نوزده بحری. It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal* or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.

The first of the above lines is either *Mutaqārib* or *Ramal*. This is called ذو بحرین *Zūbaḥrain* (of two metres) in prosody.

The second line is in *Ramal*.

I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my embrace
Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a pavilion and a lofty dome [1] and wrote this quatrain as an inscription for that building:—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity?
This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Manṭiqī and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said! It has no fault, but he replied: You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect [2] in this *quatrain*:

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless sky;[3]
Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

On the twenty-ninth [4] of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sulṭanate

[1] MS. (A) بنا كرد و.

[2] MS. (A) omits عيب.

[3] چرخ اطلس. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is "worn out" "effaced." Thus رجل اطلس الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out. It also by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "*Satin*." Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

[4] MS. (A) reads در بيست و نهم while our text has در بيست و دوم.

of Dihlī, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān[1] and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mīr-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalīsarī he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Dīn that of Ẓafar Khān,[2] and alighted at the plain of Sīrī, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amīrs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khuṭbah* and the 183.
Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred[3] appointments and titles upon the Amīrs, and distributing *jāgīrs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.[4]

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A. H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkalī Khān and Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn;[5] both these

Mīr Khusrū in the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left Kaṛṛa Manikpur on the 19th of Rabī'ul Ākhir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāī of Deogīr, returned to Kaṛṛa on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramaẓān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihlī on the 22nd of Zīlhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month: nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahīm, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkalī Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

[1] MS. (A); the text reads الغ بيگ خان.

[2] Barnī says that the title of Ẓafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

[3] The text omits مقرّر before داشته supplied from MS. (A).

[4] It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sūlṭān was in Dihlī and that Arkalī Khān was in Multān. *See* note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.

[5] Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged[1] in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī *may God sanctify his resting place*,[2] came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,[3] who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihlī. When they came near Bohar[4] a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nuṣrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons[5] of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sulṭān, and of Malik Aḥmad Chap,[6] and handed over the Sulṭān's sons[7] to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkalī Khān.[8] They kept the Sulṭān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihlī, sending Aḥmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāliār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sīdī Maula[9] soon

[1] I read here مُحصَر though there is a question if we should not read متحصّن. The text reads محضّر which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads متحصّر which is perhaps meant for متحصّن MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads

[2] Barnī states that the sons of the Sulṭān sent Shaikhu-l-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزیز. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā (See *Āīn-i-Akbārī*, Jarrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather *q. v.*

[3] MS. (A) با الغخان ملاقات نمودہ.

[4] MS. (A) بوهر.

[5] MS. (A) هردو پسر.

[6] *Nāib Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Barnī. Elliott III. 162). MS. (A) omits را.

[7] MS. (A) omits سلطان.

[8] Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkalī Khān were slain.

[9] MS. (A) omits مرحوم.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep.[1] In a short time[2] it became the cause of the shedding of the blood of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn and his family, and of so many thousands of others among the people who had been murdered. 184.

The wealth of Qārūn which still sinks down to the bottom of the earth,
You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the poor.[3]

And in the year[4] 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.), Ṅuṣrat Khān having been appointed to the office of Vazīr, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had lavished in the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affections of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large sums deposited them in the treasury; and having summoned from Karṛa 'Alāu-l-Mulk the uncle of Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (whom Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had removed from the kotwālship of Dihlī and had sent as governor to Karṛa, appointing Naṣrat Khān to the office of Kotwāl) he conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khān being appointed to Multān. And in the year 698 A. H. (1298 A.D.) one Ṣaldī[5] a Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustān, and Ulugh Khān and Tughlaq Khān the governor of Depālpūr (who is *Ghāzī-i-Mulk*), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them[6] on the confines of Jārin Manjhūr.[7] The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

1 MS. (A) دیر نخسپید.

2 MS. (A) صدت.

3 *See* Qur'ān XXVIII. 76.

4 Omit سال MS. (A).

5 The text reads چتلدي *Chataldī*. MS. (A) reads صلدي *Ṣaldī*, so also Barnī (Elliott III. 165) and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 347.

Firishta calls him Chaldī.

6 MS. (A) با ایشان.

7 Both Barnī and Firishta say Sīwistān.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,[1] came from Māwarāu-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated[2] as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihlī itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,[3] and Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-
35. Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Ẓafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gilī.[4] Ẓafar Khān was killed, and the Sulṭān had gained what he wanted in this.[5] Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,[6] that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.[7] Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,[8] joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.[9] The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muḥammad Turtāq [10] and 'Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

1 MS. (A), so also Firishta.

2 MS. (A) در آمده.

3 MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت.

4 Or Kīlī (Barnī).

5 Barnī explains this. He says "'Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kīlī, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Ẓafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."

6 مرگن. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of *fusilier: bon tireur: héros.* It is a Turkī word.

7 The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: *viz.*

ملک تغلق غازي ملک از درگاه بجهت دفع ان فتنه نامزد گشت.

MS. (A) ازحصار بون برآمده.

9 MS. (A) باتفاق شبیخون بر مغل اوردند.

10 The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS (A) may be either ترناق or ترتاق. Neither Barnī nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down upon Nāgor,[1] while the other seized the fort of the Sirmūr hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call Kāli Pānī.[2] Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kāfūr Nāib or Hazār Dīnārī [3]) with Malik Tughlaq Governor of Depālpūr to proceed to Amroha; and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahab, Malik Mānik 186.
came up in pursuit [4] and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badāon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city.

Quatrain.

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the Almighty ever be!
May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy standard-bearer!
The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee anew,
May Targhī, like 'Alī Beg [5] become thy captive.

And Mīr Khusrū [6] has written an account of the fight between Malik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāib [7]) in

either word appear in the Turkī dictionary. The text reads تریاق Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* reads Turtāq. (Elliott III. 72.)

1 MS. (A) بجانب ناگور برد.

2 MS. (A) کانرا کالي‌پاني میگویند.

3 So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dīnārs.

4 MS. (A) ازعقب رسیده.

5 MS. (A) علي بیگ.

6 MS. (A) omits علیه الرحمة.

7 Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāfūr (Hazār Dīnārī) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.

the *Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*[1] a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

> Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
> It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq[2] and 'Alī Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sulṭān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.[3] From that day the Mughuls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sulṭān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other[4] with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,[5] the Sulṭān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

1 This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, is a prose history of the first years of Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68–69.)

2 MS. (A) omits محمد and gives the pointing of Turtāq as ترياق.

3 MS. (A) افتادة بود. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

4 MS. (A) يكديگررا.

5 MS. (A) و نظر سلطان.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sulṭān [1] that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qāẓī Bahā.[2] They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.[3] The Sulṭān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment[4] and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day, the taverns were in ruins,[5] and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,[6] while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses:

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,[7]
How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup.

1 The text has a note here to the effect that a را should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS. before the editor.

MS. (A) has را, and reads سلطان را چون روز روشن شد که آن گمان غلط بود.

2 The text here and in the former line reads بهار MS. (A) has بها.

3 The text reads او خود همان زمان بهزار سالها پیوست.

4 MS. (A) تعزیر مالي و بندي میکردند.

5 There is a play on words here in the original خرابات خراب شد.

6 Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilised for vinegar: There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کس سرکه فروشي می کند. So and so sells vinegar. Qaānī says to his mistress.

سرکه فروشی مکن بچهره که در عشق
هیچم ازین سرکه کم نگردد صفراء

7 MS. (A) omits را but the text is correct.

And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sulṭān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating
188. to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money,[1] were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sulṭān should be hunting and hawking.[2] One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sulṭān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day[3] they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sulṭān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Ẓafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,[4] and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*.[5] The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-ṣānī.[6] When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above. 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

2 پرانیدن جانور MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) omits در فلان ماه و.

4 MS. (A) علیه الصلوٰة و السلام.

5 MS. (A) omits و.

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168·6 and 169·5 grs. are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر الثانی یمین ا خلافة ناصر امیر المومنین. (*See* Thomas, p. 168.)

Sikandaru-ṣ-ṣāni Yaminu-l-khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūmnīn.

of 'Alāu-l-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihlī he restrained the Sulṭān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided [1] by God, and till he can perform miracles [2] This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazīr like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sulṭān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihlī from these contumacious ruffians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."

The Sulṭān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alāu-l-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amīrs, who on account of the harshness of the Sulṭān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alāu-l-Mulk and were loud in praise of him. 189.

Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sulṭān proceeding to Deogīr gained a fresh conquest [3] and doubled his spoils:

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again and again.

And in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Khān to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gūjerāt against Rāi Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh

1 MS. (A) موئید من عند الله نباشند.
2 MS. (A) و معجزات صاد نشوند. The text reads شود correctly.
3 MS. (A) فتح مجدد نمود و.

Khān, after Rāi Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahrwāla, and pursued him;[1] and Rāi Karan took refuge with Rai Rāmdeo[2] who was the ruler of Deogīr, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rāi Karan, with his treasury and elephants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior. Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewalrānī, of whom Khizr
190. Khān the son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his *amours* to Mīr Khusrū for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khān and Dewalrānī, which is known as the *'Ashīqa*, is in his name. Ulugh Khān carried off an idol from Nahrwāla (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sulṭān Maḥmūd had carried[3] to Ghaznīn, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dihlī where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued Rāi Karan as far as Somnāt, and a second time laid waste the idol temple of Somnāt, and building a mosque there retraced his steps.

Nusrat Khān having proceeded to Kuhanbāyat,[4] a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders;[5] Kāfūr Hazār Dīnārī whom the Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn had latterly taken into close favour, and made Nāibu-l-Mulk, was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khān arrived on the frontiers of Alwar he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property and spoil which had fallen into the hands of his people during these several battles, and exacted the giving up of much of it with great severity. A certain party of Mughuls who accompanied him thought

1 MS. (A) تعاقب او نمود و.

2 MS. (A) پناه برای رامدیو.

3 MS. (A) برده بود.

4 MS. (A) reads کهنبایه.

Cambay, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz., III. 272) "the name of Cambay or Khambhāt is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatirth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Musulmāns in 1297, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 372. *Canbāhat, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambaye.* (pp. 380–381.)

5 MS. (A) از تجار.

this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rāi Hamīr Dev in Jhāīn,[1] which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihlī, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrāt. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāīn, which is better known as Naushahr,[2] and Rāi Hamīr Dev, the grandson 191
of Rai Pithora,[3] who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported[4] the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sulṭān to capture the fort; the Sulṭān collected his forces[5] and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamīr Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed[6] a *Kotwāl* to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāīn upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,[7] and having conquered that place also within a few days,

1 Tieffenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III. 146 where Jhāīn is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, *note* 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

2 Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.

3 MS. (A) reads Rāi Hamīr Dev of Rantanbhor, omitting رای پتهورا, but Barnī calls Hamīr Dev the نبسهٔ *nabsa* of Rāi Pīthorā, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

4 MS. (A) عرض نمودهٔ.

5 MS. (A) omits را.

6 MS. (A) تعین نمود.

7 Barnī says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamīr Dev to death the Sulṭān returned to Dihlī: so also Firishta. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* III. 430.

and[1] having given it the name of Khiẓrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khiẓr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Karra[2] to Rantanbhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sulṭān arrived there;[3] and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sulṭān, that is to say Ẓafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab[4] the Sulṭān one day was engaged in the hunting field;[5] when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.[6] In the meantime the brother's son of the Sulṭān, Akat Khān,[7] together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in per-
192. forming the duties of guards, attacked the Sulṭān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sulṭān was wearing a cap[8] stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sulṭān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sulṭān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amīrs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

[1] MS. (A) و.

[2] MS. (A) از کرّه.

[3] MS. (A) omits بآنجا.

[4] The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحیِ قصبهٔ پنهیت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحیِ ملهب Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads تلیب *Taltib*.

[5] قمرغه *Qamurgha*, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta *loc. cit.* also uses this word.

[6] MS. (A) omits و.

[7] Firishta also says Akat Khān.

[8] MS. (A) reads کلهٔ پر پنبهٔ.

as the rightful king,[1] and raised no overt objection. Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *ḥaram*,[2] but Malik Dīnar *Ḥaramī* who was on guard at the entrance to the *ḥaram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sulṭān I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, when he had somewhat regained consciousness[3] after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amīrs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhāīn (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghānpūr, but a body of men 193.
who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,[4] sent him into the Sulṭān's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khān his brother also perished.[5]

Verse.

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time 'Umar Khān and Mangū Khān the two

[1] The words تورهٔ و توزک *tora o tūzak* are Turkī words (P de C) تورا or تورهٔ signifies the royal family. It also means king: law: right, also a custom introduced by Chengīz Khān توزک means simply "right" or "authority," hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

[2] MS. (A) omits خاص.

[3] MS. (A) بهوش آمد.

[4] MS. (A) اورا دستگیر کردهٔ.

[5] The account given by Barnī of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 172–173). Firishta also calls him Suleimān Shāh, Akat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Rookn Khān."

nephews of the Sulṭān, revolted in Badāon: certain of the Amīrs sent from the Court seized them and brought them to the Sulṭān, by whose orders their eyes were put out.[1]

If thou revoltest against thy benefactor
Even if thou art the sun, thou wilt fall headlong.

This further occurrence took place, namely, when the Sulṭān was engaged in besieging Rantanbhor, a person named Ḥājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku l-Umarā *Kotwāl*,[2] gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dihlī,[3] entered the city by the Badāon gate, and sent for one Turmuẓī *Kotwāl* and in an instant cut his head off,[4] closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to 'Alāu-l-Mulk [5] a friend of his, who was *Kotwāl* of the New Castle, saying "An order has come from the Sulṭān, come and read it" 'Alāu-l-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on [6] did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Ḥājī Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zāda-i-'Alawī Shāh Nabsa,[7] who on his mother's side was descended from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh (Iyaltimish), summoning his chief men
94. and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

1 MS. (A) میل در چشم انها کشیده شد.

2 According to Barni "a *maulā* or slave of the late *Kotwāl* Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn."

3 Pretending to have received it from the Sulṭān (Barnī).

4 MS. (A) سرش از تن جدا ساخت.

5 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ayāz (Barnī).

6 MS. (A) از سرکار اگاه شده.

7 Barnī's account is as follows: "There was an 'Alawī (descendant of 'Alī) in Dihlī who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother's side was grandson of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn. The Maulā set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor 'Alawī. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand.—(Elliot III. 176). The editor remarks that the passage in which he is called the grandson of Shāh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firishta writes. ..... علوي كه اورا شاهنشه گفتندي. 'Alawī whom they used to call Shāhanshāh who on his mother's side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh.

the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sulṭān, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely [1] reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hājī Maulā when Malik Ḥamīdu-Dīn, who was Amīr of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Ẓafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,[2] engaged Hājī Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zāda also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sulṭān nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihlī to track out those who had taken part in that [3] rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku-l-Umarā on this suspicion that Hājī Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.[4]

The Sulṭān after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the *jāegīr* of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihlī). Ulugh Khān was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,[5] and Rantanbhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddād.[6]

1 MS. (A) بحد تمام فوق الحد و الغاية فتح قلعه دست داد و.

2 MS. (A) بجهت عرض مغلي.

3 MS. (A) در آن فتنه.

4 The text reads شروع درين امر نموده باشد so also MS. (A), but we should, read نه نموده باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious.

Barnī states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwāl* Maliku-l-Umāra had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death.

5 The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attaching Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khān died about six months later.

6 MS. (A) reads حکم بهشت شداد پیدا کرد. *See* Qur'ān lxxxix. 5.

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ād? with
Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land."

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mīr Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantanbhor after the fort

Iram of the columns "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Ḥaẓramaut and Ṣana'ā. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Ẓaḥḥāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walīd ibnur Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces * * * * * * * * and there passed in the building of it five hundred years.

was taken. When the Sulṭān asked Muḥammad Shāh (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamīr Dev to the throne.' The Sulṭān wondered, and was amazed at 195.
this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amīrs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings.[1] *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveaux riches*,[2] and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rāīs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sulṭān did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hūd ibn Khālid who came and called upon Shaddād to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hūd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways."

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murṣad who had it is said believed in the words of Hūd. When Shaddād arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth."

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[1] MS. (A) reads ناهم. in place of باهم.

[2] The Persian phrase is نوکیسهای سفله. *Naukīsahā-i-sifla.*

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ẓiā-i-Barnī.[1] Those laws were the most extraordinary of all: this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,[2] the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].[3] 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.[4] The Khusrū of poets has described this in the *'Ashīqa*, in these words:

He gave 'Aīnu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.[5]

And in the year already mentioned the Sulṭān set out for Soruth[6] on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

[1] The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 *et seqq.*

[2] MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

[3] The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

[4] Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Malwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی *Rānī*.

[5] There is a series of play upon the words عین *'ain* and دیدہ *dīda* both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

[6] MS. (A) reads سوانہ. Sawāna. The text has سورنہ Sorath. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujarāt* p. 2.

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sulṭān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jālor was reduced by Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfūr Nāib [1] with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhaṭ [2] and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.) [3] Malik Nāib Kāfūr went a second time to Arankal [4] and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rāi Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country 19
of Ma'bar [5] as far as Dhor [6] Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

[1] MS. (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has نایب کافور.

[2] Telingā or Telingāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S. India. See *Ain-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 237; *also* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* I. *art* Andhra; also Cunningham *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 519, 527.

[3] There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barnī gives no assistance and Firishta very little.

[4] Wa[illegible]al was the ancient capital of Telingāna (Tieff. III. 5) See Hunter *Imp. G[illegible]* III. 521. Regarding Marhaṭ or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* IX. 166; also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 553.

Arangal or Warangal. Barnī gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rāi of Arangal. Elliott III. 201. So also Firishta. See text I. p. 207.

[5] Ma'bar. Coromandel. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭah (Paris Edn.) III. 328. *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 51, 60. Abu-l-Feda (Reinaud) I. cdxxviii.

Ma'bar extends from Kūlam (Cavalum) to Nilāwar (Nellore). Wassāf (E and D III. 32).

[6] Firishta says Khwāja Ḥājī and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bar and Dhor Samundar where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels. I cannot identify Dhor Samund.

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the *Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā[1] *may God*[2] *sanctify his resting-place.*

At length when the Sulṭān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khiẓr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāī's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the *'Ashīqa*;[3] then having bestowed upon Khiẓr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sulṭān sent him away to Hatnāpūr[4] and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,[5] and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil *traits*, and old age overcame the Sulṭān's health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
His worshippers grow weary of him;
His head, which is worthy of a crown,
He must recline on musk not on ivory.[6]

198. Various disorders affected him,[7] and hectic fever which leads[8] to

1 Niẓāmud-d-Dīn Auliyā was the son of Aḥmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badāon. He died A.H. 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Ain-i-Akbarī* III. 365. Firishta gives a long biography of him.

2 MS. (A) omits الله.

3 See E and D III 552, 553.

4 Text reads هتنا پور. MS. (A) reads هستناور Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar). See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (J) II 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

5 MS. (A) قرار يافت.

6 It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odoriferous substances. The throne was of ivory.

7 MS. (A) عارض شد و.

8 MS. (A) reads مستوجب for موجب.

ill-temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house, Khiẓr Khān in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnāpūr[1] barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihlī, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh wal Auliyā,

"Shaikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Niẓāmu-d-Dīn
Like Khiẓr and Masīḥ, with a breath brings bones to life."

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Nāib informed the Sulṭān of the coming of Khiẓr Khān with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khān, the maternal uncle of Khiẓr Khān, who had arrived from Gujrāt, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakīl, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khiẓr Khān, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sulṭān whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in according with the saying,[2] "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion[3] as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khān.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sulṭān (on the ground that Khiẓr Khān had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration[4] of order in the State, he should go for some 19

[1] MS. (A) reads *Hatnāwar*. Khusrū in the 'Ashīqa states "When the Sulṭān recovered in some degree, Khiẓr Khān set out on his expedition to Ḥatānpūr." (E and D III, 554).

[2] MS. (A) ع.

[3] MS. (A) reads سخن.

[4] MS. (A) omits اصلاح text line 1 and برد text line 2.

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khiẓr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,[1] that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sulṭān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihlī. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sulṭān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khiẓr Khān went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,[2] on the instant went back to the Sulṭān and filled his ears with lies, saying,[3] 'Khiẓr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sulṭān takes no notice of the matter.' The Sulṭān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.[4] Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sulṭān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sulṭān's life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the world,
It could not be as he wished, though he would have given a world could they have given him in return the brief respite of a moment.

200.

1 I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرض.
2 MS. (A) reads از روی حرامخوارگی.
3 MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts که.
4 MS. (A) کالیور. *Kālewar.*

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life.

This event took place in the year 715 H. (1316 A.D.).[1] The duration of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was twenty-one years.

'Alāu-d-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold-scattering hand.[2]
By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed, but that gold
Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now passing from hand to hand.

[**Account of Amīr Khusrū and Mīr Ḥasan** *may God have mercy on them*].[3]

And among the poets[4] by whose existence the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū-i-Shā'irān (Prince of Poets), *may God shew him mercy and acceptance*, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other.

He completed his five works, collectively called *Khamsa*,[5] in the year 698 H. (1298 A. D.), in honour of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn,

1 MS. (A) reads خمس *Khams* in place of ست *sit* and this is correct as 'Alāu-d-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H. *see* E and D III. 555, but see also p. 208. "On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Sīrī, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jāmi' Masjid" (*Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī.*) *See* also Thomas *Pathān Kings of Dihlī* p. 158 *n* 1.

2 MS. (A) زیر از کف دست. *See* Thomas *Pathan Kings* pp. 158 *et seqq*,

3 These words are not found in MS. (A).

4 MS. (A) reads و از جملهٔ شعرای که زمان.

5 These were the following :—

هشت بهشت *Hasht Bihisht.* سکندر نامه *Sikandar nāma*

لیلی و مجنون *Laili wa Majnūn.* شیرین و خسرو *Shīrīn wa Khusrū.*

پنج گنج *Panj ganj.*

Khusrū was of Turkī origin, his father Amīr Maḥmūd came to Dihlī during the invasion of Changīz Khān into the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mīr Khusrū succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā. His *Khamsa* was written in imitation of the *Khamsa* of Shaikh Niẓāmī.

He is said to have written 400,000 couplets. Neither *Khamsa* is now extant,

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*[1] which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses):

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.
Following on the steps of the sky traversing star[2]
In two weeks did the full moon[3] arrive at completion.

In the *Nafaḥāt*[4] it is stated upon the authority of Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, *may God sanctify his sacred resting-place*, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh[5] (God's champion); Mīr Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says:—

Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way
201. That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion).

Another poet was Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī,[6] whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

"When the sun comes out the stars disappear."

The death of Mīr Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihlī at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

1 The مطلع الانوار *Maṭlau-l-Anwār*. "Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent." H.K. 12...3.

2 اختر گردون خرام. *Akhtar-i-gardūn khirām.* 3 مه کامل. *Mah-i-Kāmil.*

4 نفحات *Nafaḥāt.* The *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalīfah.

Nafaḥātu-l-uns "halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes, auctore Molla nostro Nūr-ed-dīn Abd-el-rahmān Ben Ahmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo." H. K. 13922.

5 ترک الله. *Turk Allāh.*

6 میرحسن دهلوي. Mir Ḥasan Dihlavī, whose name was Shaikh Najmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mīr Khusrū, was a disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā* I. 196). He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Ātash Kada p. 351.

own spiritual instructor[1] *may God shew mercy to them.* Maulānā Shihāb[2] wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine[3] of Mīr Khusrū. It is as follows:—

Mīr Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase *'Adīmu-l-Miṣl*[4] came as the date,
Another was *Ṭūṭī-i-Shakar Maqāl.*[5]

Mīr Ḥasan, in the year in which Sulṭān Muḥammad having laid waste Dihlī built Daulatābād[6] in the Deccan, died in that

[1] Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā.

[2] *See p.* 99 *note* 2 of this work.

[3] There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage." The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others.

[4] The letters of عديم المثل give the date 725. Thus 70+4+10+40+1+30+40+500+30. So also do those of طوطيِ شكر مقال. Thus 9+6+9+10+300+20+200+40+100+1+30=725. Not counting the hamza.

Mīr Khusrū died in the month of Ramazān 725 A. H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥā* to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā.

[5] *'Adīmu-l-Misl* means "peerless." *Ṭūṭī-i-Shakkar Maqāl,* "Parrot of honied speech."

[6] MS. (A) omits ابادساخت ending تعمير فرمود.

Daulatābād. Lat 19° 57′ N. and long. 75° 18′ E. 28 miles N.-W. of Hyderābād.

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muḥammadans in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rājā Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kāfūr, taken prisoner and sent to Dihlī whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

'Ārif Jāmī,[1] *may his resting-place be sanctified*, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULṬĀN SHIHĀBU-D-DĪN IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān. He also caused the mother of Khiẓr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Baṭūṭa (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دوبقير. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogīr as we should probably read ديوقير.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, *viz.*, *Silsilatu-l-Ẓahab*, The golden chain; *Qiṣṣa-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; *Tuḥfatu-l-Aḥrar*; The Offering to the Wise; *Subḥatu-l-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusnf and Zuleikha; *Laīlī wa Majnūn*, Lailī and Majnūn. *Khirad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898. H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Ḥājī Khalīfah 14412. *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface.) Beale (*Dict. of Or. Biog.*). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bashīr in concert with a body of *pāiks* of the garrison of the Hazār Sutūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib.[1]

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns;
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat.

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed[2] him to be Nāib to Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib: Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīrs and Maliks. Then he sent Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H.[3]

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error.

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pāiks* to death,[4] scattered 2(the rest of them in all directions.

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world: requital of actions.

And the period of the reign of Shihābu-d-Dīn was three months and a few days.

SULṬĀN QUṬBU-D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

Ascended the throne of Dihlī with the consent of the Amīrs

[1] Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāu-d-Dīn (Barnī) *i.e.*, 715 H. (1316 A.D.)

[2] MS. (A) منصوب گردانیدند.

[3] There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H. while MS. (A) reads 716 H. which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Sipihr* of Mīr Khusrū.

[4] MS. (A) بقتل رسانیدند.

With regard to the succession of Shihābu-d-Dīn, see Firishta, who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Brigg's Firishta I. 383). His full name was Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mīr Khusrū.

and Vazīrs in the early part of the year 717, H.[1] and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāegīrs* among his most trusted Amīrs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Ḥasan, Barāwar bacha,[2] who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the *protégé* of Malik Shādī Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the *Hājib* of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn.[3]

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar[4] are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihlī, the Sulṭān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazīr.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzī Malik, who eventually was entitled Muḥammad 'Ādil, to be *Mīr Ākhor*.[5]

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogīr otherwise called Daulatābād,[6] but his Amīrs opposed and dissuaded him.

[1] So also the *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the *'Ashīqa* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Firishta says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

'Alāu-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Quṭbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

[2] MS. (A).

[3] MS. (A) omits و after خاص.

[4] MS. (A).

[5] Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

[6] See p. 271 *note* 6.

Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
That the world's king should move from his place;
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers, 204
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king?

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn sent Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl*.[1] with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his *ḥaram*. With reference to this Mīr Khusrū writes:

Verses.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
That when the Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with anger and frowning,
He considered that the interests of the country demanded their murder,
And thought that they deserved the sharp sword.
His object was to empty the country of noble men by malicious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khiẓr Khān
Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the assembly,
Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity.

1 "A ruffian named Shādī" (*Mīr Khusrū* E and D III, 555.)

If thou art fitted to become a king
We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
Dewal Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,
For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were an easy matter,
I have heard that she is so dear to thee
That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
The king should be enslaved by a slave.
The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
205. That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the *Chinār*.
A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the floods.[1]
[My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give up that mistress of thine.]
Since she went from here, send her back hither again
Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
When the messenger went and took back the message
Khiẓr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
Saying, since the Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming a sovereign,
He must leave Dewal Rānī to me.
If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

[1] Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.
تمنای دل ما میکند خواست که زان زانو نشین بر باید خاست
With a footnote saying that this verse is in the *'Ashiqa* but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
The flame of the fire of [1] enmity shot forth,
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.[2]
In anger he sent for Sar Salāḥī (the Kotwāl)
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred *krohs;*
Go to Gwāliār at this moment without delay,
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the country,
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country;
Because this disturbance, small as it is, risks the existence of the country.
At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied [3] by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).[4]
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe measure;
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly [5] into that pure place of chastity, 20
The veiled ladies [6] were thrown into consternation and screamed so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.
In that palace every arrow-like beam [7] became curved like a bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise;
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

1 MS. (A) reads شعلهٔ کین زد زبانه.
2 MS. (A) reads بهای جوی را باید بهانه.
3 MS. (A) بند. The text has a misprint هند.
4 The text is wrong here. MS. (A) reads correctly.
رسید و بند کرد از نو باهنگ.
5 MS. (A) به بی آبی. 6 MS. (A) برو پرشیدگان.
7 تیر has here the two meanings of *arrow*, and *rafter* or *beam*.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power,
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.[1]
Shādī Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the protection of God most High,
Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword wherewith to slay him.
Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory
What did that unattainable strength avail him?
Allies ran up to help him from right and left
They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.
Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,[2]
See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,
Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky
That permits dogs to hunt lions!
When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,
The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.
Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,
Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side
When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,
The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,
Hard as a rock,[3] source of grief, though his name was Shādī (Joy)
As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief arising from debt.
Artful enough to depose Dajjāl[4] from his place,

1 توان مردہ خرد درخواب رفتہ MS. (A).
2 MS. (A) بہر یک شرزہ دھگان سگ بیاویختہ.
3 MS. (A) جہادی.
4 الدخال . دجال *Ad-Dajjāl* called also المسیح الکذاب *Al-Masīḥa-l-Kazzāb.* The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل *dajala* in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجّل *dajjala* in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," *see* Lane *s. v.*

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness;
On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,[1]
From every hair sprang a sword.[2]
Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād ;[3]
His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

According to the Mishkāt, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or ... which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have ...ed, namely, the rising of the sun in the west, the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word كفر *kufr*, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and 'Irāq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qur'ān XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called *Lud* in Palestine. The Jews of Iṣfahān will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

1 His whiskers. 2 MS. (A) بر بستة. The text reads بر رستة.

3 فرهاد *Farhād*. See Beale *Dict. Or Biog.* p. 87. for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely Shīrīn, with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain; he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of Shīrīn that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides [1]
Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.
May God have mercy !
How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that crowd of moonlike faces.
Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief
In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?
Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold
To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.
How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart of the butcher ?
Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.
When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,
Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?
Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed in shedding their blood,[2]
There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind
A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth
Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,[3]
Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face ;
Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,
Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;
Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,
Like a morning in Dai [4] at Ghaznīn cold and inhospitable ;
Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,
Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.
A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,
A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;
That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,
His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;
Long whiskers twisted over his ears

1 MS. (A) اشارت کرد و هرسو راند چون تیغ.

2 MS. A تیغ خون را.

3 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayômarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

4 The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear;
Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
[You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208
His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn back for bloodshed.] [1]
He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer,[2]
Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic;
[The head of that cypress-like noble fell from his shoulders
He who was renowned for his youth and beauty] [3]
Martyrdom was evident [4] in Khiẓr in that palace;
Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment;
The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
Riẓwān threw open the gates of Paradise,
All the Hūrīs began to sing his praises.
From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from the Shāh,
The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.
When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was seen amid its clustering locks,
Lamentation arose in that assembly like [5] the roll of thunder;
The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
With one blow which that ruthless one struck
He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom.
To wash away the blood, the revolving water-wheel of the sky
Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood;
But, since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
Dewal Rānī, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
Was the lifespring of Khiẓr Khān's existence.

[1] A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS. MS. (A) contains them.

[2] MS. (A) ز فرمایندة.

[3] These lines are not in the text. MS. (A) reads

بر آمد گردن سر و گرا می * که از سر سبزی خود بود نامی

[4] MS. (A) شهادت خاست. [5] MS. (A) چون رعد.

Since the Khiẓr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
That very well of life [1] of his became the sword of enmity.
When we look in this crystal globe carefully
Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khiẓr.
The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
Thou wilt shed thy blood [2] for it a hundred times.
Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that rose,
See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood!

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of a devotee, why this should be? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Dīn had cast a firebrand into the family [3] of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn, all the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, each of which embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of desires to the people; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court,[4] and having quelled the disturbance there regained possession [5] of Nahrwāla and all the country of Gujrāt, Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn married the

1 دیول رانی.
2 MS. (A) خون خود.
3 MS. (A) reads. خانمان instead of خان و مان and خاندان in place of خانمان.
4 MS. (A) نامزد شد.
5 MS. (A) در ضبط آورد و.

daughter of Malik Dīnār, and having given[1] him the title of Ẓafar Khān sent him to Gujrāt. He performed[2] the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn marched for Deogīr with a larger army, and the Rāīs of that country were not able to stand against him.

He flayed[3] Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo.[4] The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Quṭbu-d-Dīn who, having given Khusrū Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yaklakhī in Deogīr as Nāib, returned to Dihlī. Near Badra-i-Sakūn[5] Malik Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khān who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,[6] and plotted a rebellion against the Sulṭān, who however was warned[7] of this design by one of his loyal adherents, and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu-d-Dīn. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of 210
Yaghrash Khān who were aware of this conspiracy[8] some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhāin he sent Shādī Kath[9] his chief captain to Gwaliār to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān with the remainder of the *haram* of 'Alāu-d-Dīn to Dihlī, after having

1 MS. (A) inserts و اورا.

2 MS. A. بر کرد. The textual reading is preferable.

3 The Sulṭān ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogīr.

4 MS. (A) omits کہ.

5 Called Ghāt-i-Sākūn by Barnī.

6 MS. (A) reads سری.

7 MS. (A) خبردار گردانید.

8 There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes کہ از ایں واقعہ خبر داشتند, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death, though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barnī. "They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep."

9 MS. (A) reads شادي کنڈ Shādī Kath, and this is the name given also in Barnī's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khiẓr Khān had been a disciple of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aulīyā, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Niẓāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God [1] desires to openly disgrace any man
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Ẓafar Khān Walī of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhī had prepared a rebellion in Deogīr, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogīr, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogīr seized Yaklakhī and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihlī where he was executed. The Sulṭān [2] also put to death Malik Shāhīn who was
211. known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sulṭān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ *Dāl* et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo Alif in rimam omnium inserebat.

[1] MS. (A) omits the word خدا in error.

[2] MS. (A) omits the word سلطان but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amīrs, as for instance 'Ainul Mulk Multānī and Qarābeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudefacti, gestu turpi et obscœno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mingebant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse.

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too.

And the kingdom seemed to say :—

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers
What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust
The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy before and behind.

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass. And after the murder of Ẓafar Khān, he raised Husāmu-d-Dīn who was half-brother[1] to Khusrū Khān to succeed to the position 212. enjoyed by Ẓafar Khān and nominated him to proceed to Gujrāt. Husāmu-d-Dīn collected together the Barāwar[2] crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amīrs of Ẓafar Khān's party[3] however seized him and sent him to Dihlī. The Sulṭān led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrū Khān took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Waḥīdu-d-Dīn[4] Quraishī, to Gujrāt in place of Husāmu-d-Dīn. He it was who was the

[1] Barnī calls him برادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not برادر مادر but برادر مادري that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word برادر اخیافي here used, and would further account for Barnī later on calling him baseborn.

[2] MS. (A) براو. [3] MS. (A) امراي ظفر خان.

[4] Thus the printed text. Barnī also calls him Waḥīdu-d-Dīn so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وجیهٔ الدین Wajīhu-d-Dīn.

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī.[1] Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants[2] with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithilī country,[3] and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that[4] wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him. Malik Talbīgha Yaghda[5] and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Ḥājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sulṭān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogīr to Dihlī in seven days and acquainted the Sulṭān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sulṭān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sulṭān of the villainy of the Amīrs.[6] The Sulṭān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them[7] severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious
213. witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalīfah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalīfah was

1 The printed text has simply لكهي but MS. (A) reads يكلكهي Yaklakhī. Yakalakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogīr after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who for many years was *nāib* of the *barīds*" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Waḥīdu-d-Dīn.

2 MS. (A) omits.

3 MS. (A) جركت نمود و.

4 MS. (A) بقوت آن اموال.

5 MS. (A) reads thus. Barnī calls him Malik Talbagha Yaghda.

6 MS. (A) omits سلطان after خاطر نشان.

7 MS. (A) omits با ایشان.

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq.[1] He accordingly wrote these lines :—

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.[2]

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusrū Khān became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sulṭān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān reposed entire confidence both in him[3] and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,[4] abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.[5]

1 Abū Firās Hammām or Humaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abūl Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded. (Freytag *Hamasah* II. 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutaiba on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdaqa) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small-pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall: de Slane III. 623).

2 Read مُسْتَرا for مُتَزّرا which appears to be intended for مُتَأزّرا. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dubaīa, wished to marry one of the Quraish tribe, and asked Al-Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs, to say he would marry her himself. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawār stayed with al-Khaula wife of Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khaula interceded for al-Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khall: (de Slane), III. 624).

3 MS. (A) اعتماد تمام بر او و قبیلهٔ او نمود و.

4 MS. (A) omits باز.

5 MS. (A) مشغول شد.

Verse.

Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword
214. Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir!

And the family of Barāwar[1] gained entire control of the Court of the Sulṭān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sulṭān, and when Qāẓī Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāẓī Khān, made these facts known, the Sulṭān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,[2] and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sulṭān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sulṭān believed him and[3] made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well: Khusrū Khān[4] regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendency deduced from it a favourable omen for his future :—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sulṭān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāẓī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

[1] MS. (A) الوس بر او.
[2] MS. (A) adds در خلوت.
[3] MS. (A) تصدیق او کرد و ..... سپرد.
[4] MS. (A).

In the meantime one Randhol[1] the uncle of Khusrū Khān with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qāẓī Khān; and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar,[2] and the Sulṭān, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sulṭān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jāhirīyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached the Hazār Sutūn with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhim and Isḥāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān rising,[3] half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the ḥaram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sulṭān was begging him to aid his escape Jāhirīyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sulṭān wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sulṭān's head[4] threw it down below from the roof of the palace. 21

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amīrs at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sulṭān's ḥaram and tore Farīd Khān and Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant[5] 21
The whole course of the world becomes changed.

1 MS (A). رندهول.
2 MS. (A) omits بلند.
3 MS. (A) برخاسته.
4 MS. (A) سرسلطان را.
5 MS. (A) has بیک لحظه بیک ساعت بیک دم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amīrs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, by whom is meant Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh, and Malik Waḥīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amīrs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Haẓār Sutūn; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṭbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāẓī Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Qāẓī Khān,[1] all except his wife who fled,[2] to the aforesaid Randhol.[3]

Husāmu-d-Dīn, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol[4] became Rāi-i-Rāiyān, and the *ḥarams* of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself[5] in marriage the chief wife of the Sulṭān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn was four[6] years and some months.

Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān

Whose name at the first was Ḥasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-
217. Dīn, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amīrs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.[7] Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

[1] MS. (A) omits و.
[2] MS. (A) گه گریخت.
[3] MS. (A) رندهول.
[4] MS. (A) رندهول.
[5] MS. (A) omits در.
[6] MS. (A) reads چهار.
[7] MS. (A) رواج گرفت.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Dīn and the wealth which Quṭbu-d-Dīn had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Alī Khān, and Bahādur Khān,[1] and gained over[2] certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sulṭāu Sinjar[3] was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door of death,
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān[4] issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf 21
Ṣūfī Azlbacha[5] the title of Ṣūfī Khān while Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Ḥātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣūfī *Wakildar*, and the son of Qurra Qumār *'Ariẓu-l-Mulk;* Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzī Malik he appointed *Ākhur Beg*, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghazī Malik also, who

[1] MS. (A).
[2] MS. (A). متفق ساخت.
[3] MS. (A). سنجر.
[4] MS. (A) omits و.
[5] MS. (A). The text reads برورابچه.

was one of the notable Amīrs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dīpālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter[1] expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihlī to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.[2]

And of the Amīrs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihlī and asking for post horses,[3] which in the Hindī tongue are called *ḍāk chaukī*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Ība[4] the governor of Multān and Uchh[5] he fled from Dihlī with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dīpālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq[6]
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

[1] MS. (A) مكتوبي نوشت مشتمل بر.

[2] I read here بعد از قرار گرفتن مراهب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذاهب.

[3] اولاق *Ūlāq* or اولاغ *Ūlāgh* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).

[4] MS. (A) and text footnote.

[5] The text has a misprint آچه here.

[6] The animal upon which Muḥammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzī Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsutī. When Khusrū Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power:[1] accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed *'Āriẓ-i-Mamālik*,[2] in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsutī, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzī Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative[3] in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Maliks; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*[4] he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihlī.

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Ṣūfī Khān with the other Amīrs of this *canaille* against Ghazī Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzī Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar.[5] At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāq" (*Mirkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ*, Matthews, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

[1] MS. (A) reads برزوال دولت خود. [2] Mustermaster General. *See p.* 291.

[3] MS. (A) نمودہ و.

[4] Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

[5] حوض تہا نیسر. This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name *Sthāneswara* is connected *viz.*, *Sthānu* (a name of Mahādeo) and *Sar* a lake. See Hunter: *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII. 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 500, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandūs themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 335-336.)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards
220. fled precipitately to Dihlī. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches [1] and reached Dihlī in one long march.[2] Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *ḥaram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ [3] where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ to Indrapath,[4] while Ghāzī Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb [5] of Sulṭān Raẓẓīya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain; [6] his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzī Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzī Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

1 MS. (A) كافر نعمتهای.

2 The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

3 Barnī says the Ḥauẓ-i-'Alāī. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

4 Indrapath. MS. (A) اندر پتهٔ. Barnī tells us that Ghāzī Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihlī. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

5 I read here حظیرهٔ not خطیرهٔ as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sulṭān Raẓẓīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

6 MS. (A) شتافت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde [1] and Malik Talbagha [2] Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār [3] with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,[4] as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but [5] at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned 22
his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and standards and borrowed [6] retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzī Malik.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādī [7] who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzī Malik,[8] so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzī Malik left Indrapath [9] and alighted at Kūshk Sabzī.[10] Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihlī, where tidings was

1 MS. (A) جمعیت کافرانرا.
2 Text تلیغه. MS. (A) تلبغه.
3 Shāyista Khān.
4 MS. (A) omits بی دریغ.
5 MS. (A) inserts و.
6 عاریتی.
7 MS. (A) آمد.
8 MS. (A) omits ملک.
9 MS. A اند پته. The text reads تلپته. But the real reading should be اندر پته, Indrapath, as is shewn by what has gone before, and also by Barnī.
10 کوشک سبزي "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS., I think we should read for کوشک سبزي undoubtedly کوشک سیري *kūshk-i-Sīrī*, the palace of Sīrī. This is the reading of the *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,[1] where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him[2] paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321. A. D). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULṬĀN[3] GHĪYĀṢU-D-DĪN TUGHLAQ ṢHĀH[3]

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amīrs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week
22. he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.[4]

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amīrs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Quṭbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)[5] and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī[6] invented as a chronogram for the date of building

[1] MS. (A) omits و.

[2] مثلہ ساختن *Muṣla Sākhtan* is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

[3] MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228–229).

[4] MS. (A) omits the words نتوانند داد and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See *footnote* to Text.

[5] There is a difference here. The printed text reads مسرتہا دران نمود Shewed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

[6] Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestān. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in

the fort (of Tughlaqābād)[1] the following: "Enter then her gates."[2] He brought to punishment also a body of men[3] who during the glorious reign of Sulṭan Quṭbu-d-Dīn had joined hands with Khusrū Khān and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khān to Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā[4] who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity,[5] and conferred on him a canopy and the other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also raised Bahrām Ība,[6] who was the adopted brother of the Sulṭān,[7] to the dignity of the title of Kishlū Khān, and entrusted to him the district of Multān and the whole of Sind. To his other four sons he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān, Ẓafar Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and Nuṣrat Khan.[8]

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khān [to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandēri and Badāon and in the other eastern districts of Hindustān, towards Deogīr and Tilang, and Ulugh Khān][9] taking with him the army of Deogīr, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the

Dihlī as the panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty. His *Dīvān* consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (*Majma'ul Fuṣahā* I. 169). The date of his death is not stated. *See* also Beale, O. B. D. p. 62.

1 MS. (A) inserts تغلقا باد.

2 فادخلوها. These words give the date 727 H.

3 Omit one را from text.

4 MS. (A) omits پسرخود which is in the printed text.

5 MS. (A) omits و. It is unnecessary.

6 MS. (A). The printed text has بهرام الله Bahrām Ullah.

7 The printed text adds the words تغلق شاه.

8 See also the account given by Barnī which is almost identical with the above. (Elliott, III. 230).

9 By the copyist's error the words included in square brackets have been omitted from MS. (A), he having omitted all the words following the first الغ خان and proceeding with the words following the second الغ خان. The printed text is correct.

meantime[1] ʿUbaid Rākātī[2] the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious[3] opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses:

223. Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took
Nizāmi's[4] saucepan by mistake, his flummery[5] to cook.

(Mīr Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafī) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihlī, spread a false report that the Sulṭān Tughlaq was no more, where- upon great dismay spread through the Muslims. ʿUbaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;[6] Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmīr[7] was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Dīn Ṭālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured[8] on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)[9] also was captured in the same way in a wretched

1 MS. (A) reads درین میان.

2 ʿUbaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی *Rākātī*. *See* Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.

3 MS. (A) reads معارض مشهور.

4 Shaikh Niẓāmī Ganjawī whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursaiyyidal Muṭarrazī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His Khamsa (pentad) consists of *Khusrū and Shīrīn, Haft Paikar Laili-o-Majnūn, Makhzanu-l-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāma*.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the *Majmaʿul Fuṣaḥā* (I. 687) he died in the reign of Ṭughrul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

5 سکبا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. *llymruwd*, (so named from its sourness). (*vide* Skeat. *s. v.*)

6 We should here read مردم لشکر MS. (A).

7 MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55′ N. Long. 70°. 57′ E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

8 MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

9 MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firishta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231–233).

plight. All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went.

And in the year 723 A. H. (1323 A.D.) Ulugh Khān for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rāi Ladar Mahādeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khān gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels [1] by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar [2] and Bīdar,[3] and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihlī [and despatched Rāe Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sulṭānpūr] returned to Dihlī.[4]

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d- 2
Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khān as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqābād which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnautī with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn the ruler of Lakhnautī, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sulṭān and placed their necks under his yoke; Sulṭān Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sulṭān Naṣiru-d-Dīn the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnautī once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihlī; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Ẓafarābād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda) the Governor of Sunār Gānw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

[1] MS. (A) حصار درونی و بیرونی.

[2] Or Jājpur, the former capital of Orissa. (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. VII and *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).

[3] Bīdar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizām's dominions, Haidarābād Deccan, 75 miles N.-W. of Haidarābād town. Lat. 17°. 53′ N. Long. 77° 34′ E. (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 419).

[4] The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS. (A), the word Dihlī occurring twice has misled the copyist. The printed text is correct.

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihlī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghānpur which is at a distance of three *krohs* from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,[1] and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sulṭān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sulṭān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sulṭān was mounting with all
225. haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands[2] and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.[3]

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace[4] without

[1] These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

[2] The text has بتقریب دست نالشستن but MS. (A) reads شستن the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words ازان خانه (line 2 of the printed text).

[3] Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firishta gives a somewhat similar account to Badāonī; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (*Firishta* Briggs, I. 408].

[4] MS. (A) قصر را *qaṣr rā*. The text has قصداً *qaṣdan* purposely.

foundations[1] as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Fīroz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse.

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place.

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihlī, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I."[2] The Shaikh replied, "Dihlī is still some way off."[3] This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlaq Nāma* of Mīr Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sulṭān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh and also of Mīr Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh.

That is to say Ulugh Khān, by the agreement of the Amīrs and

[1] معوّف literally means "hollow" but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support. *cf.* اجوف فعل "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is *weak*.

[2] In accordance with the proverb دو درویش در گلیمی بخسپند *dū darvīsh dar gilīme nakhuspand*. Two derveshes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دو شمشیر در یک نیام نگنجند *dū shamshīr dar yak nīyām nāgunjand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

[3] This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe." Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian, but as an Urdū proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725
226. A.H. (1325 A.D.),[1] and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,[2] went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave *largesse* such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amīrs, he made Malik Fīroz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sulṭān Fīroz) *Nāibu-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Ḥamīd Lawīkī, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartez obtained the title of *'Imādu-l-Mulk*, Malik Khurram that of *Ẓahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār Khiljī was given the title of Qadr Khān, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā that of *Ā'ẓamu-l-Mulk*, the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326–1327 A.D.) the Sulṭān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogīr, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,[3] that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road[4] from Dihlī to Deogīr, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed[5] a Shaikh to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf[6] and all provisions for hospitality; and in

1 According to Firishta on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

2 The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis l. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days.

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muḥammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Iddād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (*See* Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh* I. 389).

3 The word دهاوا here spelt دهاوڑ is a Sanskrit word धावकः rt. धाव् to run. پایک *pāyik* its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پیک *paik*.

4 MS. A omits در راه.

5 MS. (A) نصب فرمود.

6 The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supārī*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both [1] (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogīr the name of Daulatābād [2] and considering it as the centre of his dominions [3] made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdūma-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amīrs and Maliks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the *Saiyyids* and *Shaikhs* and *'Ulamā* [4] also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihlī and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as *khīlī*, کھیلي *bīṛā* بیڑا or گلوڑي *gilauṛī*. The distribution of this پان *pān* or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bīṛā* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful sialagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the *Chavica betle* are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle-chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr. Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*).

1 MS. (A) omits the word طرف.

2 MS. (A) دام نهاد و. *See* page 271, *note* 6, of this volume.

3 MS. (A) میانگ ولایات omits خود.

4 The word *Saiyyid* (سید) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muḥammad from his daughter Fāṭima by 'Alī. The Sulṭan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شیخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world: a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe: or a reputed saint.

The two first Khalīfahs Abū Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشَّیخَان. *Ash-Shaikhan*. The two Shaikhs.

The term *'Ulamā* (علما) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftīs, Qāẓīs, Maulavīs, (*see* Hughes Dictionary of Islam, *also* D'Herbelot.)

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp
227. the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihlī,[1] and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sulṭān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Ība the adopted brother of Sulṭān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,[2] and put to death 'Alī Khaṭaṭī who had been sent from Dihlī to summon him thither. The Sulṭān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihlī and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out[3] against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sulṭān who intended to set the blood of the Multānīs flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikhu-l-Islām Quṭbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Quraishī,[4] *may God sanctify his holy resting place*, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sulṭān and made intercession, the Sulṭān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy[5] mean men have committed faults.

And the Sulṭān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time[6] having turned

1 Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-dīn and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-dīn Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāonī's date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāonī's date. *Firishta* Bo. Text I. 241.

2 MS. (A) باغي شد.

3 MS. (A) بمقابله آمده و مقاتله نموده.

4 *Ain-i-Akbārī* (Jarrett), III. 365.

5 MS. (A) عفو بود و.

6 MS. (A) چند گاهی.

against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodī the Afghān [1] killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sulṭān on his arrival at Dīpālpūr found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,[2] so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narma Shīrīn the Mughul,[3] the brother of Qutlugh Khwāja the Mughul King of Khurāsān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered 228
the Dihlī territory [4] with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lāhor and Sāmāna and Indarī to the borders of Badāon; and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sulṭān pursued him [5] as far as the frontier of Kālānor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujīru-d-Dīn Abūrijā returned in the direction of Dihlī. At this time the Sulṭān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexatious and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,[6] the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sulṭān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihlī and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatābād, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatābād was populated, and Dihlī

1 MS. (A) افغان. The text reads افغانان.

2 The printed text has در کوہ پایہ but MS. (A) has کوہپایہ. The text is correct.

3 MS. (A) مغل. The spelling مغول adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 73, *note* 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often *Mo-ghol* or *Mo-ol* as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of *o*, and never that of *ū* which is a foreign introduction.

4 MS. (A) آمدہ.

5 MS. (A) تعاقب او نمود و.

6 MS. (A) omits آن.

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition :—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sulṭān enacted that the *muhar*[1] of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and
229. contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,[2] and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sulṭān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.[3] The people

[1] Firishta does not use the word *muhar* مُهر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round muhur in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Āīn-i-Akbāri* I. 30). Barnī uses it in the same way as Badāonī. *See* Barnī. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

[2] MS. (A) omits the word مس but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishta.

[3] The Persian text is: تنکهای زر برابر آن ببرد. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows هر کرا تنکهٔ مس در خانه باشد "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firishta's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the *copper tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper *tankas* were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year[1] 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand[2] cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchal[3] which stands between the country of Chīn and Hindustān, and which they also call Qarāchal[4] with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the *silver tanka*, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value, so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. *See* Elliott III. 240, Brigg's *Firishta* I. 415.

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of Firishta is perfectly clear on the subject: and we see that these copper *tankas* were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sulṭān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries, that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper *tankas* for silver or gold *tankas*, hoping thereby, as Firishta says, to rehabilitate the copper *tanka*, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. Firishta (Bo. Ed. p. 239).

For a full account of this forced currency *See* Thomas *Pathān Kings* pp. 239, et seqq.

1 MS. (A) درسنهٔ.

2 Omit و. Firishta says 100,000.

3 Himāchal. Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barnī calls this mountain فراجل misprint probably for قراجل p. 477, line 16, &c.

4 Rashīdu-d-Dīn in the *Jāmi'u-l-Tawārīkh* (Elliott, I. 46) states "Besides these mountains there are others called Kalārchal (called also by the same author in another passage Lārjal). The editor notes "The mountains of Sirinor." Reinaud reads the name "Kelardjek." Ibn Baṭūṭa calls them "Karāchil" (Vol. III. 325). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *ācha*l mountain. The first part may be the Turkī word قرا signifying *black*; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.[1] For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sulṭān visited with condign punishment.[2] And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round
230. the Sulṭān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sulṭān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Ḥusamu-d-Dīn Abūrijā the *Mustaufī*, and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yahyā *A'ẓamu-l-Mulk*, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money[3] and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sulṭān. In spite of all that Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Ḥusamu-d-Dīn ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn returned, and the soldiery of Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Dīn. The absolute control of Sunārgānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhliṣ a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Alī Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhliṣ to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sulṭān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.[4]

1 Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarājal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478). *See* also Elliott, III. 242.

2 According to Firishta all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sulṭān.

3 MS. (A) omits و مال.

4 MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب.

At this juncture 'Alī Mubārak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru-d-Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Ḥājī who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alāu-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amīrs and Maliks of Lakhnautī, and himself assumed the title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn. 23

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sunārgānw, seized Fakhru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnautī, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,[1] and never again returned to the possession of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Ḥasan Kaithalī the father of Malik Ibrāhīm a feofee of the Sulṭān, who was generally known as Ḥasan Kāngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Ma'bar on the grounds of the severity of the Sulṭān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,[2] and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihlī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sulṭān proceeded from Lakhnautī to Deogīr for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dihlī. He left Qutlugh Khān in Daulatābād; thus the rebellion in Ma'bar remained unchecked and Ḥasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājun and Kul Chander Khākhar and Malik Tātār Khurd, the Governor of Lāhore,[3] and when Khwāja-i-Jahān came up against them,[4] they came cut to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

1 MS. (A) reads تا مدتی مدید در عهدهٔ فرزندان او بود.

2 MS. (A) has not the word عام simply قتل او.

3 MS. (A) has کل چندر and کشته. The text has کشتند which seems preferable.

4 MS. (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رفت.

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sulṭān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all
232. the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sulṭān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī [1] arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalīfah [2] with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sulṭān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīru-l-Mū'minīn from the Khalīfah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sulṭān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hājī Sa'īd and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the 'Īd, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalīfah, he read the *Khuṭbah* in the name of the Khalīfah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He then gave *largesse* [3] of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

[1] The printed text reads مصري, but MS. (A) has صرصري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalīfah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

[2] Al Ḥākim bi Amr Illāhi Abūl 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn ul Mustakfī billāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A. H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalīfahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

[3] MS. (A) نثار.

patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hāji Barq'aī, with other rarities and presents; and having become, in his own opinion, the rightful Khalīfah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qur'ān [1] and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalīfah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalīfah, and used to say 233
"The Khalīfah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalīfah, and went to Sarkdawārī which is in the vicinity of Shamsābād, and on two or three occasions [2] in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also [3] he received patents from the Khalīfah, and a second time the Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī [4] came to visit him, and the Sulṭān went on foot to Pālam to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kīlī [5] with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1344 A.D.) Malik Niẓāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu-d-dīn Sulṭān waxed riotous in Bīdar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu-d-dīn coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A.H. (1345 A D.) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Ẓafar Khān 'Alā'ī gained possession of Gulbarga [6] in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bīdar, and taking much spoil,

[1] MS. (A) reads مصحف مشارق. All MSS. read مشارق which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' *i.e.*, the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalīfah to him.

[2] MS. (A) omits دیگر نیز.

[3] MS. (A) نیز Broach and Cambay. Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 101.

[4] Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdād Al-Mustanṣir-billahi (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, *note* 1).

[5] A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 258 and seqq.) who writes و اعطاه جميع مدينة سيري اقطاعا. He gave him in fief the city of Sīrī. Barnī (Calcutta text p. 496) says و كوشك سيري و تمامي محصول درون حصار سيري.

[6] MS. (A). See *Imp. Gaz.*, VIII. 332.

fought with Qutlugh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bīdar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sulṭān's army. The Sulṭān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznīn in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

234. And in the year 747 A H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the Sulṭān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Ẓafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sulṭān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brothor Shahru-llāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses [1] belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sulṭān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Fīroz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side [2] attacked the army of the Sulṭān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)[3] took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being ablo to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,[4] and Shahru-llah and his other brother together with the majority of the *ṣirdārs* of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Ġawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders [5] and brought him bareheaded [6] to the court and gave him a few days respite,[7] and the Sulṭān in consideration of his excellent

[1] MS. (A) omits را.

[2] MS. (A) طرف.

[3] MS. (A) omits هند.

[4] MS. (A) نمودند.

[5] The text reads برلاشة برداشتة and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of برداشتة in the original copy.

[6] MS. (A) reads برهنة naked.

[7] Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The Gawārs are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihlī; then he recalled Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlugh Khān had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)[1] and 'Azīz Khumār[2] who was one of the *canaille*, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amīrs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word Yūzbāshī[3] in accordance with the Sulṭān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, 235
stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbil the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahān who was *nāib-vazīr* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sulṭān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amīrs as for instance Malik 'Alī *Sarjāndār*, and Aḥmad Lāchīn to Daulatābād to bind the Amīrs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malīk Aḥmad Lāchīn arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amīrs of hundreds in their alarm[4] came to a common understanding, and put Malīk Aḥmad Lāchīn to death; Azīz Khumār who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amīrs of hundreds of Dabho'ī[5] and Baroda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,[6] fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sulṭān and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Azīz, the Amīrs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sulṭān[7] and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

[1] MS. (A) omits و قصور. [2] MS. (A) عزیز حمار Azīz Hmīar.

[3] یوز باشلیغ. Commandant de cent hommes. (Pavet de Courteille).

[4] MS. (A) omits the words جان خویش.

[5] MS. (A). The text is wrong here. Dabho'ī. *See* Tieff. I. 372. also map, Vol. III. *see* also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 76; and Bayley, *History of Gujrāt.*

[6] دست و پا گم کردہ (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet.

[7] The printed text reads طالیدہ بمیر سلطان which is meaningless. MS. (A) reads از سلطان and this seems the correct reading.

to the throne one Isma'il Fatḥ gave him the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn. After this the Amīrs of hundreds of Dabho'i and Baroda over whom the Sulṭān had appointed other Amīrs, being defeated by the army opposed to them joined hands with the Amīrs of hundreds of Daulatābād. When the Sulṭān went to Daulatābād Isma'il Fatḥ prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhārānagar by which is meant the citadel[1] of Daulatābād; many Muslims of Daulatābād were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik[2] 'Imādul Mulk Sartez was ordered to pursue[3] the
236. fugitive Amīrs of hundreds towards Bīdar. In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrāt of Malik Taghī, who, having put to death Malik Muẓaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession[4] of a large number of horses and much property. Thereupon the Sulṭān leaving in Dhārānagar Malik Jauhar and Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn and Shaikh Burhānu-d-Dīn Balārāmī[5] left to quell the rebellion of Taghī;[6] the army which had fled from Daulatābād under the leadership of Ḥasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding attacked[7] 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez. 'Imādu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatābād and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn and the other Amīrs not being able to withstand Ḥasan in Daulatābād evacuated those districts and made for Dhārānagar. Ḥasan Kāngū pursued them and came to Daulatābād,[8] and having driven out Isma'il Fatḥ assumed the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatābād and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family. The history called *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*[9] was written in his honour. And Taghī

1 ارگ *arg*, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhān-i-Qāṭi'). MS. (A) spells this word ارگ *irk*.

2 The printed text reads ملک عنایت عمادالملک MS. (A) omits عنایت. Barnī calls him ملک عمادالملک سر تیز سلطانی Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sulṭānī.

3 The proper reading here is بتعاقب MS. (A). The printed text has متعاقب.

4 Read بتصرف او در آمد. MS. (A). 5 MS. (A).

6 MS. (A) omits ملک. 7 MS. (A) omits ملک.

8 MS. (A) در آمد و. 9 I can find no mention of this work.

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sulṭān at Gujrāt, ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sulṭān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sulṭān having sent for Malik Fīroz from Dihlī attached him to his Court; and [1] in this year Malik Gīr the son of Malik Qabūl Khālīfatī, to whom the Sulṭān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submis- 237
sion to the Egyptian Khalīfah, and had sent it by the hand of Hājī Barqa'ī, died, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihlī. Towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasedly evident day by day,[2] so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,[3] and matters were past all remedy,[4] and the glory [5] of the kingdom, and prosperity [6] of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islām. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history [7] the *Firozshāhī*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhī*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. *Firstly* –The greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

1 MS. (A) تا بدرگاه پیوست و.

2 MS. (A) omits چندان.

3 This is the reading of MS. (A) دیگری از دست نمیرفت.

4 The printed text has صلاح. MS. (A) reads correctly اصلاح.

5 MS. (A) ارایش. 6 Omit آسمان و MS. (A).

7 There are two histories known as *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* one by Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, (*Biblioth. Indica* 1862) and the other by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf. (*Biblioth. Indica* 1891). (Elliott, III. 269).

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) درتواریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ. This would distinguish the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Barnī as the original history of that name. The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* is that of Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad. (*See* Elliott, IV., pp. 6 and *seqq*).

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shīrīn, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly.*—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-census, and other taxes [1] over and above these, and [2] in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves [3] to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions [4] so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.[5] *Thirdly.*—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as
238. stated.[6] *Fourthly.*—the desertion of Dihlī, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihlī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects [7] they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly.*—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly.*—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly.*—The blood thirsti-

1 The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

2 MS. (A) و باین طریق. 3 MS. (A) می پیوستند.

4 تخریب ولایات می کردند و MS. (A).

5 بهر حال محصول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد MS. (A) inserts ولایت and omits میان دواب.

6 The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barnī a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

7 MS. (A) reads اشیا.

ness of the Sulṭān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans,[1] peasants,[2] and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that[3] the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).[4] At last the Sulṭān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew[5] feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sulṭān was freed from his people and the people from their Sulṭān.

Verse.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them 239
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape (punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy tyranny).

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sulṭān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftīs[6] to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,[7] so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftīs about his due punishment, so far as he was

[1] Whether we read متحرفه or محترفه this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (اهل حرفه) artisans themselves.

[2] This again is not correctly used. It must be read مُزارع but should be plural.

[3] MS. (A) و نه خلق از فتنه.

[4] MS. (A) می کردند.

[5] MS. (A) خلاص یافت.

[6] مُفتي Muftī. The officer who assists the Qāẓī or judge by supplying him with *fatwās* or decisions.

[7] We should read here جاے داده در منازل معین نگاه داشته بود MS. (A).

able,[1] and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight[2] he would pass orders for his execution,[3] and if he himself found for conviction[4] he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,[5] and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftīs were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say[6] that one day Sulṭān[7] Muḥammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice[8] of Qāẓī Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce[9] against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sulṭān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife
240. and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sulṭān was silent and rose up from the Court,[10] and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihlī, he brought him before the same Court,[11] and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sulṭān was a mixture of opposites, and[12] for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مقدور.
2 MS. (A) میبود.
3 MS. (A) omits آن متهم.
4 MS. (A) و اگر خود الزام می یافت.
5 MS. (A) می‌اندیشید و.
6 MS. (A) omits حکایت.
7 MS. (A) محکمهٔ قضا.
8 MS. (A) omits محمد.
9 MS. (A) نمائید.
10 MS. (A) omits قاضی.
11 MS. (A) omits قضا.
12 MS. (A) و.

down in tradition, aye and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it ye that are endowed with sight."[1] In short[2] after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sulṭān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,[3] by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis[4] found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghī, and in the

[1] *Qur'ān*, LIX. 2. [2] MS. (A) مع القصة. [3] از اصلاح آن عاجز MS. (A).

[4] بيماري دق. This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the *Baḥru-l-Jawāhir*.

حمى دق هى ان ينشبث الحرارة الخارجة عن الطبع بالاعضاء الا صليه خصوصا القلب تفني رطوبات البدن و اقيل هي حرارة غريبة تحدث للبدن بواسطة حدو ثها في اعضايه -

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The *Burhān-i-Qāti'* states that it is called دق because it emaciates the body.

Sadīdī's account is as follows. The fever حمي الدق is usually fatal,.....It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when "*diqq*" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "*diqq*" is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "*diqq*" is hard, frequent, and slender.....The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing .....Some unskilful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called ذبول *ẓabūl* the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance, the eyelids become heavy; all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where [1] Taghī had fled for safety; and [2] in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent [3] and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,[4] which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,[5] the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (اچذ بث الاظفار) then the diarrhœa recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhœa apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "*diqq*" the second more severe is called *zabūl* and the most severe of all is called "*ḥashf*."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Mughnī fī Sharḥ il Mūjaz*).

1 بدا نچا MS. (A). 2 MS. (A) و. 3 MS. (A) اندک روی بصحت نهاده بود.

4 "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnīs as a fast." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25).

5 On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III. 265), but Badāonī states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thatha where he had arrived on the *'ashurā*, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatha." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of Khurāsān; 2
A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān [1] he built of Haft Jūsh [2] which in loftiness
Would need the Nasr-i-Ṭāir [3] to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible as Harumān.[4]
So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.
You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.
In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.
It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him." [5]

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad is Badar Shāshī [6] who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses [7] and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh ibn Malik Rajab

Who was the brother's son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

1 هفت خوان *Haft Khwān*. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also *Burhān-i-Qāti'* *s. v.*

2 هفت جوش *Haft Jūsh*. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, *Steingass*) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*. According to the *Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

3 نسر طایر *Nasr-i-Ṭāir*. The constellation called also عقاب *'Uqāb*. The Eagle.

4 هرمان *Harumān*, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

5 Cf. Qur'ān XXVII. 64.

6 *See* page 296, *note* 6.

7 This looks as though we should read قریب بیست هزار بیت nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amīrs and Vazīrs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-'Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were [1] the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sulṭān Fīroz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-
242. Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*][2] had secretly made Malik Fīroz King during the absence of Sulṭān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sulṭān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple [3] were to be taken in confinement from Dihlī and brought to the camp. This was carried out,[4] and Malik Fīroz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī [5] *may God sanctify their resting-places.* That holy man exclaimed "Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sulṭān, and he wots not of it"! When they arrived [6] at the camp of the Sulṭān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him [7] he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw [8] this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sulṭān; [9] then Sulṭān Fīroz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sulṭān's son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

1 MS. (A) reads بیعت نمودند for بیعت بودند (Text).

2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

3 The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS. (A) has مرید و مراد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.

4 MS. (A) بیاوردند. The text reads بیاورند.

5 MS. (A) که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسوي قدس الله سرهما بود.

6 MS. (A) رسیده اند. 7 MS. (A) خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده

8 MS. (A) دیده اند.

9 MS. (A) گذاشته اند. By Sulṭān, Fīroz Shāh must be here meant.

after that[1] he had returned to Dihlī he made the *pargana* of Chaurāsī in the district of Hānsī a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, *may God sanctify his resting-place*, tied a knot upon one of the Sulṭān's robes and said "Naṣīru-d-Dīn fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sulṭān died.

Verse.

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,
Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh. 243

However this may be, the Sulṭān Firoz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sulṭān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Verse.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder
Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise.

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Sīwistān made for Dihlī by continuous marches, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, styled *Khwāja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence[2] of the Sulṭān had urged the claims of an obscure child[3] to the

1 MS. (A) بعد ازانکه.

2 MS. (A) در غیبت.

3 Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām, one of the servants at the Court."

He asserts the Khwāja-i-Jahān who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shāh received false tidings that Tātar Khān and the *Amīr-Ḥājib* Firoz Shāh were missing and either dead or prisoners. "After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwāja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279–280.

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself *Vakīl*, after considerable argument,[1] and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraful-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sulṭān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsutī tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān,[2] whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death[3] of Taghī Tāghī also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

244. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, *may God sanctify his resting place*, the Shaikhu-l-Islām] and Malik Qubūl[4] Nāib Vazīr he made *Khān-i-Jahān*,[5] and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Ḥājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,[6] which is the strongest of the forts

[1] Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

[2] MS. (A) که پسرش آخر تغلق شاه بود. Sirāj 'Afīf tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fatḥābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

[3] MS. (A) قتل طغی.

[4] See *note* 6, page 254.

[5] In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

[6] Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, *see* J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. *See* Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Āzādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangāla, and after a desultory[1] defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sulṭān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,[2] retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H. (1354 A.D.) having crossed by the ford of Manikpūr he arrived at Dihlī and built Fīrozābād[3] on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) he

[1] This appears to be the meaning. MS. (A) omits سلطنت and has درآمد *see* also Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 294 and *note*.

[2] بشکال *bushkāl* in M. Pavet de Courteilles Turkī Dictionary this word is given پشه کال *pushakāl* or پشکال *pushkāl* Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the *Bābernāmah*.

[3] Fīrozābād. This must not be confounded with the Fīrozābād which arose from the change of name of Panḍūah, *see* Elliott, III. 295, and Panḍūah, *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XI.

This Fīrozābād (*see* J. A. S. B., 1870), was situated five *kos* (ten miles) from Dihlī, and included according to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, eighteen places, the *qasba* (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissār (Hiṣār Fīrozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna. The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called Rajīwa, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnāl (*see* Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khāni (Ulugh Khānī). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Jureah canal, which is probably the word Rajīwa converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell's map (Tieff. Vol. III) shews the supposed canal of Fīroz Shāh, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissār end but from Dīpālpūr, which lay at the junction of the Bīās and Sutlej on the banks of the Bīās, and passed south-east near Fatḥabad, if not actually through it, to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer, its nearest point measured from Dīpālpūr being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jhajhar Lat. 28° 16′ N. Long. 77° 42′ 15″ E. is 200 miles (Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpūr joining the Jumna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jhajhar but into the river Jajhar as above stated. (*See* Bo: Firishta, Text I. 263).

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf makes no mention of Dīpālpūr in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajīwah and Ulugh Khānī, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dīpālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj [1] led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight *kroh* from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūī (Mandilī) and
245. Sarūr,[2] and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:—

دهانهٔ این هردو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میان هشتاد کروه کروه
ر شهر حصار فیروزه برده -

Dahāna-i īn har do jū az ittisāl i karnāl bīrūn āwarda mīyān i hashtād kro. kroh dar shahr i Hiṣar Fīrūza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Fīroz Shāh would take his canal from Dīpālpū to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, bu not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandūī (Mandilī) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afīf calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sulṭān Fīroz built the city of Hiṣār Fīroza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hiṣār Fīroza, one from Dīpālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jajhar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī). At Karnāl according to 'Afīf's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna *viâ* Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A) سنلك.

2 I cannot identify these places. Firishta (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandilī and Sardar.

and thence to Rās[1] where he built a fortress which he called Hiṣār Fīroza, and dug[2] a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghar underneath the fortress of Sarsutī, and from thence to Birnī Kheṛa,[3] and in the space between them he built a fortress[4] and named it Fīrozābād.[5] At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īdu-ẓ-Ẓuhā a robe of honour arrived for the Sulṭān from the Khalīfah Al-Hākim bi amrillāhi Abūl Fatḥ Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabī' Suleimān[6] from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān: and[7] in this same year messengers from Ḥājī Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnautī, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants[8] should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sulṭān Fīroz with the exception of Lakhnautī which was held by Ḥajī Ilyās,[9] who had come to terms with the Sulṭān,[10] and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of Ḥasan Kāngū.

1 See page 326, continuation of page 325, *note* 3. Briggs' Firishta calls it Raiseen. I. should be Rāsain, the two Rāses, *i.e.* Great Larās and Little Larās, Elliott, III 298.

2 MS. (A) كافت.

3 MS. (A) the text reads هرني كهرا. Sarsutī is shewn in Rennell's map (Tieff. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birnī Khera, I cannot trace. Firishta Bo. Text, I. p. 263 reads بنهرسر كهتره *ba nahr-i-Sarkhatra*. Compare Rennell's memoir, pp. 72-73.

4 MS. (A) بنا فرمودة.

5 فيروز آباد نام كرد. At the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jumnā, Elliott, III. 302.

6 According to the list of Egyptian Khalīfahs given in Thomas' *Pathān Kings of Dihlī* the Khalīfah in 757 A.H. was Abul Fatḥ Al-Mu'taẓidbillāhi Abu Bakr ibn ul-Mustakfī billāhi. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs. Al-Mustakfī billāhi Abul Rabī' Suleimān ibn ul-Hākim biamr-Nāhi was the third of this line.

7 MS. (A) adds و.

8 MS. (A) omits خوب.

9 MS. (A) reads كه حاجي الياس داشت.

10 MS. (A) مصالحه كرد.

And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sarbardadār* [1] to proceed against [2] the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dīpālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sulṭān's army turned back
246. and went to their own country, and the Sulṭān returned to Dihlī; [3] and in this year the Sulṭān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits [4] with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents, [5] and at Bihār they heard that the Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sulṭān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Karra.

[6] And in the year 760 H., the Sulṭān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnautī with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after deputing Tātār Khān, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghaznīn to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Ẓafarābād, and at this place, A'ẓam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Bustāmī [7] who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Aḥmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sulṭān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sulṭān and received the title of A'ẓam Khān. Saiyyid *Rusūldār* was sent with the messengers of Lakhnautī [8] to the Sulṭān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sulṭān when the rains were over leaving Ẓafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnautī, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān, they
247. also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

1 MS. (A) Sirāj 'Afīf calls him Ṭorābānd. Elliott, III. 311.

2 MS. (A) برسر مغل. 3 MS. (A) مراجعت نمود

4 MS. (A) میوہ

5 MS. (A) هدایا

6 The events preceding this are related by 'Afīf, shewing how friendship was established between Sulṭān Firoz and Sulṭān Sikandar. Badāonī's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305–312.)

7 MS. (A) omits ع.

8 A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the word follows the word لکھنوتی.

Mandawī

of Panḍūah, Sulṭān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdāla [1] whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sulṭān had laid siege to that fortress Sulṭān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H. (1359-60 A.D.) the Sulṭān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Panḍūah [2] to Jaunpūr where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force [3] by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karṛa, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgaṛh [4] the Rāi of which place [5] withdrew, and thence he came to Bārānasī [6] which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahandūrī,[7] and the Rāi of Bārānasī having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sulṭān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,[8] and arrived at the country of Rāi Parīhān Dev [9] who sent a present of thirty-two [10] elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sulṭān coming to Padmāwatī and Param Talāo [11] which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive] [12] and Malik Ẓīau-l-Mulk [13] wrote a quatrain upon this:

1 See 'Afīf's account of this. (Elliott, III. 308). Sirāj 'Afīf calls this place "the islands of Ikdāla." *see* note 6, page 324.

2 'Afīf says by way of "Qanauj and Oudh"—Jaunpūr was we are there told so called by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh after Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jaunān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gūmtī).

3 'Afīf says حضرت شاہ بنگاہ در کڑہ گذاشت the Shāh left his heavy baggage in Karṛa. Text p. 163. (Calc. Edn. Bibl. Ind.) *see* Elliott, III. 312, *note* 2.

4 MS. (A) ستگھڑہ.

5 Named Adeṣar ('Afīf) or Rāe Sidhan (Firishta).

6 'Afīf says Banārasī the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jājnagar.

7 MS. (A) مہندوری.

8 'Afīf tells us (Text, pp. 166-67) that the Sulṭān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (*see* Elliott III. 312-313).

9 The Rājā of Beerbhoom (Briggs' *Firishta*).

10 MS. (A) reads سہ three.

11 MS. (A). 12 Not in MS. (A).

13 MS. (A) ضیا الدین.

Verse.

The Shāh who of right[1] assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three[2] he took alive.

And thence by way of Karṛa he returned with all possible haste.[3]

248. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salīma,[4] which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.[5] The Salīma is also called the Sarsuti,[6] and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.[7]

The Sulṭān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz*[8] (in length). They were partly converted into

[1] MS. (A) بحق.

[2] There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afīf's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afīf, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

[3] MS. (A) بسرعت تمام. [4] نهر سليمه نام. [5] ستلذ.

[6] Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. *Firishta*, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

[7] Firishta says سناء *see* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsutī or Saraswati. *See* also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49–76. The Salīma seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

[8] *Gaz.* See *Aín Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 58 *et seq.* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz* — long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *tassūj*.

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this [illegible] about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the arm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been h[illegible]

[illegible] Badawī

stone and had partly remained bone, just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted,[1] and[2] in the meantime he made Sihrind and for ten *krohs* beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ẓiāul Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Rijā, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Fīrūzpūr which is in fact Sihrind,[3] and the Sulṭān from thence, went to Nagarkoṭ whose Rājā after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.[4] The Sulṭān gave to Nagarkoṭ the name of Muḥammadābād after the deceased Sulṭān Muḥammad; and when they brought the Sulṭān ice on that mountain fort he said,[5] "when Sulṭān Muḥammad, who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a *sharbat* mixed with ice, but he had[6] no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him." Accordingly they made an iced *sharbat* with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar which was carried with Sulṭān Fīrūz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'ān for the soul of Sulṭān Maḥammad and distribute the *sharbat* among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sulṭān[7] that from the time when Sulṭān Sikandar Zūl Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshāba[8] and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmans of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawālamukhī;[9] a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of *mashks*[10] of water. The Sulṭān having sum- 249

1 I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is آن جوي كنده نشد.

2 MS. (A) inserts و.

3 See *Imp. Gaz.* (Sirhind) XII. 552, and Kāngra VII. 414.

4 See Elliot III. 318-319.

5 MS. (A) ايد.

6 MS. (A) ازان.

7 MS. (A) adds the word سلطان.

8 Fīrishta's words are صورت نوشا به را ساخته.

pursuf-ishta say Jālāmukhī جالا مكهي.

ilia The M

7 M[illegible] *mashk*. The goatskin bag for carrying water.

9 MS. [illegible] his translation adds the words "the wife of Alexander the [illegible] upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander

10 MS. [illegible]a the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and

moned the Brahmans, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books [1] into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī,[2] who was one of the poets and *mūnshīs* of the time of Fīrūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day[3] *Dalāil-i-Fīrūzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sulṭān Fīrūz, some of them on the Science of "*Pingal*" [4] that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhāra* [5] which they call *Pātur bāzī*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sulṭān leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jām,[6] by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sulṭān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It نوشابه represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written روشانه *Rushāna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشانه *Nūshāba*.

Firishta's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

[1] MS. (A) omits بعضی but writes بعد.

[2] MS. (A) reads خالي Beale (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the Dalāil-i-Fīroz Shāhī, probably on the authority of this passage.

[3] MS. A ماندة.

[4] So called from Pingala or Pingalanāga, the inventor of the art of prosody. *See* Albirūnī, India I. 137, *also* Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.

[5] The Akhārā is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātur* signifies in Hindī a prostitute or dancing-girl.

[6] 'Afīf tells us that Jām the brother of Rāī Unar, and Bānhbana (بانهبنه) his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.

grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,[1] which country he placed under the control of Ẓafar Khān; then having deposed Niẓāmu-l Mulk[2] and appointed him Nāib Wazīr of Dihlī, he returned to Thatha; and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter[3] had an interview with the Sulṭān, and with all the *Zamīndārs* accompanied him to Dihlī, and from there took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thatha.[4] In the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-jahān the *Vazīr*, died, and his son Jūnā Shāh obtained that title;[5] and the book Chandāban[6] which is a *Maṣnavī* in the Hindī language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā'ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Makhdūm Shaikh[7] Taqīu-d-Dīn Wāiẓ Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,[8] and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and[9] when certain learned men of that time asked the Shaikh[10] saying, what is the reason for this Hindī Maṣnavī being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Āyats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindūstān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive. 250.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Ẓafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.[11]

1 Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihlī was that the army had been lost ('Afīf. Text, p. 211).

2 Amīr Ḥusain son of the late Amīr Mīran (Elliott III. 326).

3 Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).

4 'Afīf says the son of the Jām and Tamāchī brother of Bānhbana were appointed to rule over Thatha.

5 *See* Elliott III. 371.

6 MS. (A) reads حدایں *Ḥadāyan* without dots, and also reads حندا *Ḥandā*. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

7 MS. (A) omits شیخ. 8 MS. (A) بر سر ممبر.

9 MS. (A) reads و مردم را از استماع آن حالات غریبه روی میداد و.

10 MS. (A) پرسیدند.

11 According to Firishta, Ẓafar Khān died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryā Khān.

Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fatḥ Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Dīn Dāmaghāni having obtained the yellow girdle and the *Chanḍol* of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrāt in place of Ẓafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddamzādas [1] and Abyssinians, together with valuables and money, when
251. he found that he could not perform his promises he was compelled to rebel.

And in the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.) the Amīrs of hundreds [2] of Gujrāt put him to death and sent his head to the Court; thus that rebellion was quelled, and thereafter Gujrāt was put under the control of Farḥatu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī.[3]

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak [4] and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihlī, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Fīrozpūr and Batlāhī, [5] in charge of the son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihlī. In this year also Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sulṭān, died, and the governorship of that province devolved upon Malik Ṣaifu-d-Dīn his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.) having gone [6] to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābād and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills,[7] and receiving many presents from

1 مقدمزادة *muqaddamzāda* has the same meaning as خانه زاد *Khānazād*, born in the house.

2 Briggs' "Ameer Jadeeda" is in the original text امیران صدة *Amīrān-i-Ṣada* as in Badāoni.

3 We see from Firishta that it was now he acquired the title Farḥatu-l-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).

4 Firishta gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zemindars of Itāwa. Instead of اکچک *Akchak*, Firishta reads اکهل *Akhal*. He says اتاوة و اکهل و تیلای *Itāwa, Akhal*, and *Tīlāī*.

5 تیلای *Tīlāī* Firishta.

6 MS. (A) رفته.

7 Firishta says بداعن کوة سهارن پور. To the foot of the hills of Sahāranpūr.

the Rāis and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nuṣrat Khān,[1] from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district,[2] with a view to close the door to Mughul intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and[3] Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku-sh-Sharq[4] Suleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H. (1380 A.D) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khūkhar Rāi Chief of Kaithar[5], who had invited and put to death by 252. treachery both Saiyyid Muḥammad and Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn his brother,[6] who were Governors of Badāon. The rebellious Khūkhar[7] fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khiṭāb the Afghān in the country of Sambhal[8] to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Qabūl; Qabūlpūra which at present is a quarter of Badāon lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal[9] country.

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūlī[10] which is seven *krohs* from Badāon and is better

1 MS. (A). 2 طرف.

3 MS. (A).

4 Firishta calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān.

5 MS. (A) reads. رای کهو کهر مقدم کیتهر. Firishta reads موسوم بکهرکو مقدم کتهر. The chief of Kaithar called Kharkū.

6 Firishta says Saiyyid Muḥammad governor of Budāon with his brothers Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Saiyyid Maḥmūd.

7 کهرکو Kharkū (Firishta).

8 Firishta سنبل MS. (A) سنبهل. Firishta calls him ملک داود افغان Malik Dā'ūd Afghān.

9 MS. (A) کیتهر. Kaithar. Firishta states he had given Malik Dā'ūd orders to ravage the country year by year.

10 Possibly from the abundance there of the *Acacia Arabica* known as Babūl or Kikar. However Firishta calls it بسولي. Basūlī.

known as Mawās,[1] and gave it the name[2] of Fīrūzpūr, and since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sulṭān it became commonly known as Ākhirīnpūr.[3] Now-a-days although not a trace of that building remains, still from the old bricks and the foundations and general lie of that high ground it is evident that once upon a time there was a building on that site.[4] The age of the Sulṭān was now nearly ninety years, and how truly had these verses come to pass—

When thou reachest eighty or ninety years
Great is the vexation thou reapest from the world;
And going further when thou reachest the hundredth stage
Death will then be to thee a form of life.

Khān-i-Jahān[5] the Vazīr who had obtained great influence in the affairs of the state, and was in a position to overthrow those who opposed his schemes of self-aggrandisement, at a hint from the Sulṭān destroyed one party and put to death another, and making
253. accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Maliks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sulṭān against him, and gave him a fixed idea[6] that this confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne; accordingly the Sulṭān set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of those Amīrs. The Shāhzāda, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sulṭān, one day in private[7] came into the Sulṭān's presence and loyally told him the whole truth, and informed him also of the treacherous designs of Khān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned.[8] Obtaining *carte blanche* from the Sulṭān to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

[1] Or Mawāsāī MS. (A) مواسای.

[2] MS. (A) نام آن گذاشت.

[3] *i. e.* Last city.

[4] MS. (A) omits زمین.

[5] Briggs says Zaffur Khān Farsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jūnān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, *note* 7.

[6] MS. (A) خاطر نشان او کرد.

[7] Firishta tells us that he came in concealed in a woman's litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sulṭān's harem.

[8] MS. (A) قضیه منعکس شد و.

side[1] the Fīrūzī Amīrs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H. (1387 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khān-i-Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khān-i-Jahān fled[2] with a few followers towards Mīwāt, and took refuge there with one Kūkā a *Zamīndār*;[3] and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amīrs who had been well-disposed to Khān-i-Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazīr with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sulṭān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn wa-ud Dunyā Muḥammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday *Khuṭbah* the names of both kings used to be mentioned;[4] Sulṭān Muḥammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amīrs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qūb the title[5] of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān-i-Jahān in Mīwāt; Kūkā Chūhān a Zamīndār of Mīwāt[6] bound Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān, who put him to death,[7] and having sent 254
his head as a present to the Court of Muḥammad Shāh set out[8] for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) Muḥammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmūr hills, and Malik Mufarriḥ who was in Gujrāt, in unison with the Amīrs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

1 MS. (A) متفق گردانیدند.

2 Having first put to death Ẓafar Khān (Firishta).

3 Firishta calls him Kūkāe Chauhān.

4 *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, pp. 297 and 305.

5 The word خطاب must be inserted here though no copy has it.

6 MS. (A) omits the words زمیندار میوات.

7 MS. (A) بقتل رسانیدند. The first Khān-i-Jahān was according to 'Afīf originally a Hindū. He was a native of Telingana and a man of high position in favour with the Rāi of that country. His name was Katlū, but on becoming a Muslīm he was named Maqbūl. 'Afīf states that he died in 707 A. H. and when he died all Dihlī went into mourning. This Khān-i-Jahān was his son Jūnān Khān.

8 MS. (A) روانه شد.

came with the *Sipahsālār* to Dihlī; Muḥammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sulṭān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samāu-d-Dīn and Kamālu d Dīn, who were the *protégés* of Muḥammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Lāhorī whom the Shāhzāda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muḥammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sulṭān, so that they took refuge with the Sulṭān Fīrūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sulṭān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sulṭān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muḥammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sulṭān Fīrūz they left fighting and came over to the Sulṭān. Muḥammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmūr hills, and the army of the Sulṭān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muḥammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sulṭān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muḥammad Shāh
55. from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān[1] the son of Fatḥ Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mīr Ḥasan the son-in-law of the Sulṭān, who was a special favourite of Muḥammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramaẓān in the year 790 H. Sulṭān Fīrūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

[1] So Firishta. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen ..... upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان: Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān. This was Ghīāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafāt-i-Fīrūz* and *Naql i-Fīrūz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit.[1] The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.[2]

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed!
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.[3]

Among the poets of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh and his boon-companions, is Malik Aḥmad, the son of Amīr Khusrū, *may God have* 25
mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men; and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Ẓahīr[4]

زهی ربوده زرفعت کلاه گوشهٔ تو
کلاه گوشهٔ گردون ز روی عیاری[5]

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

[زهی طپانچهٔ قهر تو از طریق نفاذ

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

1 وفات فیروز. *Wafāt-i-Fīrūz.* These words give the value 790 while *Naql-i-Fīrūz Shāh* نقل فیروز شاه give 789.

2 Firishta says nearly forty years, p. 271, Bo. text.

3 That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals.

4 Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad, a co-temporary of Jamālu-d-Dīn Iṣfahānī and Ḥakīm Khāqānī Shīrwānī., was a native of Fāryāb.

He died in the year 598. H. and is buried at Surkhāb of Tabrīz which has been called "the Sepulchre of the Poets." His poetry was held in great estimation. (*Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥā* I. 330) see also Beale O. B. D., p. 286.

5 MS. (A) reads جباری for عیاری see also footnote to text.

and in place of ربودة (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read فگندة (thrown)]; [1] and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گو گرد سرخ خواست
گر نان خواجه خواستي آن را چه کردمی

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur: [2]
If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گرمشک خواند خاک درت را فلک مرنج
نرخ گهر بطعن خریدار نشکند

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنگ درت مشتري مرنج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.

And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Aḥmad was the real son of Amīr Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

[1] The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).
The verse would then read as follows:

زهی طپانچهٔ قهر تو از طریق نفاذ کلاه گوشهٔ گردون فگندهٔ ز عیاری

[2] گوگرد احمر *Gūgird-i-Aḥmar* (Sulphur). The red Gūgird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in Al-Iksīr (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abūl-arwāḥ (Father of spirits), they call this Abūl-ajsād (Father of bodies).
It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāṭi'*.)

Another poet was Maulānā Maẓhar Karra,[1] whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnautī and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is Qāẓī 'Ābid[2] who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes ?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes ! perforce ;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh ibn Fatḥ Khān ibn Sulṭān Fīrūz

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amīrs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with 258.
the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiyaṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amīrs to oppose Muḥammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muḥammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty[3] of the way turned back (to Dihlī) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Ẓafar Khān and grandson of Fatḥ Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,[4] and Malik Ruknu-

1 In the *Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā* he is called Maẓhar-i-Hindī Qāẓī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Fīrūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Ataṣh Kada. i-Azur* merely mentions his name as Maẓharī.

2 Neither the *Majma' ul Fuṣaḥā* nor *Ataṣh Kada-i-Azur* mention this poet.

3 MS. (A) صعب.

4 MS. (A) بچانبي پدر رفت و.

d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, in concert with other Amīrs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Mubārak) Kabīr[1] in Fīrūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr[2] when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads[3] over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Ṣafar[4] in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.[5]

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.][6]

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ẒAFAR KHĀN [IBN FATḤ KHĀN[7]] IBN FĪRŪZ SHĀH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amīrs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amīrs, and raised Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda to the dignity of Vazīr, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Dīn in concert with certain of the Amīrs, was plotting sedition,
9. and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihlī and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amīrs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malik Sulṭān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishta calls him Amīru-l-Umarā.
2 Firishta tells us that this was Malik Fīrūz 'Ali son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn.
3 MS. (A) inserts را.
4 MS. (A) در صفر سنه. Firishta says 21st of Ṣafar.
5 MS. (A) writes پنجماه بود و هژده روز.
6 Not in MS. (A).
7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence. for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabī'ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabī'ul Ākhir of the same year, set out to capture Dihlī with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Numā where he bestowed upon the Amīrs suitable appointments; among others[1] he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khizr Khān; and Abū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāhir Khān Zāda of Mīwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādīu-l Awwal[2] of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Fīrūzābād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doāb, and sent Humayūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amīrs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihlī. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abū Bakr 260.
Shāh and was again defeated, and Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chaptar,[3] which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amīrs from the frontier of Sāmāna to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihlī, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood[4] of Pānīpath with 'Imādu-l-Mulk who had been sent by Abū Bakr (Shāh)[5] with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jamādīu-l Awwal of the aforesaid year Abū Bakr Shāh marched for Chaptar (Chītar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty *kroh* from Dihlī, when Muḥammad Shāh with

1 MS. (A) از آنجمله.

2 The text and MS. (A) both read بتاريخ جمید الاول.

3 MS. (A) چپتر. The text reads چیتر *Chītar*. Firishta says الیسر *Jālesar*. Bo. text p. 275.

4 MS. (A) در نواحي.

5 MS. (A) omits the word شاه.

four thousand men,[1] passing unobserved round his right flank,[2] reached Dihlī by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihlī, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangī whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chītar) his original abode and asylum.[3] Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still[4] the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū
261. Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaẓān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Fīrūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence[5] with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;[6] Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to *Kotila*[7] of Mīwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and 'Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Baḥrī and Ṣafdar Khān in Dihlī; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihlī for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Fīrūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashīr Chap,

1 Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

2 چپ غلط کردہ. Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکہ نزدیک گشت راہ چپ کردہ

3 MS. (A) جانب دهلي ایلغار فرمود کہ مقر و صفر اصلي او بود.

4 MS (A) adds here چون. 5 MS. (A) خطهای.

6 MS. (A) استدعا نمودند.

7 کوتکہ *kotla*. Hindī कोटला *koṭlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Mīwāt, *see* Firishta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Fīrūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 292, *note* 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupele" *see* Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khān, was promoted to the rank of Vazīr, and after some time he left Firūzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jahān (Numā),[1] and gave orders for the slaves of the Firūzī party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,[2] and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the *Kotila* (of Mīwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh[3] by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. Bahādur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mīrath. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.)[4] the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

[1] MS. (A) omits نما.

[2] This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firishta's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muḥammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes,

ناصر الدین محمد شاہ فرمود که هرکه از شما کهرا کهري گوید اصیل است و چون بطوریکه پاد شاہ میخواست تلفظ نمیتوانستند نمود و بزبان مردم پورب وبنگاله ادا میکردند کشته میشدند - Firishta Bo. text p. 267.

Muḥammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Kharā says Kharī, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word *Khārī* signified *brackish* as applied to water: natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word *Khārā* in place of Khārī, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word *pānī*, water.

[3] محمد شاہ MS. (A) not in the text.

[4] There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes, درسنه ثلاث و خمسین و سبعمایه. 753 H. see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 303.

Verse.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak][1]
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihlī in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,[2] and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī governor of Gujrāt revolted, and Ẓafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb[3] breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi[4] defeated him, while the Sulṭān went as far as Qanauj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chītrā[5] which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarrabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

[1] Not in MS. (A.)

[2] MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزادهٔ خود ابوبکر در سنهٔ مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سریر دهلي دم از استقلال زد.

[3] MS. (A) omits سواس.

[4] Rājā of Itāwa.

[5] *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 *n.* 1.
This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.
For Jalesar *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements[1] induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muḥammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sulṭān was attacked by illness; taking advantage 26
of this Bahādur Nāhir made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihlī. The Sulṭān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sulṭān victorious and triumphant returned to Muḥammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān to oppose Shaikhā Khūkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhzāda was still in the city when the Sulṭān[2] took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ*:[3] the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Maṣnavī.

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
Here is no truth and no faithfulness; here are no friends and no friendship;
Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent experience.[4]

Sulṭān ʿAlāu-d-Dīn Sikandar Shāh ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Fīroz Shāh,

Who bore the name of Humāyūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

[1] MS. (A) قول و قرار داده.

[2] He died according to Firishta's account on the 17th of Rabīʿu-l-Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ*. Text, p. 278.

[3] The *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ* was a reservoir constructed by Fīrūẓ Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnāma of Yazdī to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Fīrūz Shāh is by its side." Elliott, III, 441-501.

See also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 310 *note* 1.

[4] MS. (A) and footnote to Text read: دیدهٔ و از مودهٔ صدبار.

Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.[1]

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.
The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāti Ḥarīrī I have seen a Maqāmah from this work].[2]

SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD SHĀH IBN-I-MUḤAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,[3] ascended the throne[4] on the twentieth of Jumādiu-l-Awwal[5] in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,[6] with the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,[7] and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments[8] districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq[9] upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar[10] and took possession of it,

[1] And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).

[2] The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

[3] Firishta also says کوچکترین پسران. the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

[4] MS. (A) omits سلطنت.

[5] Text reads جمادی الاولی.

[6] The text reads here بر حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong. MS. (A) reads سعت and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we should, I think read بر حکم بیعت "relying upon the allegiance." Firishta reads: جملهٔ اکابر و امرا باوی بیعت کرده سر در ربقهٔ فرمان آوردند.

[7] Firishta says became Vakīlu-s-Salṭanat and Amīru-l-Umarā.

[8] MS. (A) ولایات و خطابات.

[9] So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark," p. 478.

[10] Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnautī began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihlī.

He also rebuilt[1] the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandīla, Malūta,[2] Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dībālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khūkhar. And in the month of Zū Qa'dah of the same year Shaikhā Khūkhar[3] fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Sāmothala[4] which is twelve *krohs* from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother 'Ādil Khān,[5] and returned towards Dībālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sulṭān[6] Maḥmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dihlī, and taking with 265.
him Sa'ādat Khān, who was commonly known[7] as 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sulṭānī, marched in the direction of Bīāna and Gwāliār. In obedience to the order of the Sulṭān a spacious chief mosque[8] built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time, and when[9] the Sulṭān arrived near Gwāliār, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, and Malloo Khān[10] the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū[11] conspired against Sa'ādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.[12]

[1] MS. (A) تعمیر فرمود و.

[2] MS. (A) Dalmūr دلمور.

[3] MS. (A) supplies کهوکهر. Firishta says "advancing from Ajūdhan."

[4] Firishta does not give the name of the place.

[5] MS. (A) reads لاهور را برادر خویش عادل خان.

[6] MS. (A) repeats the words

محمود مغرب خان را به نیابت در شهر گذاشته و سعادت خان را که بعد الرشید سلطانی —

[7] MS. (A.) اشتهار داشت.

[8] MS. (A) omits و.

[9] MS. (A) omits چون.

[10] MS. (A) omits خان. Firishta calls this man Malloo Khān.

[11] So also Firishta.

[12] Firishta writes بکشت. Badāonī apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment.

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihlī. The Sulṭān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,[1] entrenched himself and prepared to fight[2] and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān.[3]

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'ādat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'ādat Khān went to Fīrūzābād,[4] and acting in concert with some of the Amīrs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Fatḥ Khān and grandson of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh[5] from Mīwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'ādat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Fīrūzī party and some elephant drivers joined with Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'ādat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'ādat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and[6] of necessity took to flight and came

[1] MS. (A) omits خان.

[2] MS. (A) شده.

[3] This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishta writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sulṭān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and arr ıy of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihlī to fight against Sa'ādat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city." (Firishta, Bo. text p. 279). *Cf.* Briggs, p. 480.

[4] Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishta).

[5] The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فیروز شاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

[6] MS. (A) و.

to Dihlī, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously [1] put to death by him: then the Amīrs of Nuṣrat Shāh's faction such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazīr and Shihāb Nāhir and Malik Faẓlu-llāh Balkhī,[2] and the slaves of Fīrūz Shāh's party one and all [3] renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sulṭān Maḥmud was known as King in Dihlī, while in Fīrūzābād Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title,[4] and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihlī under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī, and bestowed upon Malloo Khān [5] the title of Iqbāl Khān,[6] and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,[7] who were like the two kings in the game of chess.[8] Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doāb, and Sanbhal, Pānīpath, Rohtak, and Jahjar,[9] while a few old ruined forts such as Dihlī and Sīrī and the rest, remained in the hands of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwand-i-'Ālam) is from Dihlī to Pālam.[10] And all over Hindustān there arose various parties each with its own Malik.[11]

Verse.

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers.

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihlī party got the better of the Fīrūzābād [12] party and at another time the positions were reversed.

1 MS. (A) omits بعذر.

2 المخاطب بقتلغخان. (Firishta).

3 MS. (A) omits بتمام.

4 See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, 312, *note* 1, and 318, *note* 1.

5 MS. (A) omits خان.

6 Firishta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.

7 For a space of three years (Firishta).

8 That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.

9 *Cf.* Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 313, *notes* 1-2.

10 Ḥukm-i-Khudawand-i-'Ālam az Dihlī tā Pālam.

11 *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 315 *n.* 1.

12 MS. (A) فیروزیان.

Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.[1]

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Musnad-i-'Alī*,[2] Khiẓr Khān, the Amīr of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dīpālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khiẓr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dīpālpūr,[3] Multān passed from the possession of Khiẓr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome[4] Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wālī of Pānīpath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihlī.[5] Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās[6] a slave of the Fīrūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.[7]

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated[8] and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundī, and sending Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,[9] Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson[10] of the

[1] The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

او شش ماه نرو شش ماه مادہ میباشد و بعضي گویند یکسال نرو یکسال مادہ است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Ḥaiyātu-l-Ḥaiwān* says nothing about this (art. حدا and عقاب,) but mentions a statement that the عقاب *'uqāb* eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Slane) iii, 305.

[2] *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, *n.* 1.

[3] MS. (A) omits the words حاکم دیپالپور.

[4] MS. (A) omits و.

[5] MS. (A) omits و.

[6] MS. (A) الیاس also Firishta.

[7] In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (Firishta).

[8] MS. (A) reads افتاد و سمت ملتان.

[9] MS. (A) reads سنة مذکور.

[10] MS. (A) نبسه Firishta writes نبیرهٔ.

great Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān[1] King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,[2] and was besieging the fortress of Uchh.[3] 'Alī Malik, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khān, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār and his thousand sowārs[4] unawares in their position on the banks of the river Bīāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction;[5] and Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad[6] after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,[7] and invested the fortress of Multān.[8] Sārang Khān held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mīrzā,[9] who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Tīmūr.

[1] MS. (A) گورگاني. *Gurgānī*. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom "Ḳurkān or Gurgān stands for 'son-in-law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some "mighty monarch." In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by Rashīda-d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkān or Gurgān represents the Chinese expression *Fu-mā* and that the Amīr Tīmūr was called *Timūr Fu-mā* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chun-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. *Fu-mā* in fact means "son-in-law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's Turkī Dictionary we find "گورگان prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenguiz-Khān: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d'un Khakan: surnom de Timour; savant, beau, poli." *see* also Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 464. *n.*

[2] By a bridge of boats (Firishta). [3] اوچه (Firishta.)

[4] MS. (A) omits the words بختيار هزار سوار. [5] Firishta says چنانچه اكثر آن مردم در وقت گريز بقتل رسيدند و بعضي درآب غرق گشتند. Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

[6] MS. (A) omits پير محمد. [7] MS. (A) omits تمام.

[8] Firishta tells us that Malik Tāju-d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān.

[9] Being compelled by famine (Firishta).

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Malloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahān-numā,[1] taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihlī. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nuṣrat Shāh fled from Jahān-numā and came to Fīrūzābād,[2] and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vazīr at Pānīpath. The whole[3] of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days[4] Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,[5] and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sulṭān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month
9. of Ẓū Qa'dah of the aforesaid[6] year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānī-path by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānīpath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country[7] to the winds left Dihlī and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.[8] Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihlī bestowed upon Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Ṣafar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amīr

1 MS. (A) reads جهان پناه but Firishta reads جهان نما as in the text.

2 MS. (A) آمد و. 3 MS. (A) تماشي. 4 MS. (A) روز.

5 Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

6 MS. (A) سنهٔ مذکور..

7 اولکه *Aulaka* or اولکا *aulakā*. A Turkī word signifying "province, ville, pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille.

8 His father Ẓafar Khān (Firishta).

Tīmūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,[1] and taking Multān, put to the sword[2] the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khān whom Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhaṭ,[3] and having taken prisoner Rāī Jaljīn[4] Bhatī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there[5] and taking Sāmāna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dīpālpūr and Ajūdhan and Sarsutī,[6] who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamna, and entered the Doāb,[7] and sweeping the greater part of the country

1 Text تلينه MS. (A) طلبيه Firishta تلبهنه. Ṭulumba (*see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII. 163) is shewn in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, Langana being at the junction of the Chināb and Rāvī: (Tieff. III.).

Firishta says. "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamū and the Chenāb meet where there was a strong fortress called Talanbha." Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chunab with the Ravy."

From Ṭulumba Firishta tells us Timūr marched to Shāhnawāz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajūdhan and Bhatnīr. Shāhnawāz is shewn in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Rāvī, Long. 72° E. Lat. 30 5. N. Ajūdhan is Pāk Pattan, and is about 80 miles S.-W. of Shāhnawāz. Here is the tomb of Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganji Shakkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhatnīr is about 90 miles. Firishta says from Khāliṣkol to Bhatnīr is fifty *Kroh*. *See* Elliott III. 415 *et seqq*, for the description of this campaign translated from the *Malfuẓāt-i-Timūrī*. Timūr calls Khāliṣ kol, Khāliṣ Kotalī, and says it is ten *kos* from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhatnīr.

2 MS. (A) گذرانيد.

3 MS. (A) بهت پور. *Bhatpar* This should be بهت نير Bhatnīr, see *note* 1 above. Firishta says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khāliṣ kol) and Bhatnīr in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

4 The Bombay text of Firishta has راو خلجي Rao Khiljī, *see* also Briggs Firishta p. 488 *footnote*. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāī Jaljīn as the name of the governor of the fort. The *Malfūẓāt-i-Timūrī* calls him Rāo Dūl Chain, *see* Elliott III. 422-423.

5 On the 3rd of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

6 5th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal, *see* Elliott III. 426–428.

7 MS. (A) عبره كرده ميان دو آب در آمده.

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī [1] not far from Dihlī;[2] and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen [3] into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war [4] sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Tīmūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Fīrūzābād [5] and the next day encamped above the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,[6] so complete was the rout. And in this defeat [7] many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sulṭān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

[1] Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieff. I. 136. *Lounī* ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort. Tīmūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'u-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn.

[2] MS. (A) نزديكي. [3] MS. (A) اوفتادة بود.

[4] The reward of the غازي "Ghāzī" or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined "God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet." He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The جهاد *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (*See* Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

[5] Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ; and *see* Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq*.

The date given by Badāonī is apparently wrong, as the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir. *See* Elliott, III. 443 and *note* 1.

[6] MS. (A) omits درون and writes بشهر.

[7] Not in MS. (A) which reads و خلقي عظيم.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight.[1] Sulṭān Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujrāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Tīmūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihlī, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,[2] and took them all off towards Transoxiāna; eventually Shaikh Aḥmad Kathū[3] whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez[4] in Gujarāt near to Aḥmadābād, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Tīmūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again[5] the learned doctors who were with the

1 On the 7th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir.

2 Firishta حكم بغارت واسر اهل دهلي فرمود. *See* Elliott, III. 447.

3 MS. (A) كتو.

Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu was born at Dihlī A.H. 737 (A.D. 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Naṣiru-d-Dīn. He was a disciple of Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī, and came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujarātī (A.D. 1411–13). He was buried in Sarkhech near Aḥmadābād, (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett], III. 371).

Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khaṭṭu a village near Nāgor, the residence of his spiritual guide Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujarāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Aḥmadābād, in the building of which he was associated with Sulṭān Aḥmad, A.H. 813–20.

He died at Sarkhej in 849 A.H., aged 111 years, and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muḥammad Shāh I, the son of Aḥmad Shāh, and to have been completed by his son and successor Quṭbu-d-Dīn Shāh. *See* Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 90-91, *notes*.

4 The text reads سركهچ احمد اباد *vide* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann), Text, II. 220.

The text of Badāonī reads سرخيز MS. (A) reads سركنج.

Tieffenthaler, I. 377 speaks of it as follows:—"A trois milles de *Guzarate* se trouve *Sarkés*, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par *Gaus Ahmad* Roi du Guzarate" again at page 375 we find "*Gaus Ahmad*, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkés, distant de 3 milles de la ville."

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Asāwal in the vicinity of which Aḥmadābād was built by Sulṭān Aḥmad, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.).

5 MS. (A) بحثهاى الزامى كرده.

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Tīmūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded [1] to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after
271. this victory Khiẓr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī,[2] who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Mīwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Tīmūr; [3] orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khiẓr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,[4] and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رخا (*Rakhā*, affluence, prosperity) and خار (*Khār*,[5] a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar [6] also, who had formerly served the Amīr and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpūr and Multān to Khiẓr Khān he

1 MS. (A) قبول فرمودند.

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabī'u-l-Ākhir according to the Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badāonī omits to mention the capture of Mīrat (29th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

4 According to the account in the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Tīmūr at Kūtila.

5 Both of these words give the date. رخا = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801
خار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

6 Tīmūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jamādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Tīmūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri* states that Tīmūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabhān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākher and the 3rd of Rajab. *See* Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him[1] 'I have taken Dihlī and have made a present of it to you.' Leaving Lāhor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kābul to his capital Samarqand while Khiẓr Khān went to his own territory (*jāgīr*).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihlī that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihlī. In this interval Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbāl Khān had gone into the Doāb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mīrath and thence to Fīrūzābād, and fortified the city of Dihlī. 'Ādil Khān and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls, coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him; when he had got together this company he nominated Shihāb Khān to proceed to Baran against Iqbāl Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindūs attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbāl Khān with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nuṣrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbāl Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihlī, and Nuṣrat Shāh leaving Fīrūzābād made for Mīwāt where 272.
he died, and the four quarters of Hindustān came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes.[2]

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Shams Khān Auḥadī[3] the ruler of Baiāna, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nūh and Patal; fortune favoured Iqbāl Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiāna. Iqbāl Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh.[4] And in this same year Khwāja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

1 MS. (A) reads here حواله نموده بر زبان میرفت.

2 Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. *See* Briggs I. 498.

3 According to Firishta this was in 803 H.

4 MS. (A) رای هر سنگه Rāi Harsing was Rāi of Itāwa. By Kaithar or Katehar is meant Rohilkhand. *See* Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 325, *note* 2.

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?"
How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?"
What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,[1] having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamaidu-l-Awwal[2] in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāī Sīr[3] the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned[4] to their own
273. country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.[5] In this same year Turkbacha Sulṭānī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khiẓr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amīrs put him to death.

1 His adopted son Malik Wāṣil.

2 All MSS. write this constantly جميد الاول instead of جمادي الاول.

3 Firishta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبهٔ بيتالي كه كنار نهر گنگ است رسيد راى سنير ..... بمقابله آمد

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāi Sanīr ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpānī is the Kālī Naddī or Kālinī (*see* Hunter *Imp. Gazett.* VII. 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Tīmūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

4 The text here is wrong; for باز كشيد read بار گشتند MS. (A).

5 MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firishta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Dihlī from Dhār, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahān Numā [1] palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sulṭān Maḥmūd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sulṭān Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Iqbāl Khān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony; Sulṭān Maḥmūd accordingly removed Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān of Herāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiery, joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihlī, so that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān made an 274.
attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rāi Harsingh [2] had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Tīmūr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairām Dev the son of Harsingh,[3] took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tātār Khān the son of Ẓafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asāwal, assuming to himself the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Ẓafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

[1] MS. (A) reads جهان پناه *Jahānpanāh*. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihlī connecting old Dihlī with Sīrī. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates; of the other two, Sīrī had seven gates, and old Dihlī ten gates. *See* Elliott, III. 448. The palace was called *Jahān Numā* as in the text.

[2] Firishta calls him نرسنگه *Narsingh*.

[3] Both MSS. and text read هرسنگه *Harsingh*.

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihlī without accomplishing his object..

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,[1] and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and flayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khiẓr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn and the other *Zamīndārs*, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumādiu-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khiẓr Khān in the neighbourhood of
275. Ajūdhan,[2] on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);[3] and since

[1] In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57′ N. Long. 76° 33′ E. on the south bank of the Sutlej, (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 82).

[2] Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpattan. Lat. 30° 20′ 40″ N. Long. 73° 25′ 50″ E. It is known as Pākpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistān, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the *Muḥarram* festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214–219.

[3] In the text and MSS. we read اجودهن در کنار دهندهٔ. *Ajūdhan dar kinār i-dihinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill-fortune attended Iqbāl Khān,[1] he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khiẓr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fatḥpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir of this year Sulṭān Maḥmūd came from Qanauj at the invitation of the Amīrs of Dihlī, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihlī, and conferred appointments upon the Amīrs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched with a force towards Qanauj, and Sulṭān Ibrāhim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.[2]

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm went towards Jaunpūr, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd towards Dihlī, but seeing that the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm turned back and besieged Qanauj; Malik Maḥmūd Tarmati, who was holding Qanauj for Sulṭān Maḥmūd, kept Sulṭān Ibrāhīm engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanauj to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.[3] Sulṭān Ibrāhīm passed the rainy season at Qanauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpila, started to reduce Dihlī.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajūdhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badāonī's statement. The town of Ajūdhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A. G. of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajūdhan is situated on the high bank of the old Satlej 28 miles to the south-west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Badāonī's statement it is clear that Ajūdhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pākpattan, *see* note 2.

1 There is a play on the words اقبال *Iqbāl*, good fortune and ادبار *Idbār*, bad fortune.

2 According to Firishta Ibrāhīm Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpūr by the intelligence that Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt had taken prisoner Alp Khān, commonly called Sulṭān Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpūr.

3 MS. (A).

The text has the words فتح کردہ which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz,[1] and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marḥabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sulṭān Maḥmūd and joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sulṭān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihlī, where he learned that Ẓafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār[2] and was making his way to Jaunpūr;[3] accordingly leaving Malik Marḥabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sulṭān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marḥabā in battle, and taking Sambhal[4] without a fight, left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sulṭān came to Dihlī. And in this year Khiẓr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.[5] The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihlī fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd proceeding to Ḥissār Fīrūz took it[6] from Qiwām Khān to whom Khiẓr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata[7] turned back towards Dihlī: Khiẓr Khān then

[1] Or probably Gurgandūz "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads كنيجه. (P) *kinja*, which means a huge elephant.

[2] In Central India. Lat. 23° 36′ N. Long. 75° 4′ E. see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IV. 248.

[3] In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23′ 45″ and 26° 12′ N. Long. 82° 10′ and 83° 7′ 45″ E.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VII 152.

[4] In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35′ 5″ N. Long. 78° 36′ 45″ E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

[5] Tieff. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihlī.

[6] MS. (A) reads ان حصار را Firishta call the fortress فیروزه Fīrūza.

[7] Or رنه Rana MS. (A).

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fatḥābād to oppose Sulṭān Maḥmūd,[1] and laid siege to Dihlī, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dihlī, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fatḥpūr.[2]

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)[3] Bairām Khān Turkbacha,[4] who after the death of Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khiẓr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khiẓr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in fief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak[5] for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fatḥpūr.[6] In this year Sulṭān Maḥmūd made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Dihlī. 277.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān came to Narnūl[7] and Mīwāt[8] and ravaged that country, and blockading Sulṭān

[1] MS. (A) reads here از فتحا باد بر آمده رهتک بچنگ سلطان آمده دهلي را محاصره کرد

[2] For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. *cf.* Firishta, Bo. text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

[3] The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

[4] MS. (A) inserts به before بیرام خان and omits را after سامانه.

Firishta says that Ikhtiyār Khān joined Khiẓr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

[5] Held according to Firishta by Malik Idrīs on behalf of Maḥmūd Shāh.

[6] By way of Sāmāna (Firishta).

[7] Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firishta).

[8] *Mīwāt.* For an account of this Province see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. IX. pp. 418 and *seqq.* from which the substance of this note is taken :

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājpūts, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mīnas. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn ; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Mīwāt lay south of Dihlī and in Mughul times formed part of the Ṣūbah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Maḥmūd in the fortress of Sīrī, which is part of Dihlī,[1] and Ikhtiyār Khān in Fīrozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege[2] by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fatḥpūr by way of Pānīpatḥ.[3]

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)[4] Sulṭān Maḥmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Fīrūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years[5] and two months, during which Sulṭān Maḥmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" save the Almighty?

Verse.

A head which the fates exalt to a lofty position
They later on entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rewārī. Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgāon, a considerable portion of Ulwur, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

[1] In the *Malfūẓat-i-Tīmūrī* we read that Tīmūr plundered "all the three cities of Dihlī, by name Sīrī, Jahānpanāh and old Dihlī."

See Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 313, *note* 3.

[2] MS. (A) omits قرار.

[3] *Pānīpath.* A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23′ N. Long. 77° 1′ 10″ E. 53 miles N. of Dilhī. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaikh Ḥasan and Shaikh Bīnā were natives of Pānīpat, *see* Aīn-i-Akbari (B) I. 543, *note* to No. 94.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44.

[4] In the month of Ẓū Qa'da (Firishta). Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but *see* n 2: Badāonī however agrees, with the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, *note* i.

[5] MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماه بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text. So also the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Maḥmūd died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amīrs gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save [1] the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Ẓahīr Dihlavī [2] who has left a Dīwān (anthology) full of *qaṣīdahs* in eulogy (of Maḥmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sulṭān Maḥmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty of the world; **278.**
He removed Dabarān [3] from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye left.[4]
By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the deep-piercing arrow.
The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy favour,
Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty.[5]
Oh thou whose world-conquering sword flashes in the darkness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the darkness of night,
Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last it has overthrown them.

allegiance to Daulat Khān Lodī, who struck the coinage, &c., in Muḥarram of 816 H. it is tolerably clear that he means Zu-l-Qa'da 815 H. as the date of Maḥmūd's death, and not 814 H. as Briggs would have it.

1 Misprint in the text. MS. (A) reads بجز.

2 Qāzī Ẓahīr Dihlavī. I can find no mention of this poet.

3 الدبران The *Hyades* one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation *Taurus* the other being the *Pleiades*.

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades. Thales reckoned two only (α and ε) the two eyes of the Bull. (Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq. 150 a).

4 The constellation *Taurus* is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not α and ε of Taurus as reckoned by Thales.

5 The دباب *rubāb* or lute, is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin.

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author:

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.
Qiblah [1] of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Maḥmūd
Whom the assemblies of Sulṭān have chosen as their Imām.[2]
The Qāẓī of the heavens [3] comes out on foot to receive him
279. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.
He keeps constant watch [4] lest sedition should make a night assault,
Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).
In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour
The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.[5]

[1] This line should read as in MS. (A).

قبلهٔ خلق و قیام دول و دین محمود.

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāonī and that probably the word شه has dropped out after the word دین. This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for دول it reads ودل an evident copyist's error.

قبلهٔ *Qiblah.* This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer: This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v. 139). From the Hijra, Muḥammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. Qiblah.

[2] امام *Imām.* In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalīfah.

[3] قاضي چرخ Qāẓī-i-Charkh. The planet Jupiter.

[4] MS. (A) reads incorrectly همیدار پاس.

[5] This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears: the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one of the various families,
It were not possible to allot the arrows [1] in any better way than this.

The following is also his :

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside the pale of love.
Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,[2]
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shāh Maḥmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the infidels,
Thou would'st say 'Īsa has come forth to slay Dajjāl.[3]
Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.
I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner [4] of the Sulṭān, free him not!

[1] سهام *Sihām*, called also قداح *qidāḥ*, These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر *Al-maisar* (forbidden in the Qur'ān, II. 216, v. 92, 93). In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty-eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called ازلام *azlām*. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, فذ *fazz* (1), توام *tau'am* (2), رقيب *raqīb* (3), نافس *nāfis* (4), حلس *ḥils* (5), مسبل *musbal* (6), معلى *muallā* (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were سفيح *safīḥ*, منيح *manīḥ*, وغد *waghd*. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called ربابة *ribābah*, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as المجيل *al-mujīl* or المفيض *al-mufīż* whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See *Majma'u-l-Baḥrain, Maqāmah*, XIII. p. 99.

[2] The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

[3] دجال *Dajjāl*. See page 278 *n* 4 "A name given in the Ḥadīṣ to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world; a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muḥammad is related to have said there would be about thirty." Hughes' *Dict of Islām*. 64. *See* also Albirūnī *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp 195-196.

[4] MS. (A) بندى MS. (B) بند.

This is also his :

The month of Dai[1] has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold[2]
That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.
The earth is cold and frost bound,[3] the air is even colder than the earth,
In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.
In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,
280. From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.
The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,
I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.
No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.
The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,
When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.
Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day
The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.
The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh,
Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.
So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,
You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.
Shāh Maḥmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

[1] دي The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

[2] MS. (A) omits شد.

[3] MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت آئین. Text and MS. (B).

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with terror.[1]
His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,[2] and he has knowledge,
Because[3] he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.
Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to vazīrs,
The vazīrs have issued no order save on the authority of thy judgment.
If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial of thy virtues[4]
Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, 281.
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks like Suhā[5]
Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take shelter under thy wing.
The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of sweetmeats.
Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance upon thee
I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising thee.
My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises.

1 An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a تجنيس لفظي *tajnīs-i-lafẓī* or play upon words here which cannot be preserved in English. The words آرد صفرا *ārad Ṣufrā*, have two meanings, 1st, draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صفرا is taken as two words or as one.

2 MS. (A) and (B) write دل او مشرق غيب است و وقوفی دارد.

3 MS. (A) write گر. Text and MS. (B) كه.

4 MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم بنوشت.

5 Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. *See* Lane *s. v.* السها.

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee
Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.
As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than its days,
And until the season of Nauroz comes round unpreceded by winter,
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,
Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.
282. The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Īsā, refreshes the soul in the garden
Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.[1]
Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other
Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the Ṣirāṭ-i-mustaqīm.[2]
The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song?
How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has Khiẓr for companion?[3]

[1] "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. *See* Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20–28.

[2] *Ṣirāt-i-mustaqīm.* The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes *art* Ṣirāṭ. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 44. *See* also Lane, *s. v.*

[3] This refers to the legend told by Muḥammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khiẓr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as he drives his pen,
The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the astronomer as he prepares his tables.
The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white garments,
The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wearing as it does a black blanket.[1]
You would say[2] that the narcissus has produced a transcript of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust. Look! it has for each *alif* two *mīms*.[3]
The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes of the fair ones;
Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness, the other comes intoxicated (with love).[4]

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v. 64) was no less than Khiẓr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said, "Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of." Khiẓr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see They embarked in a ship which Khiẓr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khiẓr killed and again roused Moses' impatience; again they found a wall which Khiẓr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khiẓr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'ān XVIII. 64 and following verses.

[1] The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.

[2] The text reads گوئي with a foot note variant نيلي MSS. (A) (B) agree with text.

[3] نرجس or نرگس *Nargis*. The poet's narcissus. Narcissus poëticus N. O. Amaryllidaceæ. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mīms* (م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stoke. Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mīms* (م) form he says the word اُمم *umam*: the plural of اُمّة *ummatun* meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying قد مضت اُمم *generations of men have passed away.*

[4] سنبل *Sumbul*. Nardostachys Jatamansi. N. O. Valerianaceæ. See *note* 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of the garden,
In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when misfortune befalls him.
You would say that the black spot which has come in the heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn
Is a Hindū who has fallen [1] into the flames of hell.
She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes [2]
Beseeching the merciful Lord [3] to grant the King eternal life.
283. He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is as an old man bowed with age,[4]
And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom [5] is as an intelligent child.
When once the power of growth [6] has obtained sufficient intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the earth.
The star of sovereignty,[7] which has left its orbit to seek thy auspicious presence,
Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 *et seqq* for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken "the *true nard* or Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcōsh*, the smoothest of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning *hair*." The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) فرورفته.

[2] The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

[3] MS. (A) رب عظیم.

[4] I read here پیر نگونست *pīr-i-nigūnast* for پیر نکونست (MSS. and text) *pīr-i-nekūst* which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote نگونست *nigūnast*.

[5] عقل کل *'aql-i-kull*. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Ṣūfīs the *'aql-i-kull* (called also *'aql-i-awwal*) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashshāf-fi-Iṣṭilābu-l-funūn*, II. p. 1028.

[6] نامیهٔ for قوت نامیهٔ.

[7] رجوع کوکب *Rujū'-i-kaukab*, called also رجعهٔ *Rija't*, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term استقامهٔ *Istiqāmat*. See Kashshāf, *s. v.* رجوع.

And in truth after Qāzī Ẓahīr no poet arose in Hindūstān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the great Amīrs of Hindūstān as for instance Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idrīs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khiẓr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khiẓr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fatḥpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muḥarram of the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Baitālī, and Mahābat Khān the Wālī of Badāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sulṭān Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khān the son of Maḥmūd Khān in Kālpī, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places; and Khiẓr Khān in Ẓū-l-qa'da of this year came to the fortress of Fīrūzābād,[1] the Amīrs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrīs was besieged in Rohtak. Khiẓr Khān marched by that route to Mīwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Mīwātī the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Ẓū Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihlī with the intention of taking it; Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khiẓr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khiẓr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwām Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Fīrūza and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.[2] 284.

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last[3] spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is his enemy.

Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān ibn Maliku-sh-Sharq[4] ibn Malik Suleimān,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dilhī, having

1 MS. (A) reads به حصار فیروزه آمد.

2 Firishta adds. The duration of his reign was one year and three months.

3 MS. (A) reads عاقبة for آخرش.

4 MS. (A). The text reads ملک اشرف.

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣiru-l-Mulk Marwān Fīrūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Ḥaqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-dīn al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and bason to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that
285. day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Ālī Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Fīrūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malīk Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān on behalf of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sulṭānate by the Amīrs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.[1]

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public *largesse* and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥv[2] (Tuḥfa) the title

[1] See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and *footnote*.

[2] MS. (A) تحفه *Tuḥfa*.

of Tāju-l-Mulk, and appointed him with a considerable following to the command of the eastern districts of Hindūstān; he accordingly crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Pīrāhā,[1] and entered the country of Kaithar. Rāi Har Singh and the rebels of that district sought refuge in the forests of that country[2] and lay hid there. Then he gave over Kaithar to rapine and plunder, whereupon Mahābat Khān Ḥākim of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāi Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rahab, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised 286.
the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād)[3] Kanpila and Baitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakīna[4] and Pādham came to Rāparī;[5] and Hasan Khān and Malik Ḥamra his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāi Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwāliār all came and joined hands with him, agreeing to pay tribute, and voluntarily assuming the yoke of obedience. From thence Malik Tāju-l-Mulk came to the township of Jālesar,[6] which he wrested from the grasp of the infidels of Chandawār, and restored as of old to the control of the Muslims who had held it in days of yore, and gave fresh currency to the Muḥammadan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

[1] MS. (A) از گذر پیراها.

[2] MS. (A) در جنگل آنولایت.

[3] Shamsābād. Town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P. situated on the South bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh town (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 375).

[4] Sakīna. For this we should perhaps read Sakīta (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

Sakīt lies in the direct route indicated between Kanpila and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahlol Lodi died on his return to Dihlī from an expedition against Gwāliār (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*).

[5] Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XI, 511).

[6] On the Doāb plain, 38 miles East of the Jumna, and of Muttra. (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII, 103).

having seized the right bank of the Black water,[1] inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān the younger son[2] of Malik Mubārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Fīrūzpūr and Sihrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir,[3] having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of *Nāib-i-Shāhzāda* (*i.e.*, vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik[4] Sadhū Nādira and Zīrak Khān the Amīr of Sāmāna and other Amīrs and Maliks,[5] set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihlī his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-l-Mulk[6] with a large army to carry the standards of Khiẓr Khān[7] towards Baiāna and Gwāliār; Malik Karīmu-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Auḥadī came and had an interview with him.

87. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādira, who was holding the district of Sihrind as the Shahzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihrind Khiẓr Khān thereupon sent Zīrak Khān to put down this rebellion and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursui of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties h returned.

[1] The Kālī Nadī or Kālindī, or Kālinī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, an drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the tex آب سیاہ *ab-i-sīyāh* means *Black water*, and is a translation of the Hindūstān *kālī naddī*.

[2] MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خوند for پسر خورد.

[3] MS. (A). The text reads نادرہ. [4] MS. (A).

[5] Omit و after ملوک. [6] MS. (A) reads تاج الدین *Tāju-d-Dīn*.

[7] MS. (A) رایات اعلی خضر حانی.

In this year also Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was the ruler of Gujerāt, laid seige to Nāgor,[1] but upon hearing of the march of Khiẓr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khiẓr Khān came to Chhāin,[2] and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwāliār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiāna where Shams Khān Auḥadī gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Ra'īs with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhū revolted. Zīrak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Ānwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four *krohs*. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumāon. Tāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahab and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badāon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlāna: then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dihlī laden with spoil. In this same year, 288.
also, Khiẓr Khān[3] again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitālī, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

[1] *Nāgor*. In Brigg's translation of Firishta this appears as Bagore (I. 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 75 North-East of Jodhpūr city.

[2] The text reads جهابن *Jhāban* but MS. (A) reads چهاين *Chhāin*.
In Brigg's (I. 509) we find this place called Jalwur, with a footnote: "I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS." In the lithographed edition of Firishta the name is written plainly enough جانور *Jānūr* (Bombay Edn. I, 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khiẓr Khān to advance, Aḥmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khiẓr Khān arrived at Jānūr, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called 'Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this "'Arūs-i-Jahān" are the same.

[3] MS. (A) reads here آمد و هم در سنهٔ مذکوره باز بدهلي باز. which appears to be a copyist's error.

Khān Badāonī being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khiẓr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtīyār Khān, and certain of the other Maḥmūd Shāhī Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khiẓr Khān, meditated treason against Khiẓr Khān: but Khiẓr Khān becoming aware of this state of things[1] abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihlī. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,[2] falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khiẓr Khān deputed Sulṭān Shāh Lodī[3] to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sulṭān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.[4] In this same year Khiẓr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.[5] Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihlī. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Dīn died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tūghān Ra'īs again raised an insurrection in Sihrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Dīn was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

1 MS. (A) reads قضیهٔ which is preferable to قصهٔ as found in the text.

2 Firishta, (I. 295) says نزدیک ماچیواڑهٔ near Māchīwāra, and in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lūdhiāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhiāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is further north near Hoshiārpūr. (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, II. 439).

3 Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

4 This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

5 MS. (A) مال واجبی. Firishta calls him Rāi Samīr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān proceeded to Mīwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwāliār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar had gone to hell, and [1] his son had tendered his submission. In this interval [2] a severe illness attacked Khiẓr Khān which led to his return towards Dihlī. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jumādīu-l-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world. 289.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning.
At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.[3]

SULṬĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBNI KHIẒR KHĀN IBNI MALIK SULĪMĀN,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amīrs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)[4] and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khūkar[5] the son of Shaikhā Khūkar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sulṭān 'Alī the king of Kashmīr, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta[6] and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,[7] a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihlī, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a

[1] MS. (A) و. [2] MS. (A) و درین اثنا.

[3] Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubārak Shāh to the throne."

[4] MS. (A) reads correctly اربع for احدی MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

[5] MSS. (A) and (B) omit کهوکهر. Firishta writes کهکر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar.

[6] Thus the text and MS. (B). MS. (A) reads simply بقصبهٔ تته. *Baqasbai Tatta, i. e.*, for the town of Tatta.

[7] MS. (A) درون گهاتي کوه شکست داد The text reads کهانتی.

large army, and assaulted Talaundī which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,[1] and Rāi Fīrūz fled from before him.
290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna[2] and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;[3] there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.[4] Zīrak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zīrak Khān prisoner. Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā[5] released Zīrak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiana. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus[6] when the river became fordable. The Sulṭān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

1 We must read تلوندي كمال الدين. This is shewn to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firishta which reads (I. p. 297), و تلوندي كه براى كمال تعلق داشت غارت كرد "and laid waste Talaundī which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

2 The text and both MSS. read كداهنه Kudūhna, but it is evident that we should read لدهيانه Ludhiāna. We find in Firishta (*loc. cit.*). و حبرت بلود يانه آمدة. "Jasrat having come to Lūdiāna." Talaundī I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Panjābī) *di*, would give Tulūmdī or Tulūndī, *i. e.*, the village of Tulūm. Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (*see* Rennell's map, Tieff., III), on the opposite bank of the river.

3 Rūpar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant: but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

4 A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of *Kulindrine* or *Sulindrine*, *see* Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

5 MS. (A) omits بن probably correctly as we have seen from Firishta's account.

6 Firishta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421).

crossed the river Chhināb [1] came to Talhar [2] in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhīm [3] the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.[4] Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvī for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled; [5] then having left there Malik Maḥmūd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihlī. Five months later Jasrat Khūkar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjānī,[6] *may God sanctify him*, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object [7] withdrew to Kalānor [8] and fought a battle with Rāi Bhīm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace. 291.

Malik Sikander Tuḥfa who had been despatched from Dihlī to reinforce Malik [9] Maḥmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvī by the ford of Pūhī [10] and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces [11] crossed the Chhināb

1 The Chenāb.

2 In the Kashmīr hill tracts.

3 Firishta tells us that Rāi Bhīm offered his services and guided the army to Bīsal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

4 MS. (A) reads رای سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

5 MS. (A) reads شکستگي و پستگي حصار.

6 Firishta says نزدیک شیخ حسین زنجاني فرود آمد.

7 MS. (A) بمقصود خود نرسیده.

8 Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1′ N. Long. 75° 11′ 30″ E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, VII. 323).

9 MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذر پوهی in the next line.

10 Firishta لوئی Lū'ī. *See* however *note* 1 next page.

11 Firishta says that Maḥmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malīk Rajab, Governor of Depālpūr and of Islām Khān Lodī, Governor of Sihrind

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra,[1] and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihlī.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there [2] he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs [3] in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,[4] and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Zīrak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihlī.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār [5] came with the object of chastising the Rāi of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvī, and took refuge in the hills.

[1] This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwāra in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Riāsī (74° 52′ Long. 33° 6′ Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Riāsī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوتلة رفت went to Kotla.

[2] Firishta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sulṭān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

[3] The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Faẓl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs *see* Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

[4] On the south bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

[5] The text reads دهلي Dihlī with a foot-note variant دهار Dhār. MS. (A) reads دهار Dhār. Firishta says, Sulṭān Hoshang Wālī of Mālwa. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital fo the legendary Hindū dynasties of Mālwā. (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār).

subduing that region; Mubārak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwāliār; when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiāna, Shams Khān Auḥadī [1] the son of Auḥad Khān Auḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiāna entrenched himself [2] in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubārak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwāliār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river [3] would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross: however the soldiers of Mubārak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. This 292.
engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Dihlī.

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mīwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindūstān. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Mīwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

[1] MS. (A). The text omits the words Shams Khān Auḥadī. Firishta calls him Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dā'ūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (*see* Bombay Edition, p. 299 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

[2] MS. (A) reads منحصن گشته. The text reads منحصن شده.

[3] Firishta writes of this: And Sulṭān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbal river and opposed his progress, but Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Amīrs of the advance guard of the Dihlī forces pillaged the camp of the Sulṭān of Mālwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubārak Shāh set them free.

Sulṭān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhār. Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihlī in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna, it rises in Mālwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali-Sind, Parbatī and Banas, flows past Dholpūr into Etāwah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etāwah town. The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers. (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 331).

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, and sent the family of Auḥadī to the palace known as Jahān Numā,[1] and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikrī to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Tuḥfa, while he himself led an army against Gwāliār receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihlī from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqī[2] was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon[3] and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.[4] Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartaulī,[5] on arrival at the township of Atraulī[6] received intelligence that Mukhtaṣṣ Khān[7] the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-ṣh-Sharq Maḥmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtaṣṣ Khān. Mukhtaṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water,
93. otherwise known as the Kālinī,[8] and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atraulī encamped at the town of

1 This palace was in Dihlī. Firishta writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihlī."

2 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

3 The text reads بهون کانون *Bhūn gānw* MS. (A) reads بهوکانور *Bhūkānūr*. In Firishta we find افواج شرقیه بهوکانور را تاخته, The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūgāon. Bhongāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 9¼ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhīl* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II. 403.)

4 Badāon lies N. of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

5 Firishta writes, جرتولی ز که از مشاهیر بلاد مواس بود تاخت. Attacked Jartaulī, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

6 Atraulī, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I. 180).

7 Firishta calls him Mukhliṣ Khān.

8 MS. (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī. This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sū of the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* (*see* note 3 page 360).

Kota,[1] but Sharqī declined battle and withdrew towards Rāprī, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār; a space of four *krohs* lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days; at last Sharqī came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqī turned back towards his own country,[2] and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna,[3] and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chaubal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqī had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.[4] Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H. Maliku-sh-Sharq Maḥmūd Ḥasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised[5] those infidels who had made common cause with Muḥammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Fīroza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādira, governor of Multān died, and Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan received the title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwāliār by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāprī district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Ḥamza, and returned 294.

1 Firishta writes مالی کوٹہ *Mālīkota.*

2 Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firishta).

3 Went to Gwāliār by way of Halghāt. (Firishta). MS. (A) ستگانہ *Satgāna.*

4 Firishta says "Muhammad Khān Auḥadī ..... for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sulṭan Sharqī, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.

5 تنبیہ نمودہ MS. (A) تنبیہ دادہ. Text.

to the city (Dihlī). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who h served Khiẓr Khān for thirty years,[1] and held the fief of Taba hinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon o of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.[2] A Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesa Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took posse sion of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyy Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sāli and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhatī[3] oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night atta upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable boo fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Taba hīnda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubār Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him wi a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarte came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mul but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitt 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dih The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals wi the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during whi he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money[4] way of presents to Shaikh 'Alī Mughul who was the ruler Kābul. Shaikh 'Alī accordingly came to his assistance from Kāb with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the sla

[1] Firishta writes
گویند سید السادات سید سالم مدت سی سال در حضور خضر خان ازامرائے عمدہ بود -
"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thi years reckoned by Khiẓr Khān as one of his best Amīrs."

[2] MS. (A) داد Text دادند. Firishta also adds that the whole of th father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed w confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficie to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not expl the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firishta does, he says t these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhīnda and incited him raise a rebellion.

[3] Firishta's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habūlī. (?)

[4] مبلغهای نمایان MS. (A). The text reads مبلغها بوجه.

(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabarhīnda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Bīāh came to Lāhor. Maliku-sh-Sharq Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh 'Alī, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Alī passing by Lāhor without sacking it [1] made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh 'Alī taking the 295.
bank of the river Rāvī, proceeded to within a short distance of Ṭulumba, [2] and turning aside from thence came to Khūṭpūr.[3] ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Alī but was defeated, and Malik Suleiman Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle; [4] [and Shaikh 'Alī came to Khusrūābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].[5]

And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fatḥ Khān ibn-i-Sulṭān Muẓaffar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of that force. Shaikh 'Alī was not able to stand against them,[6] so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position; when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhīlam, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.[7] Shaikh 'Alī and Amīr Muẓaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shiwar; [8] all their baggage and property having

1 This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

2 Ṭulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvī 52 miles N.E. of Multān. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjāb, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī. (*See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XIII 163, *also* Cunningham *Anc. Geog. of India*, 224)

3 Firishta says خطیبپور *Khaṭībpūr*. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

4 Which took place according to Firishta at Khyrābād three stages from Multān.

5 The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).

6 MS. (A) نیاوردہ Text نتوانست آورد.

7 MS. (A) شدند Text گشتند.

8 MS. (A) سنپور or سینور Firishta (text) شیور.

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amīr Muẓaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Alī set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihlī. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malīk Sikander,[1] governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him[2] unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of
296. Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr[3] the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Alī collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,[4] and assaulted Khūṭpūr,[5] taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhīlam and its vicinity, and seized Ṭulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhīnda and invaded the territory of Rāi Fīroz[6] who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhinda

In this year also the Sulṭān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Alī also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed[7] from Lāhor to Dihlī, whither he himself returned.

[1] MSS. The text reads wrongly بملک.

[2] MS. (A) omits او را.

[3] MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

[4] At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishta.

[5] See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits را.

[6] MS. (A) reads تاختنه و instead of تاخت و as in the text.

[7] Text برند MS. (A) برد.

And in the year 836 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna [1] to put down the rebellion of Jasrat; when he arrived at Pānipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Makhdūma-i-Jahān (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue [2] to Dihlī, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhinda to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodī. When [3] he arrived near Jālandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Bīāh, had engaged Allahdād Kālū [4] at Bajwāra,[5] and had defeated him. 297.
Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sulṭān brought an army into Mīwāt against Jalāl Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihlī). In this same year Shaikh 'Alī coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amīrs of that district. Shaikh 'Alī invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Bīāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zīrak Khān and the other Amīrs [6] who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk and Malik Isma'īl under cover of night succeeded in joining Zīrak Khān; then sallying from the fort,[7] gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Alī pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Alī took Lāhor and put to death great and small, [8] and taking many prisoners

1 MS. (A) بجانب سامانه.

2 جریده. Firishta says تنها he returned alone.

3 Omit و MS. (A).

4 MS. (A) omits کالو *Kālū*. 5 Bajwāra. A village 1¼ miles E. of Hoshiārpur about 25 miles N. E. of Jālandhar.

6 MS. (A) دیگر اُمرای که.

7 MS. (A) supplies the words از حصار.

8 M.S. (A) reads خاص و عوام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خاص و عام.

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk [1] on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhinda to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.[2] From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhī, where he crossed the the Bīāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks [3] of the Rāvī, and Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Jhīlam and fled, [4] Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shīwar and crossed the Rāvī near Ṭulumba. [5] Amīr Muẓaffar
98. Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shīwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrine of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-dīn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihlī on the day of the 'Īd-i-Qurbān [6] and

[1] MS. (A) omits ملك.

[2] MS. (A) omits و فساد and writes با سامانه for تا سامانه.

[3] MS. (A) reads incorrectly كناب for كنار.

[4] The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read گذشته و رفت. The و is to be omitted.

[5] Besieging the fort Shīwar (Firishta).

[6] The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-ḥijjah. It is known also as the '*Īdu l-aẓḥā*, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrahīm to sacrifice his son Isma'īl in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called '*Īdu-l-kabīr*, the great festival, to distinguish it from the '*Īdu-l-Fiṭr* which is known as '*Īdu-ṣ-ṣaghīr* which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramaẓān. (*See* Hughes *Dict. of Islām*).

conferred the office of *vazīr* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk,[1] who was the Military Secretary (Nāib-i-Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,[2] inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatrī and Kajwī Khatrī and Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.[3]

And in the year 837 H. (1433 A.D.)[4] Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,[5] and gave it the name of Mubārakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In 299.
the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fūlād Turkbacha.[6] Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda[7] and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sulṭān Ibrahīm Sharqī and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpī, who had re-

[1] Firishta says كمال الدين *Kamālu-d-dīn.*

[2] MS. (A) omits این.

[3] Firishta names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngū Khatrī and Sadpāl, grandson of Kanjūī Khatrī: with Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'arz-i-Mamālik, Qāzī 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣadr Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ and others (Firishta. *Bombay text*, I, p. 308).

[4] MS. (A) چون.

[5] Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol. I, p. 529) assigns 839 H. as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shews that the historian gives 837 H. as the date.

[6] The text reads here با فولاد غلام but a footnote gives a variant سر فولاد and this reading is confirmed by MS. (A) and also by Firishta.

[7] Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakābād.

ceived the title of Hoshang.[1] Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,[2] the infidels under Mīrān Ṣadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),[3] with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,[4] the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwī Khatrī, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the river Dajla[5]
Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalīfahs come and go.

[1] Firishta throughout calls him Hoshang.

[2] On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishta Bombay text I 803).

[3] MS. (A) omits وقت.

[4] The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads ساختند.....در محل پادشاهي در آمدة سدة مال.

[5] دجلة *Dajla* or *Dagla*, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) חִדֶּקֶל lit., *the swift*. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر *tīr*, which in the Zend becomes *Tedjer*. See Gesenius *Thes*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdād, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdād and transported by camels back to Mosul."

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn i Farīd Khān,

The brother's son of Mubārak Shāh ibn i Khiẓr Khān, whom 300.
Mubārak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubārak Shāh in the year [1] 837 H. (1433 A.D.) and Sarwaru-l-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muḥammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of *Khān-i-Jahān* and bestowed a *khil'at* upon him, he also appointed Mīrān Ṣadr *Mu'īnu-l-mulk*, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vazīrship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muḥammad Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-Mulk made some pretext for arresting [2] certain of the servants of Mubārak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrowal of the family of Mubārak Shāh; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Nārnol, and Kuhrām, together with certain districts in the Doāb, to Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran Khatrī who were the (actual) murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl, arrived in Baiāna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yūsuf Khan Auḥadī arrived from Hindwān,[3] and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Their women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Rānūn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khan and Mubārak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 301.
Malik Allahdād Kāla Lodī, governor of Sambhal and Ahār, [4]

[1] 9th Rajab 837.

[2] MS. (A) دستگیر ساخت و.

[3] The text and both MSS. read هندون Hindūn. Firishta reads Hindwān. Hindaun lies about 20 miles S. of Baiāna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.

[4] Ahār, In Bulandshahr District, N.-W.P., 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

and Malik Chaman [1] governor [2] of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amīr 'Alī Gujrātī, together with some other Amīrs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihlī. Maliku-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of *Khan-i-Ā'zam* from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against those Amīrs, and Malīk Yūsuf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihlī army crossed by the ford of Kīcha and came to Baran (Bulandshahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amīrs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihlī: and the Amīrs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kīcha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amīrs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd [3] while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhī Amīrs
102. encamped near the fort of Sīrī, and the greater part of the Amīrs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

[1] MS. (A) writes ملک حمین *Malik Ḥamīn*; by Firishta, and in Elliott's translation of the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

[2] The word in the original is مقطع *Muqti'*, i.e., holder of a قطع *qit'*. Firishta calls him حاکم بدارن *Ḥākim-i-Badāon*.

[3] MS. (A).

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amīrs. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muḥarram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mīrān Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shah became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mīrān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amīrs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The ruffian Sīdh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar*[1] which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindī language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,[2] and his impure soul went to hell.[3] Sidhāran Kāngū and the rest of the Khatrī confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *ḥazīra*[4] (mausoleum)

[1] جوهر *Jauhar* or *Jūhar* जौहर is a Hindī word derived from the words जीव *jīw*, and हर: *hara* signifying *taking one's own life*. The custom of the Rājpūts when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-colcured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

[2] MSS. omit بیدریغ.

[3] The word جوهر. *Jauhar*, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindī word *jauhar* used above (Note 1).

[4] حظیرة *Ḥaẓīra*. The literal meaning of this word is *an enclosure*, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amīrs renewed their fealty to Muḥammad
303. Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of *vazīr* and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of *Ghāzīu-l-Mulk*, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdād Lodī would not accept any title, the title of *Daryā Khān* however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muḥammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amīrs of the various districts to join him. When the Muḥammad Shāhī's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place [1] came to Dihlī. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khūkhar.[2] Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.[3] In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sulṭān Ibrahīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihlī, and the Rāi of Gwāliār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muḥammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Mīwāt, who are the ancestors of Ḥasan Khān of Mīwāt, invited Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dihlī.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihlī, and Muḥammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the
304. command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodī. Sulṭān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisade. Firishta writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبت تمام بقتل رسیدند.

[1] MS. (A) omits آنجا.

[2] MS. (A). بر سر شیخا.

[3] MS. (A) تا ولایت اورا خراب کرده مراجعت نمودند.

appointed his two sons Ghiāṣu-d-Dīn and Qadr Khān [1] to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwa. Malik Buhlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sulṭān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Buhlūl Lodī that he called him his son,[2] and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhor and Detālpūr.

And in the year 845 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Buhlūl to chastise Jasrat Khūkhar, returned to Dihlī. Jasrat concluded a peace with Malik Buhlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sulṭān of Dihlī,[3] till at last Buhlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of *parganas*, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥummad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sulṭān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,[4] and the Amīrs who were at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son ʿAlāu-d-Dīn who held a *jāegīr* in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him[5] heir-apparent. And in the year 847 H. [6] he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen [7] years and some months, or thereabouts.

1 The text reads مدن خان *Madan Khān*. MS. (A) reads قدن خان Qadan Khān. Firishta says قدر خان *Qadr Khān*. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

2 MS. (A) اورا پسر خواندة See Elliott IV 85.

3 Firishta says: Incited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS. (A). instead of مبشر writes مسرور.

4 بزحمت صعب مبتلا شدة Firishta says: روز بروز سستي پذيرفته becoming day by day weaker. 5 MS. (A) اورا.

6 Firishta says that he died in 849 H. which is probably correct, *see n.* 7.

7 As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read چهارده.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* according to Elliott IV. 86, says ten years and some months. With regard to this *see* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 336 and *note* 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305. SULṬĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN I 'MUBĀRAK SHĀH[1] IBN I KHIẒR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlūl with the other Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlūl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihlī, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihlī. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishta "makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A. H. Briggs, pp. 332—339." This is not Firishta's error but is the fault of his translator. Firishta says clearly that Muḥammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo text, p. 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muḥammad Shah may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, if Elliott's translation (Elliot, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh the *amīrs* and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāoni and Firishta as to the date of Muḥammad Shāh's death, he says: "Firishta seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta himself, who gives 17th Jamādi I 824 as the date of Khiẓr Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to shew that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta's plain and coincident statement that Muḥammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

[1] MS. (A) omits مبارک شاہ and writes فرید خان Farīd Khān. *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, *footnote*.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there [1] returned to his capital Dihlī.

And in the year 852 H. (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers-in-law *Shahna-i-Shahr* (City Constable) and *Mīr-i-Kūe* (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihlī. Husāin Khān who was *Umdatu-l-Mulk* (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sulṭān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sulṭān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sulṭān, and had been deposed from his office. Ḥamīd Khān, *Vazīr-i-mamlukat*, (vazīr of the State) who had fled to Dihlī fearing punishment at the hands of the Sulṭān, and dreading an attempt upon his life,[2] joined with Ḥusain Khān in inviting Malik Buhlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sulṭān to pro- 306.
ceed to Sirhind [3] and having assumed to himself the title of Sulṭān read the Khuṭbah, and coming a second time with [4] his whole army seized upon Dihlī. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dībālpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sulṭān in reply, wrote as follows: "The deceased King, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty; living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihlī [5] to you. Sulṭān Buhlūl leaving Dībālpūr ascended the throne of Dihlī [6]

[1] MS. (A) طرح اقامت انداختند. The text reads در انجا طرح عمارت انداختند *having laid the foundations of a palace*, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

[2] Firishta gives a full account of this, and says that the Sulṭān was instigated to this attempt by Quṭb Khān and Rāi Pertāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Ḥamīd Khān (*see* Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 315).

[3] MS. (A).

[4] His eldest son Khwāja Bāyazīd. At this time, according to Firishta, the Khuṭbah used to be read in the joint names of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Sulṭān Buhlūl, who upon first marching against Dihlī had written to 'Alāu-d-Dīn alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Ḥamīd Khān.

[5] MS. (A) سلطنت دهلي. [6] MS. (A) جلوس نمود.

without fighting or opposition; and Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn by the orders of Sulṭān Buhlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khuṭbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.[1] The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.
It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULṬĀN BUHLŪL [IBN I KĀLĀ][2] LODĪ,

Who in the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,[3] in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamīd Khān Vazīr (who, after the execution of Ḥusāin Khān at the hands of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sulṭān Buhlūl)
307. ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamīd Khān,[4] and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.[5]

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs of the party of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

[1] According to Firishta 'Alāu-d-Dīn died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāonī's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alāu-d-Dīn retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Buhlūl Lodi, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) *See n.* 4 page 405.

[2] MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

[3] MS. (A) writes خطاب خاني يافته بود.

[4] A long account of the way in which Ḥamīd Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

[5] Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Buhlūl Lodī, telling us that the mother of Buhlūl Lodī, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed; as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,[1] and Fatḥ Khān Ḥarawī[2] who was one of the most trusted Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was killed. Sulṭān Maḥmūd[3] not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpūr; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpūr to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihlī as was under the sway of Mubārak Shāh should belong to Sulṭān Buhlūl, while that portion which was under the rule of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī should revert to Sulṭān Maḥmūd;[4] and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsābād to Sulṭān Buhlūl,[5] which was held by Jūnā Khān as the deputy of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, each of them went to his own country.

Sulṭān Buhlūl at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsābād, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhūnganw. Sulṭān Maḥmūd being displeased at this, proceeded again[6] to the borders of Shamsābād and fought with Sulṭān Buhlūl.[7] In the meantime Sulṭān Maḥmūd quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpūr in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān[8]

[1] MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7) افتادن. The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).

[2] هروی *Harawī*, of Herāt.

[3] MS. (A) reads here ...افتادن فتح خان هروی.....و کشته شدن او سلطان. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was not able to bear the fall of Fatḥ Khān and his being killed.

[4] MS. (A) محمّد. *Muḥammad.* Firishta says that another term of the agreement was that Buhlūl was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fatḥ Khān, and should receive Shamsābād in place of Jūnān Khān (Bo. text p. 322).

[5] MS. (A) omits را. Firishta tells us that Jūnān Khān refused to quit Shamsābād when called upon to do so by Buhlūl Lodī, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsābād into the charge of Rāi Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).

[6] MS. (A) درآمده.

[7] In this engagement Quṭb Khān Lodī was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Maḥmūd to Jaunpūr where he was imprisoned.

[8] Firishta says that Bībī Rāchī, the mother of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Quṭb Khān, the cousin of Sulṭān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muḥammad Shāh,[1] Sulṭān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muḥammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs
808. by force,[2] and on the borders of Rāprī confronted Sulṭān Buhlūl. Muḥammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sulṭān Buhlūl pursued him.[3] And in the aforesaid year Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sulṭān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muḥammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīrs, and detailed[4] a large army to proceed against Muḥammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gaṛ. Sulṭān Ḥusain made peace with Sulṭān Buhlūl, and sending for Quṭb Khān Lodī who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sulṭān Buhlūl[5] and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr[6].

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muḥammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

[1] *See* preceding page n. 4.

[2] There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishta (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sulṭān Buhlūl arrived near Dihlī Shams Khātūn, the sister of Quṭb Khān Lodī sent him a message, saying, "So long as Quṭb Khān remains in the prison of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce, and came to Dihlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsutī facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāonī makes it seem as though Muḥammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

[3] MS. (A) تعاقب او کرد.

[4] MS. (A ناصزد کردہ.

[5] The account of the circumstances given by Firishta shew that Ḥusain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīrs to meet Ḥusain Khān, and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Ḥusain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Quṭb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p 323).

[6] MS. (A) از قنوج بجانب جونپور. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

Sulṭān Buhlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Ḥusain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Quṭb Khān, to Sulṭān Ḥusain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years[1] Sulṭān Ḥusain coming to the borders of Chaudwār, fought a battle with Sulṭān Buhlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khuṭbah* in the name[2] of Ḥusain Khān; and Sulṭān Ḥusain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihlī with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwāra, and Sulṭān Ḥusain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sulṭān Buhlūl came to Dihlī. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords!
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshīds in one place!

And in this year Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahān][3] was married to Sulṭān Ḥusain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related,[4] and left his kingdom to Sulṭān Buhlūl and Sulṭān Ḥusain. 309.

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss?
Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed?

And Sulṭān Ḥusain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

[1] A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishta).

[2] Both MSS. (A) (B) omit بنام.

[3] The name is omitted in MS. (A).

[4] See note 1 page 402. 'Alāu-d-Dīn really died in 883 H. according to Firishta. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,[1] and having taken those districts from the sons of Sulṭān ʿAlāu-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went[2] to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,[3] the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,[4] and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Ẓū Ḥijjah, in the year 880 H.[5] and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kīchā.[6] Sulṭān Buhlūl coming from Sihrind summoned[7] Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity[8] of Mīrath, and despatched him to oppose Sulṭān Ḥusain,[9] while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Quṭb Khān, Sulṭān Ḥusain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;[10] then relinquishing this side of the river to Sulṭan Buhlūl he returned. Sulṭān Buhlūl[11] seized his opportunity, and when Sulṭān Ḥusain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property[12] which Sulṭān Ḥusain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sulṭān Buhlūl, and as many as forty[13]
310. noted Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāẓī Samā'u-d-Dīn. entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

1 MS. (A) reads بتعزیت او *ba-ta'zīyat-i-ū* which agrees with the words of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) بتقریب او *bataqrīb-i-ū*, i.e., on his account.

2 MS. (A) رفت. 3 Firishta calls him مبارک خان Mubārak Khān.

4 Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant بشاران *ba Shārān*.

5 There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

6 MS. (A) reads گذر گنجینه *Guzr-i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right. Firishta reads کچھ *kachha*.

7 MSS. (A) and (B) omit طلبیده.

8 MSS. (A) and (B) read جانب for ولایت (Text).

9 Firishta says بضبط میرک, to take Mīrak.

10 MS. (A) reads گرفته. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

11 MS. (A) omits و. 12 MS. (A) اشیای که MS. (B) اشیای را که.

13 Firishta says "thirty or forty."

Sulṭān Buhlūl made over Qutlugh Khān in chains to Quṭb Khān Lodī, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād [1] in the Doāb, which was held by Sulṭān Ḥusain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners [2] of his own over [3] that country; this occurrence took place in the year 884 H. (1479 A.D.) [4] the chronogram for that year was *Nawīd-i-Kharābī* (Tidings of ruin). [5]

And Sulṭān Ḥusain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāprī, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sulṭān Ḥusain remained at Rāprī, and Sulṭān Buhlūl at a place called Dhopāmaū'; and after a time Sulṭān Ḥusain again collecting an army came up against Sulṭān Bahlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār. [6] Sulṭān Ḥusain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodī party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sulṭān Buhlūl left Dhopāmaū' for Dihlī to mourn [7] for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihlī, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sulṭān Ḥusain, and reaching Rāprī fought a battle in which he gained a victory];[8] and when Sulṭān Ḥusain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

[1] Firishta enumerates Khanpal (Kanpila?) Baitālī, Shamsābād, Sakīṭ Mārhara and Jālesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Buhlūl.

[2] شقداران *Shiqqdārān*. Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

[3] بران MSS. (A) (B). The text reads بدان.

[4] Firishta includes this among the events of 883 H. *See* note 17.

[5] Our author here shews that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884. Thus نوید خرابي 50+6+10+4+600+200+1+2+10=883.

[6] This passage is differently worded in the text. In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus:—

و بعد از صلح سلطان حسین براپری و سلطان بهلول در موضع دهوپاموٴ قرار گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین باز جمعیت نموده بر سر سلطان بهلول آمد و در سواد موضع سونهار محاربهٔ سخت اُفتاد.

[7] The text reads incorrectly بتقریب instead of بتعزیت MS. (A).

[8] MS. (A) omits the portion in brackets.

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sulṭān Ḥusain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,[1] who are a clan of the Bhadaurīs, attacked his camp; Rāi Gīrat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sulṭān offering his services, and having presented
311. him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sulṭān[2] as far as Kālpī; Sulṭān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings[3] met in the neighbourhood of Kālpī and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tilūk[4] Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,[5] came and offered his services to Sulṭān Ḥusain,[6] and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sulṭān Ḥusain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,[7] and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,[8] together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sulṭān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

[1] MS. (A) omits the word متمردان leaving a hiatus, and writes هتكانت *Hatkānt* which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānth is said by Abūl Faẓl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Āgra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadauriahs. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

[2] We should probably read here مشايعت *Mushāī'at* for متابعت *Mutabi'at see* Firishta.

[3] MS. (A) reads ميان.

[4] Both MSS. Also Firishta who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr.)

[5] Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (*see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads يكسر *Yaksar.*

[6] Firishta says بخدمت سلطان بهلول آمده. *Offered his services to Sulṭān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sulṭān Buhlūl, and not Sulṭān Ḥusain.*

[7] MSS. (A) and (B) read بهته *Bhatta* instead of پٹنه *Paṭna.* Firishta has تهته *Thatta*, and this seems to be the proper reading.

[8] MS. (A) جنس.

Sulṭān Ḥusain leaving Jaunpūr went by way of Bahraich towards Qanauj, and engaged[1] Sulṭān Buhlūl for some time on the banks of the Rahab, and met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him. On this occasion his whole retinue and regalia fell into the hands of the Lodīs, while his chief wife Malika-i-Jahān, Bībī Khūnzā,[2] who was the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and the grand daughter of Khiẓr Khān, was taken prisoner;[3] Sulṭān Buhlūl treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpūr, Bībī Khūnzā by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpūr fell into the hands[4] of Sulṭān Buhlūl. He gave it to Mubārak Khān Lūhānī, and himself proceeded to Badāon. Sulṭān Ḥusain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpūr in full force: the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl evacuated it, and went to Quṭb Khān Lodī who was in Maḥjaulī,[5] and approached Sulṭān Ḥusain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sulṭān Buhlūl. Sulṭān Buhlūl sent his own son Mubārak Shāh to the assistance of these 312.
Amīrs, while he himself also set out[6] for Jaunpūr, following his son; Sulṭān Ḥusain not being able to stand against him went to Bihār. In the meantime tidings of the death of Quṭb Khān reached Sulṭān Buhlūl at the camp of Haldī,[7] and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and after placing his son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī dynasty,[8] returned, and came to the Kālpī country, which he gave to A'zam Humāyūn, another nephew, who had the

1 MS. (B) reads مقابله *muqābala*, *i.e.*, met him.

2 MS. (A) reads خوت را *Khūtrā* MS. (B) خوترا *Khutrā*. Firishta reads خونزه *Khūnza*.

3 MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

4 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit در.

5 MS. (A) reads مجهولي *Majhaulī*. Firishta مچهولي *Maḥjaulī*. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gandak. There are two villages forming one: Majhaulī, which is Hindū, on the north bank, and Sālimpur, which is Muḥammadan, on the South. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IX. 213.

6 MSS. (A) and (B) read روانه شد.

7 Firishta says: When Sulṭān Buhlūl arrived at the township of Haldī, he heard of the death of Quṭb Khān.

8 Firishta says: "expelled Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, again conquered Jaunpūr, and placed his own son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī Kings."

name of Bāyazīd,[1] and having arrived at Dholpūr [2] levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place; then passing by Bārī went to Ilāhpūr,[3] one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantanbhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihlī and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Ḥissār Fīroza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihlī. Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihlī when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakīt.[4] And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,[5] eight months and eight days.[6]

Verse.

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
313. It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may strive.

[1] MS. (A) writes پسر دیگر another son. Firishta says نبیرهٔ خود خواجه اعظم همایون بن خواجه بایزید 'his grandson Khāja Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Khwāja Bāyazīd.' (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazīd was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

[2] Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خود.

[3] The text and MS. (B) read *Pālhanpūr*. MS. (A) reads بالهنپور *ba Ilhanpūr*: Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) بجانب اله پور *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttunpoor!

[4] Text and MS. (B) have سکپت *Sakpat*. MS. (A) reads سکیب *Sakīb*. In Firishta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīṭ Singh and set out to return to Dihlī but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāulī one of the dependencies of Sakīṭ." Sakīṭ is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died. Abūl Faẓl states (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (*see* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) (II. 309 *n.* 3). Sakīṭ was probably the head-quarters of the Sakīṭ Singh whom Firishta mentions.

[5] MS. (A) reads بود after سال.

[6] Firishta says *seven* days.

Whether it be a king or a *Khas*-seller [1]
Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death.
The date of his death [2]
In eight hundred and ninety and four
The world conquering Khedive, Buhlūl left the world;
With his sword he seized-provinces, but for all his bright sword and burnished dagger,
He was not able to repel death. [3]

Sulṭān Sikandar ibn i Sulṭān Buhlūl,[4]

Who was known by the name of Niẓām Khān, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste [5] from Dihlī to the township of Jalālī, entered the camp [6] and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihlī. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Fīrūz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khān-i-Jahān ibn i Khān-i-Jahān, and Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, [7] and all the Amīrs, and was addressed by the title [8] of Sulṭān Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihlī, he went to Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū, [9] the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamālī, [10] who was one of the greatest among the Ulamā *Shaikhs* of his time, on pretence of taking an

1 خس فروش *Khas-furūsh*. Khas is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them: commonly known as "Khas Khas tatties" in India.

2 MS. (A) reads تاریخ وفات. This is omitted in the text.

Prior to his death Sulṭān Buhlūl had made a partition of his dominions, assigning Jaunpūr to Shāhzāda Bārbak Shāh, and Karra Mānikpūr to Shāhzāda 'Ālam Khān, Bahraich to his sister's son Shaikh Muḥammad Farmalī, who was known as Kālā Bhār, and Lakhnau and Kālpī to A'zam Humāyūn ibn i Khwāja Bāyazīd Khān. (Firishta Bo. text 327).

3 These same verses are found in Firishta.

4 MS. (A) has no further words. MS. (B) adds لودي *Lodī*. The text adds ابن کالا *ibn i Kālā*.

5 Neither MS. (A) nor (B) has تمام as in the text.

6 MS. (B) باردوی برسید.

7 MS. (B) خانخانان دهلي *Khān-i-Khānāni Dihlī*, it omits فرملی *Farmalī*.

8 MS. (A) omits خطاب. 9 MS. (A) کینو *Kīnū*. 10 MS. (A).

omen,[1] for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,[2] so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'adak Allāh*[3] from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,[4] then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 تفاؤل *tafā'ul*. Taking a فأل *fā'l* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the oracle of Prœneste. Among Muḥammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'ān, or the works of Ḥāfiẓ in this way. The word فأل *fā'l* properly means a good omen, as opposed to طيرة *ṭiyarat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muḥammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātu-l-Maṣabīḥ* Mathew ii. 381) *see* also Lane *s. v.* فأل; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the *Zāirgah* is given.

2 MS. (B) reads برادر دیگر another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodī Amīrs favoured A'zam Humāyūn, and before Buhlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihlī, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shirwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Buhlūl died. The Amīrs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Bārbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to A'zam Humāyūn: Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā Khān a cousin of Buhlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amīrs with him, and removed Buhlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihlī where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Fīrūz on the banks of the Bīāh, as Sulṭān Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihlī, marched against 'Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

3 اسعدک الله *Asa'dak allāh*, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads صرف هوای ساخته معنی.

4 MS. (A) omits the words سه بار and reads و بعد.

he besought the Shaikh to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,[1] he left Dihlī, and marched towards[2] Rāprī and Itāwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'īl Khān Lūhānī[3] with overtures of peace to King Bārbak Shāh at[4] Jaunpūr, while he proceeded in person against[5] 'Īsā Khān Governor of Patīālī;[6] and[7] 'Īsā Khān confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesh,[8] the Rāja of Patīālī who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sulṭān who[9] confirmed him in the Government of Patiālī.[10] Bārbak Shāh coming from Jaunpūr to Qanauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them.[11] Mubārak Khān Luhānī,[12] who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh, was taken prisoner in this battle,[13] Bārbak Shāh fled to Badāon, Sulṭān Sikandar besieged[14] that fortress, and Bārbak Shāh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sulṭān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpūr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqī kings, except that he divided certain *parganas* of these territories[15] among his own Amīrs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bār-

1 MS. (B) wrongly استقراء. 2 MS. (B) جانب.

3 The text and MS. (B) read نوحاني Nūḥānī, MS. (A) نوخاني Nūkhānī.

4 MS. (A) در جونپور. 5 MS. (A) بر عيسي خان. 6 MS. (B) پتيالي

7 MS. (A) omits و.

8 MS. (B) reads راى كشن *Rāi Kishan*. MS. (A) reads راى كنبس *Rāi Ganesh* (?) The text reads راى گنيس *Rāi Gunes*. Firishta reads راى كيلن *Rāi Kilan*.

9 MS. (A) omits سلطان reading.. او مقرر گشت و در روجهٔ.

10 MS. (B) پتيالي Patiālī.

11 MS. (A) reads در ميان طرفين instead of طرفين را.

12 Text نوخاني.

13 Firishta (Bo. text 331) says that it was Kālā Bhār (Shaikh Muḥammad Farmalī, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl and cousin of Sikandar and Bārbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bārbak Shāh, who lost heart and fled to Badāon.

14 MS. (A) محاصرة كرد.

15 In Bihār (Firishta).

bak Shāh.[1] Then he took Kalpī from A'zam Khān [2] Humāyūn the son of Khwāja Bāyazīd. From thence he came to Jahtara,[3] and from that place to Gwāliār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Farmalī
315. with a special robe of honour on an embassy to[4] Rāja Mān,[5] who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sulṭān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sulṭān as far as Baiāna. Sulṭān Sharq [6] the Governor of Baiāna, the son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort [7] to the agents of the Sulṭān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sulṭān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sulṭān Sharf [8] fortified himself in the fort of Agra.[9] The Sulṭān left certain of his Amīrs in Agra and [10] proceeded to Baiāna [11] and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sulṭān Sharq [12] fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiāna to the Sulṭān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotīs [13] in the Jaunpūr territory had assembled to the number

[1] Firishta says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badāonī's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh's actions. MS. (A) omits بر before گماشت and را after معتمدان. and کالپي.

[2] MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Maḥmūd Lodī (Firishta).

[3] Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firishta says جهترة Jahtara. I fail to locate this.

[4] MS. (A) نزد. [5] Governor of Gwāliār (Firishta). Briggs has Mān Singh. Firishta reads Mān merely.

[6] Firishta reads thus سلطان شرف. *Sulṭān Sharf*. Badāonī (text and both MSS.) reads شرق *Sharq*.

[7] MS. (B) reads فتح instead of قلعهٔ.

[8] The text reads سلطان الشرق. *Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq*. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق *Sulṭān Sharq*.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) متحصن شد.

[10] MSS. (A) (B) گذاشت و.

[11] Where he besieged Sulṭan Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishta 331).

[12] شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

[13] A tribe of Rājpūts said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,[1] and were raising a disturbance. The Sulṭān proceeded thither and Bārbak Shāh came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Janhār,[2] and engaged in battle with the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna;[3] and having come to Ārīl,[4] which is near Ilāhābās (otherwise called Prayāg),[5] laid waste that district,[6] and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpūr hastened to Dalmau',[7] and from thence came[8] to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].[9]

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H. (1494 A. D.) **316.** he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken; from thence he proceeded to Jaunpūr.[10] In this expedition very many

notorious for their turbulence, originally Muḥammadans, *see* Elliot, *Races of N.-W. P.*, I. 47.

1 MSS. (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار.

2 Text جنہار *Janhār* MS (A) reads حنار. (?) MS. (B) چنار. *Chinār* Firishta چنار *Chinār*.

3 Firishta says, came to Kaṭauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS (A) reads رفت.

4 A footnote variant is given in the text بارکل *ba Arkal*.

Firishta reads ارپل Ārīl (or Aryal); he says جانب ارپل رفت.

Arail is mentioned by Abūl Faẓl (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 425.) "he held Jhosī and Arail (Jalūlābās) as jāgīr."

5 The text reads پیاک *Payāk*. MS. (A) reads بیاک. *Bayāk*, MS. (B) بپاک *Bapāk*. Regarding the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahabad, *see* Cunningham (*A. G. I.* 391.)

6 خراب کردہ رفت MS. (B).

7 Dalmau' lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges, *see* Rennell's Map; see also, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, (J.) II. 167 *n* 2. Firishta (Bo. text) reads *Dalpūr*, p. 332.

8 رسید MS. (B).

9 Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement, and are probably copied from his work.

10 MS. (A) آمد.

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;[1] the zemīndārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sulṭān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sulṭan Ḥusain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sulṭān[2] Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit[3] and came to Chenār[4] and from thence to Banāras. Sulṭān Ḥusain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sulṭān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.[5] In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty *zemīndār*, left Sulṭān Ḥusain and joined Sulṭān Sikandar.

Sulṭān Ḥusain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.[6] Sulṭān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him[7] with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sulṭān Ḥusain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sulṭān Sikandar arrived,[8] and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sulṭān Ḥusain, leaving his deputy[9] in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.[10] Thence the Sulṭān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khan-i-Jahān Lodī died, and Aḥmad Khān his eldest son[11] was styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sulṭān returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhi-l-'Iẓām,[12] Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Munīrī,[13] *may God sanctify his resting-place*, and came to

1 MS. (A) نماند. 2 MSS. (A) and (B).

3 The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gasht*, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگذر کتیت *baguẓr-i-Katīt*. MS. (A) or بگذر کنتت *baguẓr-i-Kantit* (Firishta). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 89 : 158.

4 Text جنهار Janhār.

5 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

6 MS. (A) reads پنه *Panna*. Text reads پتة *Patta*. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

7 MS. (B) نمود و در راه. 8 MS (B) omits آمده.

9 Malik Kandhū (Firishta). 10 MS. (A) آمد.

11 MS. (A) reads احمد پسر او بخطاب اعظم همایونی مخاطب شد.

12 MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (Firishta).

13 He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrāīl the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Bihār, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpūr. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sul- 317.
ṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn king of Bangāla, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sulṭān (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories[1] and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sulṭān; orders were promulgated [2] remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Sāran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,[3] and came by way of Maḥlīgarḥ [4] to Jaunpūr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna.[5] And in the year 904 *H.* (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,[6] as far as Bāndhūgarḥ[7] which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpūr where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amīrs during a game of *chaugān*,[8] and at last it ended in an open fight,[9] and the Sulṭān

[1] MS. (A) بر ولایات.
[2] MS. (A) صادر گشتند.
[3] MS. (B) تقسیم کردہ مقرر نمود MS. (A) تقسیم نمودہ مقرر کرد.
[4] Firishta reads مچھلي گڑھ *Machhlīgarḥ.*
[5] MS. (A) پنہ *Panna;* text and MS. (B) پٹنہ *Patna.* Firishta text پٹھنہ *Paṭhna.* Briggs in his translation say *Panna* (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.
[6] MS. (A) reads ولایت پنہ *Wilāyat-i-Panna.*
[7] MS. (A) reads مادھو گڑھ *Mādhūgarḥ* but Bāndhūgarḥ is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Faẓl states (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 157) that Bāndhū lies south of Allahabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad. Bāndhūgarḥ was one of the two chief fortress of the province of Bāndhū (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewā) distant about 60 miles, and S. S.-E. from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson). In Rennell's Map (*Tieff* III.,) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, *see* Rennell's Map N.p. Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bāndhūgarḥ and was called Mandla Garḥ.
[8] چوگان *Chaugān.* Called in Arabic صولجان *Saulajān.* The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B.) I. 297-298.
[9] Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious [1] of the Amīrs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards [2] should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amīrs urged Fatḥ Khān the son of Sulṭān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated [3] this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Ṭāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sulṭān, at the same time giving them [4] a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amīrs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in
18. that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sulṭān Sikandar,[5] who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amīrs [6] who had shewn partiality for the Prince [7] Fatḥ Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time [8] either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Aṣghar the Governor of Dihlī began to commit malpractices. The Sulṭān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāṣṣ Khān the Governor of Māchhīwāra,[9] to seize Aṣghar and send him (into his presence); but Aṣghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawāṣṣ Khān received the Governorship of Dihlī. In this year also [10] Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Aḥmad and Suleiman the two sons (? grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.[11] After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sulṭān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) بر یشان بد مظنه شده. [2] Both MSS. (A) (B) omit از.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) ظاهر ساخت و. [4] MSS. (B) نموده و.

[5] MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) reads امرار. [7] MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

[8] Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعیش both MSS. read بشکار و سیر.

[9] MS. (A) reads ماجهر وارة. Firishta writes ماچیوارة *Māchīwāra.*

[10] MS. (B) و درین سال.

[11] The text here reads بر عماد و سلطان پسران خانخانان both MSS. have this same reading but Firishta reads با حمد و سلیمان پسران پسر خانخانان.

entered the Sulṭān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāṣṣ Khān, while Ṣafdar Khān[1] was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawāṣṣ Khān with the assistance of 'Ālam Khān[2] Governor of Mīwāt, and Khāni Khānān Lūhānī, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr.[3] The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sulṭān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rāi Manik Deo,[4] Rāja of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār. They plundered and pillaged[5] the district around Dholpūr. The Sulṭān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Ādam Lodī there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendakī.[6]

By reason of the[7] badness of the climate of that place sickness 319.
broke out among[8] the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace,[9] and delivered up Sa'īd Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganesh,[10] who had deserted from the army of the Sulṭān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son[11] to do homage to the

1 Briggs calls him Sudr Khān, but the original reads Ṣafdar Khān.

2 MS. (A) reads خان عالم *Khān-i-'Ālam.*

3 Native State in Rājputāna. The town of Dholpūr, capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 37 miles north-west of Gwāliār, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 273.

4 Firishta calls him بنا یک دیو *Bināyek Deo.*

5 MS. (B) reads نهیب for نهب here and in several other places.

6 Firishta calls this river "the Asī otherwise known as Medakī," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendakī means, frog-haunted.

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asun in Keith Johnson (India) E. f. flowing west of Gwāliār, would answer to the Asī in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river.

7 MS. (A) omits و and also زیونی.

8 MS. (B) reads درمیان.

9 MS. (B) reads مسلح *musallaḥ* (armed) for بصلح *ba ṣulḥ.*

10 Supply را MS. (A).

11 Vikramājīt (Firishta).

Sulṭān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr[1] also to Binā yik Deo,[2] and having spent[3] the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus[4] in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,[5] which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches[6] of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amīrs permission to proceed to their several *jaegīrs*.[7] [And in this year Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,[8] *may God sanctify his holy resting place*, who was one of the chief of the great *walīs* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, *Here am I*, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah[9] where he was buried. Qāẓi Ḥusain Zargar of Qandahār, *God's mercy be on him*, whom, as well as the Mīr himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

1 MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for با.

2 MS. (B) reads دهولپور قلعهٔ and بنا یک دیو.

3 MSS. (A) (B) گذرا نیده و.

4 In the month of Ramaẓān *(Firishta)*.

5 Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mandalayer* or *Madrael*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Keraulī) *see* Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, *see* also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

6 بتخانها و کنایس آنجا So also Firishta.

7 The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

8 Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muḥammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Bl) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnīs still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Dict of Islam.*

9 Farah in Biluchistan (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Bi) I. Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh.[1]

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words[2] *Maẓā Mahdī*, The Mahdī has departed].[3]

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān[4] that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings[5] fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,[6] while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived.[7] We learn from the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī*,[8] and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qāẓī*,[9] was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it. 320.

Rubā'ī.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes.

[1] گفتا کہ برو ز شیخ کن استفسار *Guftā ke birau zi Shaikh kun istifsār.* The value of the letters of the word شیخ is 300 + 10 + 600 = 910.

[2] مضا مہدی *Maẓā Mahdī.* These words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, مضی مہدی they will be 910.

[3] A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firishta also has no reference to this event.

[4] Firishta only says in Agra.

[5] MS. (A) چنانکہ کوہ ها بہ لرزہ در آمد و عمارتہای عالی.

[6] سوراخها پدید گشت MS. (A) reads دشواریها *dushwārīhā.* Difficulties and dangers.

[7] MS. (B) قیامت واقع شد

[8] Regarding this work, see *Elliott* IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Turkī were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Bāber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night." The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muḥarram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

[9] قاضي Qāẓī. 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911.

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.[1]

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Ūntgaṛh,[2] and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.[3] Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodī,[4] whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,[5] and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar;[6] he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

[1] Firishta gives this *rubā'ī* with slight variation omitting چون *chūn* in the second line.

[2] Firishta reads اودیت نگر *Ūdītnagar*. MS. (A) ادونت گر *Adwantgar*. MS. (B) اونت گڑھ Ūntgaṛh. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 380 *n* 1. Firishta states that the Sulṭān regarded Udītnagar as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

[3] Firishta Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dhār, *see* Tieff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress: *see* also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 227.

[4] Who upon the death of his father Maḥmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

[5] Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

[6] Firishta says Hanwantgaṛh.

a hundred and twenty horses [1] and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalāl Khān, allowed him; together with Na'mat Khātūn,[2] wife [3] of Quṭb Khān Lodī, who had come [4] to have an interview with the Sulṭān, to proceed to Kalpī, and gave that district as a *jāegīr* to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahāyar,[5] and came to Hatkānth,[6] established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Āgra. The date of this was (fixed by the following words) *Lahu alḥukmu wa ilaihi tarja'ūn.*[7] That is to say, *His is the decree and to him do ye return.* 321.

Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sulṭān, and was allotted the *jāegīr* of Chanderī, while Prince Jalāl Khān was directed to [8] give him every assistance as an ally; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens [9] at intervals along the whole route from Āgra to Dholpūr, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself [10] there. In this year Muḥammad Khān of Nāgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations [11] had sought and obtained an interview with the Sulṭān, evinced great respect for the Sulṭān, reading the Khuṭbah in Nāgor in his name without raising any objection,[12] so that in this way a new territory[13] came [14] into the possession of the Sulṭān.

1 MS. (A) راس اسپ. MS.(B) راست اسپ. MS. (A) کردند MS. (B) کرد.

2 The wife of Quṭb Khān Lodī, foster mother of Jalāl Khān (Firishta).

3 Text and MS. (A) کوچ *Koch.* MS. (B) کوح *Koh.* 4 MS. (B) آمدہ بودند.

5 Gwāliār (Firishta). Lahār is placed in Rennell's map about 50 miles S.-E. of Gwāliār, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VIII. 400.

6 *See p* 408 *n.* 1. MS. (A) هنکایت *Hankāyat.* MS. (B) هتکان *Hatkān* Firishta هلکهایت *Hulkhāyat.*

7 The text has ولة MSS. (A) (B) have کة لة which is correct. The date is 915 H.

8 MS. (A) omits تا. 9 MS. (A) بنای باغ. 10 MS. (B) فرمایند.

11 Firishta explains this: he says that certain relations of Muḥammad Khān, namely, 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overcome by him, and took refuge in the court of Sulṭān Sikandar and that Muḥammad Khān fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sulṭān.

12 Text بی جنگ و جدل. MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدال.

13 MS. (B) omits ولایتی. 14 MSS. (A) (B) آمد.

In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sulṭān, on the grounds that he had been appointed [1] to perform a service at Ūntghar,[2] and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indrī Karnāl [3] was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year [4] Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sulṭān Sikander on account of the weakness [5] of Sulṭān
322. Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khuṭbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa,[6] was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally) [7] placed under his authority, but Amīrs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer [8] his *jāegīr*, then the Sulṭān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,[9] especially [10] Saiyyid N'amatu-llāh and Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī, [11] who was

1 MS. (A) فرصودة شدة بود.

2 Firishta says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by daybreak, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دهند).

3 Firishta says بڑیڑی *Baṛeṛī*. MS. (B) reads اندري و کرنال. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Bl) *p.* 268 سویورغال *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

4 MS. (B) reads درین چند سال. 5 MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishta reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sulṭāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sulṭān Sikandar, and agreed to the *Khuṭbah* being read in his name in Chanderī, *see* Briggs, p. 583, and Bo. text, p 341.

6 MS. (A) omits محمد. MS. (B) writes محمد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishta The text reads محمود خان Maḥmūd Khān.

7 Firishta reads ظاهرا. 8 MS. (A) omits و. MS. (B) reads در جایگیر.

9 *See* Lane s. v. کرامة. also Hughes, *Dict. of Islām* art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Khawāriqu-l-'ādat.*

10 MSS. (A) (B) خصوصا. 11 MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle-working,[1] with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the fortress of Rantanbhūr, in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Alī Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the province of Sīwī Sīyūpūr,[2] came and had an interview with the Sulṭān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Alī Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sulṭān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thankar,[3] and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bārī,[4] he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the[5] next world on Sunday the seventeenth[6] of Zūl Q'adah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannātu-l-Firdaus nazalā*. (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date[7] of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse.

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not.
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not continue.

Sulṭān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose **323.**

1 MSS. (A) (B) read که از اهل کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text.

2 The text reads سوی سوبر *Sūī Sūbar* with a footnote variant سیوی و سیوپور *Sīwī o Sīūpur*. Firishta reads سیوپور *Sīyūpūr*. (? Sibi) see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) II. 328 *n* 1.

3 Firishta writes تهانکر *Thānkar*.

4 In the Sarkār of Āgra. *See* Tieff I. 166.

5 MS. (A) reads بچنات آخرت.

6 Firishta says. Sunday, the *seventh* of Zūl Qa'dah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. *See* Bo. text 343, and Briggs I. 585.

7 MS. (B) reads تاریخ شد and omits صدت. The letters جنات الفردوس make up the total 923.

verses after the ancient Hindustānī [1] models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jumāl.[2] The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sulṭān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

Ode.[3]

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.
What profits the Khatanī musk? all the kingdoms of Chīn
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.

In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulrukh essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech.[4]

One of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkar[5]] who, they say,[6] in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.[7] The following *maṭla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *maṭla'*[8]] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled to-day;
Had not thy look been the serpent[9] I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbī[10] in Dihlī, and Shaikh 'Azīzu-llah Tulumbī[11] in Sambhal, both of whom came

1 MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانيه.

2 MS. (B) جمال ازدن. MS. (A) جمال الدين Text جسالي ازدن.

3 MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ابيات.

4 The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read گلرخ چو كند and MS. (A) reads تا خاک or تا چاک Text.

5 MS. (A) دونكر *Dūnkar?* 6 MS. (A) كه ميگويند.

7 MSS. (A) (B) كتب علمي omit رسمي. 8 MS. (A) reads و مطلع مسعود.

9 ابتر *Abtar.* A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it *see* Lane *s. v.* بتر.

10 MS. (B) omits طلنبي. 11 MS. (A) بودة اند.

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multān, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before their time, with the exception of the Sharḥ-i-Shamsīyah, and the Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥāīf [1] there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,[2] that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, for example, Mīyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihlī, Mīyān Shaikh of Gwāliār,[3] Mīrān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sulṭān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, used to come [4] and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām 'alaikum* [5] and mix freely with each other.

And Shaikh 'Azīzu-llah of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,[6] that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it; and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

[1] The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Quṭbu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī, on the Shamsīyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.), *see* Hājī Khalīfah No. 7667. El-Sahāif fī el-kalām, *folio de metaphysica.* The *Sharh-i-Ṣaḥāif* must be the commentary mentioned by Hājī Khālīfah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī. There was another commentary by Bihishtī *See* H. K. 7718.

[2] MS. (A) و از اسا تذه شنیده شده.

[3] MS. (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.

[4] Text and MS. (B) مي آمد. MS. (A) مي آيد. [5] MSS. (A) (B).

[6] 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استحضار *Istiḥẓār*, this means literally, *making present, summoning.* It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather retentiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read استحضاری غریب داشته.

One of his pupils was[1] Mīyān Ḥātim Sanbalī, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāḥ*[2] more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*[3] more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism'illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat*.[4]

Another is Shaikhu-l-Hadīyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,[5] while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:[6] in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

[1] MSS. (A) (B) بود.

[2] The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads مفتاح سرحين which may possibly stand for مفتاح شرحين *Sharḥain-i-miftāḥ*, the two commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*.

Miftāḥu-l-'ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), *see* Hājī Khalīfah 12578. This book was written by Sirājn-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yusuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعاني و البيان) 'Ilmaiu-l-ma'ānī wal bayān. (Regarding 'Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., *see* Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maulā Ḥusāmn-d-Dīn al Muwazzinī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalīfah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

[3] *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāh. It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (*See* H. K. II. p. 404).

[4] All works written by Muslims commence with باسم الله *Bism'illāh*. In the name of God. The word تمت *tammat*, stands for تمت الكتاب *tammat-il kitāb*, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word '*Finis*.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only بسم.

[5] *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (*see* Hājī Khalīfah 14366.)

[6] *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fī-l-naḥw* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn abī 'Umar Uṣmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as *Ibnu-l-hājib*. (ob: 646 A. H). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries *see* H. K. 9707.

Madārik[1] and other works, which are read up to the present day.[2] Sulṭān Sikandar also collected together learned men[3] from all parts of the country to instruct him,[4] placing on one side Shaikh 'Abd-u-llah, and Shaikh 'Azīzu-llah, and on the other Shaikhu-l-Nadiyah and his son Shaikh[5] Bhakārī to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah occurred in the year 922 H.; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: *Ūlāika lahum ud-darajātu-l-ulā.*[6] 325.

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the aforesaid Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, to whom Sulṭān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jāmī,[7] *may God sanctify his resting place*, and had gained many advantages from[8] him and won his approbation,[9] and was moreover in the habit of submitting[10] his poems to that revered master: The following verses are by him:

Verse.

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And[11] that too rent to the skirt with my tears.

Verse.[12]

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close.

1 *Tafsīr-i-Madārik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. *See* Lane *s. v.* مدرک.

2 MS. (A) omits تا این زمان. 3 MSS. (A) (B) write علماء.

4 MS. (A) در درس خویش. 5 Both MSS. (A) (B) write شیخ.

6 The text reads wrongly here اولئک لهم درجات العلی. MSS. (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'ān (XX. 77). The value of the letters is 922.

7 MSS. (A) (B) omit الله. 8 MS. (A) omits از.

9 MSS. (A) (B) دریافته.

10 MSS. (A) (B) در ملازمت. 11 MS. (B) omits و.

12 MS. (A) omits this couplet.

The following ode also,[1] which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.[2]

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the *Sīyaru-l-'Ārifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the
326. venerable Khwāja[3] Mu'inu-l-Ḥaqq wau-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samāu-d-Dīn[4] Kanbawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both[5] prose and poetry. His *dīwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

Sulṭān Ibrahīm bin Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khāu ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar[6] [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sulṭān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī[7] governor of Rāprī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government[8] of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness[9] of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khāu and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpī and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khuṭbah* and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'ẓam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm

[1] (A) omits اوهم.
[2] MS. (A) omits حضرت.
[3] MS. (A) آجميرى.
[4] MS. (A) هم دارد.
[5] From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).
[6] The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).
[7] MS. (A) نوحاني *Nūhānī*.
[8] MS. (A) reads بامر.
[9] MS. (A) فسح.

sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzāda Isma'īl Khān, and Ḥusain Khān, and others,[1] and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two[2] servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering[3] the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās[4] came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amīrs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādam Kākar was 327. sent by the Sulṭān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amīrs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sulṭān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpī district as a *jāegīr*. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, *etcetera* to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

[1] It will be remembered that A'ẓam Humāyūn was the eldest son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, Isma'īl and Ḥusain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

[2] Text reads دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

[3] MS. (A) بتسخیر.

[4] The text reads here: وآن مواسها را پاک کردة *wa ān Mawāshā rā pāk kurda* while MS. (A) reads مواسا *Mawāsā* for مواسها *Mawāshā*. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firishta reads here:

جیچند زمیندار چرتولي من توابع پرگنة کول کة از مواس مشهوربود با عمر خان پسر سکندرخان سور جنگ کردة او را بشهادت رسانید بنابر این ملک قاسم حاکم سنبهل بر سرش رفته آن مفسد را بقتل آورد و آن فتنهٔ ناگهاني را تسکین دادة در قنوج بملازمت پادشاة رسید -

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the *pargana* of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsun Ḥākim of Sanbhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read آن مفسدان مواس را.

The Sulṭān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge [1] with the Rāja of Gwāliār, and the Amīrs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān experienced [2] a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyān Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amīrs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyān Bhoh died in prison, and A'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three [3] hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwāliār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwāliār and went to Mālwa to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sulṭān's troops Rāi Vikramājīt the son of Rāi Mān Singh,[4] who, after the decease [5] of his father, held the government of Gwāliār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādalgarh, which lies below [6] the fortress of Gwāliār,[7] a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh [8] and fell into the hands of the Muslims,[9] and a brazen animal,[10] which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

[1] MS. (A) omits برد.

[2] MS. (A) پیدا شدہ Firishta calls him بھورہ Bhūra.

[3] The text reads سہ صد *sih ṣad* three hundred. MS. (A) reads سی صد *Sī ṣad* thirty hundred. Firishta (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also سیصد *sī ṣad*.

[4] MS. (A) مان سنگھہ.

[5] MS. (A) در گذشتن Text reads کشتن Firishta says he died.

[6] MS. (B) continues here.

[7] This fortress of Bādalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I. (B) p. 380 *n.* 1. Firishta says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

[8] MSS. (A) (B) omit رای.

[9] MS. (A) omits اهل.

[10] The text reads صورتي روئیں *Ṣūrate rū'īn* a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read ستوري روئیں *Sutūre rū'in* a brazen animal. So also Firishta, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sulṭān Ibrahīm to Dihlī, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fatḥpūr in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history,[1] where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds. 328.

In those days Sulṭān Ibrāhīm becoming distrustful of the old Amīrs, imprisoned the greater number of them,[2] and expelled (others) in different directions; and inasmuch as Jalāl Khān could not get on with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, he fled from Mālwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,[3] where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,[4] who took him prisoner and sent him as a present[5] to the Sulṭān who ordered him to be taken to Hānsī and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren;
Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of kingdom,
For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for thee.[6]

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, together with his son Fatḥ Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwāliār Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khān the son of Ā'ẓam [Khān][7] Humāyūn, gathered together[8] a following in Karra by means of his father's

[1] MS. (B) agreeing with the text. MS. (A) reads از تاریخ این جمع.

[2] MS. (B) reads گردانیده.

[3] Text and both MSS. (A) (B). Firishta (Bo. text 351) reads براجهٔ کدبهٔ شتافت, fled to the Raja of Kadba (?). It would seem we should read Garha-Katanka which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna, and on the south by the Dakhan, *see* Elliot VI. 30.

[4] For an account of the Gonds, *see* Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II 134 *et seqq.*, *see* also Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, article *Central Provinces*.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read مقید ساخته تحفه نزد.

[6] Firishta also has these same lines.

[7] MS. (A).

[8] MS. (A) رسانید.

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amīrs of that district, fought a battle with Aḥmad Khān [1] the governor of Karra, and defeated him. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Aḥmad Khān, the brother of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Lodī, in command of a vast army,[2] to oppose the Amīrs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent [3] other
29. Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,[4] Iqbāl Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sulṭān, and after throwing them all into confusion [5] withdrew (into ambush). The Sulṭān by way of precaution despatched [6] a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣīr Khān Luhānī with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle [7] the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'īd Khān Lodī was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,
Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.[8]
As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,
Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sulṭān favourably disposed towards the

[1] MS. (A) omits نام.
[2] MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوه کرده. [3] MS. (A) ناموزد ساخته.
[4] MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before اقبال.
[5] Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."
[6] MS. (A) و فرستاده. [7] MSS. (A) (B) کشش و کوشش.
[8] This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amīrs : and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amīrs of royal descent, as for example Á'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, and Mīyān Bhoh, the Vazīr of Sulṭān Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison-house.[1]

This is that same journeying place, this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost;[2]
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
Which witnessed the palace of Afrāsiyāb.[3]

Mīyān Ḥusain[4] Farmalī was assassinated in Chanderī, at the instigation of the Sulṭān, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zādas of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhānī, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī being alarmed,[5] became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahādur Khān turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amīrs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihār, and gained possession of that country,[6] assuming the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad,[7] establishing the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal, and brought it within the area of their control.[8] The *Khuṭbah* was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, whose name was Khān-i-Khānān[9] came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sulṭān, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sulṭān, sent that same son of his[10] to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahīru- 330.

[1] MS. (A) reads در قید.

[2] MS. (A) reads مرحله. MS. (B) مرحلست. For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Faridūn, *see* Shahnāma (Atkinson) page 49 *et seqq.*, also Shahnāma (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83.

[3] MS. (A) reads که دیده است.

[4] MS. (A).

[5] MS. (B) هراسان.

[6] MS. (A) omits و. Firishta adds as far as Sambal.

[7] Footnote variant محمود *Maḥmūd*. Firishta reads Muḥammad.

[8] MS. (A) تسخیر و ضبط. MS. (B) ضبط و تسخیر. Text ضبط و تصرف.

[9] Firishta says غازیخان Ghāzī Khān.

[10] MS. (B) پسر خود را.

d-Dīn Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint[1] against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sulṭān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,[2] and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, sent 'Alam Khān Lodī to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādishāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany 'Ālam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qiṭ'ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was *Fatḥ badaulat*.[3] (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādishāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry[4] in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran[5] cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

[1] MS. (B) writes شکایت after از پدر خود instead of before it as in the text. MS. (A) reads معاتب for شکایت.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

[3] فتح بدولت *Fatḥ ba daulat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit مرد کاری.

[5] MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lāhor, while Amīr Khusrū, who had strengthened the fortress of Sīālkoṭ, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzī Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Sīālkoṭ where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Sīālkoṭ founded Dholpur.][1] 'Ālam Khān proceeded to Dihlī by order of Bābar, and encountering Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, made[2] a night attack upon the army of the Sulṭān; and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amīrs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm did 332.
not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers[3] of 'Ālam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained[4] with 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand[5] his attack. The faithless 'Ālam Khān passing through[6] the Doāb came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungūna,[7] one of the dependencies of Malot,[8] at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padishāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Ālam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalānūr, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and other Amīrs[9] came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzī Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzī Khān and Khān-i-Khānān][10] determined upon flight

[1] Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) آورد و.

[3] The text reads rightly عالم خانیان. MS. A reads عالم خان.

[4] MS. (A) ماندند. [5] MS. (B) پای ثابت.

[6] MS. (B) omits گذشته.

[7] The text and both MSS. read Gungūna. *See* Erskine's Bābar, p. 300. "The fort of Kinkūteh."

[8] In Pind Dādan Khān *taḥṣīl* Jhīlam, District Panjāb, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, IX. 263.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) دیگر امرا.

[10] Not in text. cf. MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A)
و دولتخان دران بودند رفته محاصره نمود

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were[1] pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated[2] gave him a place near himself.[3]

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,[4] and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādishāh. Some few days after this occurrence Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison[5] and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzī Khān, and encamped[6] at the foot of the Dūn,[7] which is a very high hill, Ghāzī Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sihrind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar;[8] thence he came to the borders of[9] Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to[10] proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, had stood fast[11] near Dihlī,

MS. (B) goes on حاصره نمودند و غازي خان و خانخانان ازان قلعه فرار دادند

1 MS. (A) reads گناهان او.

2 MS. (A) جای دادند. MS. (B) نشستن فرمود و.

3 Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, *see* Elliot IV. 246. Firishta's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

4 In MS. (A) the word بسپاهیان precedes قسمت: in the text it follows it.

5 Firishta does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzī Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

6 MS. (A) نزول فرمود.

7 The text reads دامن کوه نا دون with a footnote variant هندون. MSS.(A) (B) read دامن کوه دون, see *Tūzak-i-Bābarī*, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Ābkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

8 MS. (A) کهکر.

9 MSS. (A) (B) بحدود omit در.

10 MS. (A) omits که.

11 MSS. (A) (B) متمکن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Baban the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amīrs, were despatched against Ḥamīd Khān the *Khaṣṣ-i-Khail* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who was advancing at the head of a force from Ḥiṣṣār Fīroza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Ḥamīd Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.[1] The *sarkār* of Hiṣṣār Fīroza with a revenue of two crores,[2] was given as a reward to the Shāhzāda, and Bābar Pādishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, and Sulṭān Junaid Mīrzā[3] Birlās to oppose Dā'ūd Khān and a body of Amīrs of the army of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghāns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,[4] King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred **334.**
gun-carriages[5] had been prepared in one day. Ustā[6] 'Alī Qulī the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash.[7] And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets[8] were placed, so that on the day of

1 MS. (B) اسیر.

2 MS. (A) دوکروز, see however *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 293. 3 MSS. (A) (B).

4 بر انغار *barānghār*, right wing. جو انغار. *jawānghār*, left wing, called also جو انگول *jawāngūl*. غول *ghūl* or قول *qūl*, means the centre of an army. (*See* Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk-oriental*), see also Erskine's Bābar, p. 227.

5 Text writes عرابۂ. MS. (A) writes this word ارابۂ.

6 Ustād Alī Qulī (Erskine's Bābar, p. 302).

7 ارقمچي P. de C. does not give this word. (?) قمچي ارد the end of a whip, *i. e.*, the lash. See Erskine's Bābar, p. 304.

8 The text reads توبرۂ پرخاک *tūbra-i-purkhāk*. MS. (A) omits the words پرخاک *purkhāk*, while MS. (B) writes پرخاک تفنگ *purkhāk-i-tufāng*. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبرۂ *tūbra*, we should read توڑۂ

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined [1] to march, and encamp with the city of Pānipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,[2] while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with [3] arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,[4] and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.[5] Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir[6] 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānīpath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādishāh [7] comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.[8] The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.[9] At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and certain other Āmīrs, with five or six[10] thousand men made a night attack[11] upon Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, *see* Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk-oriental s. v.* توڑا توڑہ pièces de bois et defer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaines et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. *See* also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 *n.* 2. *See* also *Pers*: *Lat Lexicon s v.* تو را, also Elliott *IV.* 251. *n.* 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word توبرہ *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for توڑہ, the words پر خاک having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

1 MS. (B) قرار او. 2 MS. (A) پیش سپاہ. 3 MS. (B) بہ تیر و تفنگ.

4 The text reads بمدافع و مجادلہ with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun مدافعہ. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

5 MS. (B) omits عرابہ and writes بار تعقب.

6 April 12, 1526. 7 MS. (B) بادشاہ. 8 MS. (B) تخمینا.

9 MS. (A) writes ظاهر for واقع. MS. (B) writes wrongly جراحتي ظاهر نشد for جراتي.

10 MSS. (A) (B) پنج شش. 11 MS. (A) شبیخون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,[1] and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab[2] in the aforesaid year, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikandar,[3] clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amīr Qarā Qūrchī and Amīr Shaikh 'Alī, with certain other Amīrs, and from the right wing, Walī Qizil and Bāba Qushqah, with the whole force of Mughūls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amīrs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,[4] Amīr Muḥammad Gokultāsh, and Amīr Yūnas 'Alī, and Amīr Shāh Manṣūr Birlās, with other famous Amīrs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],[5] and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,[6] the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others[7] were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field
That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood.

The slain lay in heaps,[8] while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

1 MS. (A) writes پراگند شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.

2 المرجب *Al-murajjab*. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, *see* Lane *s.v.* رجب.

3 MS. (A) omits اسکندر.

4 MS. (B) فوج.

5 Omitted from MS (B).

6 The text is wrong here: we should read در شیبهٔ تیر *dar shaiba-i-tīr* on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

7 MS (B) supplies بعضی after پر و بال.

8 We should read و از کشتهٔ پشته شد.

qarns[1] has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages[2] was proceeding one day at early morning[3] from the city of
336. Lāhor towards Fatḥpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head[4] was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and[5] about five or six thousand who formed Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident[6] to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,
Thou knowest[7] now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.
That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water
He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.[8]

Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this[9] signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihlī[10] on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name,[11] despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure[12] belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.[13]

1 The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

2 MSS. (A) (B) اوراق را. 3 MS. (A) وقت سحري.

4 MSS. (A) (B) سرش را. 5 MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

6 MS. (B) reads روز شب. 7 MS. (B) reads حيرتى.

8 Read here با پهنا for تا پهنا. A footnote to the text states that ناپهنا is the reading of all three MSS.

9 MS. (A) اين چنين فتح. 10 MS. (B) بة دهلي. 11 MS. (B) omits بنام.

12 MS. (A) (B) خزينة and omit كة. 13 MSS. (A) (B) نمودند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
However brave-hearted a man may be
He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.[1]

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahīd shudan-i-Ibrāhīm*[2] (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodī family, and rested on the descendants of Amīr Tīmūr Sāḥibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ẒAHĪRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD BĀBAR PĀDISHĀH GHĀZĪ. 337.

After this ascended[3] the throne[4] of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshghar. He also despatched offerings[5] to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medīnah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amīrs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve[6] their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,[7] and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,[8] while Qāsim Sanbalī in Sambal, and Niẓām Khān in Baiāna, and Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān[9] in Gwāliār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Quṭb Khān, and Kalpī by 'Ālam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrahīm also, had refused to own his sway,[10] and[11] having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave[12] him the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad; his empire extended as far as

1 MS. (B) reads بی مرگ.
2 شهید شدن ابراهیم = 932.
3 MSS. (A) (B) نمود.
4 MS. (B) سریر.
5 MS. (A) نذور.
6 MS. (A) reads ترقیه.
7 MSS (A) بود (B) بوده after متوحش.
8 MS. (A) omits و بقاع.
9 MS. (A) سارنگ خان.
10 MS. (A) نمیکرد.
11 MSS. (A) (B) supply و.
12 MS. (A) نهادند.

Bihār, and Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Ágra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādishāh to conquer these countries, and Fīroz Khān, and Sārang Khān,[1] and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*.[2] Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,[3] being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Niẓām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,[4] which is in the vicinity of Rantanbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā,[5] with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed[6] to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdī Khwāja, and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,[7] joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,[8] who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, named Sulṭān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast[9] army.

1 MSS. (A) (B) خانی.
2 MSS. (A) (B) جایگیرها.
3 MSS. (A) (B) supply متعین.
4 MSS. (A) (B) کهندار.
5 MSS. (A) (B) را.
6 MSS. (A) (B) معین.
7 MS. (B) writes اتاوه for اتاوة.
8 MS. (A) writes شاه Shāh.
9 MS. (A) بیپایان.

Marching by way of Basāwar[1] they arrived in the neighbourhood of Faṭḥpūr, otherwise known as Sīkrī.[2] Nizām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Bābar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafi'u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Balkh,[3] and the chief[4] of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, had been given the title of *Ḥaẓrat-i-Muqaddas* (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sulṭān and tendered his service. Tārtār Khān Sārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khandhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwāja Raḥīm[5] Dād and Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of *da'watu-l-asmā*,[6] entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tātār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him 339.
into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afghān gave up the fort of Dholpūr to[7] the Amīrs of Bābar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā[8] had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Faṭḥpūr; Bābar Pādishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote[9] a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amīrs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Ḥarand[10] and

1 MS. (A) پشاور. 2 *See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 433.

3 MSS. (A) (B) ابخ *Abkh.* 4 MS. (A) اعاظم. 5 MS. (B) جم.

6 *Lit.*: calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muḥammadans. For a full account of it, *see* Hughes (Dict. of Islām) article *Da'wah*, p. 72. MS. (B) reads دعوات. The text has a misprint رهنموني for رهنموني.

7 MS. (A) بة. 8 MSS. (A) (B) كة رانا. 9 MS. (B) مى نوشتند.

10 Footnote variant to the text reads حريد Ḥarīd.

Bihār from Nasīr Khān[1] Luhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amīr, Shāh Ḥasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over 'Ālam Khān the governor of that place,[2] and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king's service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great[3] and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandī arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the
340. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fatḥpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.[4]

Verse.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least depart with honour.
The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man's death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,[5] and the promulgation of the

1 A footnote variant نصرتخان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

2 MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

3 The text reads قدوة الاعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that اعاظم is correct.

4 MS. (A) همت والا نهمت.

5 The كلمة *Kalimah*. "There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God," *see* Qur'ān xlvii. 21 and xlviii 29. *See* also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art: *Kalimah*.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice [1] to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islām floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah; they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Mīwātī,[2] a *jogī*[3] in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salīm Shāh Afghān Sūr, raised a rebellion in Mīwāt, and called himself[4] Ḥasan Khān, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Mīwātīs, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him[5] in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,[6] and the late Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khān used to say, that Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī[7] was a man who commanded a large following,[8] and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin[9] resembled[10] an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive.[11] God forbid that this wretch, should be that Ḥasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānzādas of Mīwāt moved by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this[12] victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.). 341.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHĀH BĀBAR.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words *Shash-i-Shawwāl*[13] also form the date of his decease,

1 MS. (B) reads دادند راه.
2 MS. (B) omits میواتي.
3 MS. (A) reads چوکي.
4 MS (B) میگفت. Text and MS. (A) میگرفت.
5 MS. (B) دیده بودند.
6 Both MSS. (A) (B) omit هیچ.
7 Both MSS. (A) (B) read میواتي for مذکور.
8 MS. (A) reads صاحب حچتی.
9 MSS. (A)(B) مردک.
10 MS. (B) می‌نماید.
11 *Lit.* like that of a changeling.
12 MSS. (A) (B) omit این.
13 شش شوال = 937 (H).

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muḥarram,

The year of his birth[1] also is *Shash-i-Muḥarram.*

The duration of his reign in Māwarā-annahr, Badakhshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was[2] thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode:

Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,[3] who translated in most elegant[4] style, the *Wāqi'at-i-Bābarī*,[5] which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses.

342. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me

What have I done? or what hast thou heard or seen from me?

There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize my heart.

I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

Verses.[6]

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips of thine

Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its earthly shrine.

[1] The text reads correctly تاریخ سال او but both MSS. (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārikh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

[2] MS. (A) omits بود. [3] MS. (A) reads ذین حوافست.

[4] *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī.* This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Tūrkī here referred to by our author. *See* Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's Bābar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح. [6] MS. (A) reads و له.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational [1] and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā'ī who wrote a Maṣnavī in the metre of the Makẖzan-i-Asrār.[2] At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another[3] is Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and[4] at the time when Darmash Khān[5] was appointed[6] by Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī Husainī to the Governorship of Khurāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word *Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days*,[7] and that true Ḥadīṣ (tradition) that *He created the world in seven days*,[8] explained it in two ways; Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn[9] refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments, and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed[10] their signatures. The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following *rubā'ī* is selected;[11]

Quatrain. 343.

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read معقول.

2 MS. (A) supplies اسرار. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. p. 595 *n* 2, also Beale, p. 67.

3 MSS. (A) (B) و دیگری. *See* Beale, p. 243. Shihābu-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. *See* next page.

4 MS. (A) در زمانی که.

5 MS. (A) درمش خان Darmash Khān. 6 MSS. (A) (B) منصوب شد.

7 Qur'ān VII. 52 X. 3.

8 See *Mishkāt* xxiv. I. 3. "God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday, and the trees on Monday, and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday, and scattered the beasts of the earth on Thursday, and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday, the last of the creation."

9 MS. (B) writes Shihāb only. 10 MSS. (A) (B) write ثبت کردهٔ اند.

11 The text reads ازان جملهٔ فقیر است. MS. (A) omits the word فقیر and MS. (B) reads فقر possibly for نقل.

It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,[1]
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck dumb.

The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him.

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment[2] displaying coquetry.
Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from[3] one corner.[4]

The death of the Maulavī took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mīr Khond[5] Amīr the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib*. And one of the wonderful[6] inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khaṭṭ-i-Bābarī (the Bābarī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrkī poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanīfite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,[7] and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn[8] wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises[9] on Prosody are also in common use.

[1] Shihābu-d-Dīn was called Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib (the brilliant star); these words also give the date of his death, *see* post.

[2] MS. (A) reads از for هر. [3] MS. (A) reads در for از.

[4] The following is the explanation of this *Mu'amma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'ī*. بر صفحهٔ گل کرد رقم آن سر زلف. That is to say: she took the word گل and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the ل *lām*, thus leaving کا; to this she added آن سر زلف *ān Sar-i-zulf*, that is to say the last letter of the word زلف, the letter ف, thus having کا...ف. To this she added رخ مه *rukh-i-mah*, the first letter of the word مه, which is in Arabic شهر. This will give the whole word کاشف.

[5] MS. (A), *see* Beale, p. 150. [6] MSS. (A) (B) omit غرائب.

[7] The text reads مثنات بای بفتح نام مبین.

[8] MS. (A), *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, *et seqq*.

[9] MS. (B) reads ویل for رسایل, *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse.

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood;
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned monarch.

NAṢĪRU-D-DĪN [WAU-D-DUNYĀ][1] MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYŪN PĀDSHĀH-I-GHĀZĪ. 344.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amīr Khalīfa who was the agent and prime minister[2] of the Government, ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date.

Verse.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words "*Khairu-l-Mulūk.*"[3]

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was invented in the words *Kishtī-i-Zar* (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kālinjar,[4] and,[5] after quelling the insurrection of Sulṭān 'Ālam ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, who had raised a revolt in Jaunpūr, returned to Āgra and made a great feast, at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days,[6] Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mīrzā[7] ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, who had hostile intentions

[1] MS. (A).

[2] The text reads وکیل و وزیر مطلق. MS. (A) reads وزیر سلطنت.

[3] خیرالملوک *Khairu-l-Mulūk.* Best of Kings. The letters of the words خیرالملوک give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words کشتیِ زر *kishtī-i-zar* in the next line.

[4] MS. (B) writes کالیچر *Kalīchar* and کشیدہ بود.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) supply و. [6] MS. (A) دران ایام. [7] MS. (B) میرزا.

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā joined Sulṭān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was seized with a pain at the heart,[1] for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses)[2] to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā begged Sulṭān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulqand*. He accord-
345. ingly summoned his *sharbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulqand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā,[3] and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulqand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were[5] so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sulṭān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Sulṭān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;[6] he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodī being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

[1] MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی.

[2] گلقند *Gulqand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwiyah s.v.* ورد.

[3] MSS. (A) (B).

[4] MSS. (A) (B) بالاخر.

[5] MS. (A) reads بود for بودی in the text.

[6] For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, *see* Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict[1] with Mīrzā Handāl, in which he attacked with three thousand[2] men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sulṭān Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh[3] moved against him from Āgra; and in this same year Mīrzā Kāmrān, proceeding by forced marches from Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Mīrzā, the brother of Shāh[4] Ṭahmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kalān Bēg, and[5] the following hemistich gives the date.

Zada Pādshāh Kāmrān Sām rā.[6]

(King Kāmrān defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekasī[7] also writes the following

Verse.

346. At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight,

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown,[8] in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sulṭān Bahādur and engage his attention

1 MS. (A) نمودة.

2 The text reads سیصد *Sī Ṣad* 3000. MS. (B) reads ششصد *Shash Ṣad* 600.

3 MS. (A) writes میرزا Mīrzā. 4 MS. (A) omits شاة. 5 MS. (A) داد و.

6 زدة پادشة کامران سام را. These letters form the date 942. H.

7 Footnote variant شکیبي *Shikebī*.

8 افگندة تاج زر ز شکست سپاة سام. The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus:

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sām (Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām). By *Tāj-i-Zar* is meant the letter ز, the first letter of the word زر, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of *Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām* gives 949 − 7 = 942.

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,[1] halted at Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and[2] Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.[3] The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzī, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jamshīd,
When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph, the glory of the sons of Timūr.
Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,
The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."[4]

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,[5] and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sulṭān 'Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Aḥmadābād. Bahādur leaving Aḥmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,[6]
347. and from there to the port of Dīp,[7] and at that time the fortress

1 See Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*, p. 382. 2 MSS. (A) (B) supply و here.

3 MS. (A) reads مندو, so also footnote variant to text.

4 ذل بهادر *Zull-i-Bahādur*. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read *Zill-i-Bahādur*, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."

5 MS. (B) reads گرفته یافته which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

6 Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatirth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. *See* also Tieffenthaler I. 370 *et seqq.*

7 Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dip* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu' île de Soreth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour *Mosambique*. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Ain-i-Akbarī* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 *n.*

of Jānpānīr[1] was also taken after a battle by the Pādshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse:—

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Ṣafar."[2]

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country[3] of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Aḥmadābad. Mīrzā 'Askarī who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh towards the East,[4] remained at Aḥmadābād with the intention of having the Khuṭbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amīr Hīndū Bēg; however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānīr, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā 'Askarī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mirzā 'Askarī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānīr from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting.[5] [And in this year Shaikh[6] Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words *Khusrū-i-Hind būda* (he was the Khusrū of Hindustan)].[7] In this year also Shāh Ṭahmāsp came up against Qandahār from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrzā,[8] and[9] Khwāja Kalān Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Dīwānkhāna (Hall

[1] *Or* Chāmpānīr. See Bayley's *History of Gujrāt*, pp. 390 *et seqq.*

[2] نهٔ شهر صفر بود *Nuh-i-Shahr-i-Ṣafar būd.* These words give the date 942 H.

[3] MS. (A) omits ولایت. [4] A footnote variant reads برهان پور Burhānpūr.

[5] The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.

[6] MS (B).

[7] خسرو هند بودهٔ. The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that ذل بهادر represents 932 and not 942. This is a mistake.

[8] MS. (A) here inserts the date ۹۴۲ (942) in figures.

[9] MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh Jamālī, *supra n* 6.

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Ṭahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared [1] resting place, which he did, and [2] gave Khwāja Kalān Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Ṭahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amīrs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence [3] of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession [4] of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession [5] of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped [6] before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sulṭān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

348.

[*Ḥaif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,*
Mīkh dar jānash nih o nāmash bikhwān][7]

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mīkh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

[1] MSS. (A) (B) طیار تزلا. [2] MS. (A) supplies و. [3] MS. (B) omits زمان.
[4] MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار. [5] MS. (A) متصرف شد.
[6] MS. (A) معسکر ساخته.
[7] This معما *mu'ammā* or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومي خان *Rūmīkhān*, contain as will be seen the word ميخ *mīkh* between the syllables *Rū*...*ān*. These form the word روان *Rawān*, one meaning of which is *life*, for which the synonym in Persian is جان *jān*. So the writer says: Place the word *mīkh* in his life (روان *rawān*,) and you have his name رو ميخ ان *Rū mīkh ān*, *i.e.*, Rūmī Khān.

he reduced [1] that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shīr Khān who was engaged in conflict [2] with Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn [3] Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shīr Khān. Naṣīb Shāh [4] submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mīr Hindū Bēg, with the rank of *Amīru-l-Umarā*, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhī,[5] a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shīr 349.
Khān and Khawaṣṣ Khān, the well-known servant of Shīr Khān, had fortified, and came into Bangāla. Shīr Khān not being able to withstand him, left by way of Chahār Khand to the fortress of Rohtās, and fell upon the rear of Humāyūn's army, and gained possession of the fortress of Rohtās by crafty means, in the following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families [6] with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters [7] sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out, and entering the fort,[8] put them all to the sword.[9]

[1] MSS. (A) (B) فتح فرمودة.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) read محاربة. *muḥāraba*. The text reads wrongly محاصرة. *muḥāṣara*.

[3] *Dele* را MSS. (A) (B).

[4] The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) كرهي, *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 367 *n.* 2.

[6] The text reads بساى خود را درانجا, with two footnote variants بسي and بسهي. The meaning is not clear, but from the *Tārīkh-i-Shīr Shāhi* this appears to be what is meant. *See* Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

A still better reading however suggests itself namely بتقريب آنكه بساى الخ, instead of بفريب آنكه. We should then translate: "And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner."

[7] The محفّة *Miḥaffa* is, as its name implies, a litter so *closed in* that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. *See* Lane *s. v.* حف.

[8] MS. (A) reads در آمدة و بر آمدة.

[9] Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy).

The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)[1] three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jāegīrs*,[2] if the king will think about a *jāegīr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,[3] and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency[4] of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīrzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongīr, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion[5] of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ulugh Mīrzā, and Shāh Mīrzā, who had
350. fled and had done great mischief in the Dihlī country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, after that Sulṭān Bahādur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs,[6] could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit دو. 2 MS (A) omits ها.

3 بعد از خرابي بصرة. *Ba'd az kharābī-i-Baṣra.* After the ruin of Baṣra. A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balāgha* by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Ḥadīd al Mu'tazilī. When Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāhebu-z-Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaffaq b-Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. *See* Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.

4 MS. (A) reads بی سامانی و پریشانی MS. (B) بی سامانی و پشیمانی.

5 MS. (A) omits و فساد.

6 This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramazūn A.H. 943. *See* Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H. Mīrzā Hindāl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,[1] put to death Shaikh Buhlūl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwāliār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,[2] and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqad māta Shahīdan*.[3] Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mīrzā Hindāl in this year read the Khuṭbah in his own name in Āgra. Humāyūn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahāngīr Bēg the Mughūl, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khuṭbah should occasion arise, set out for Āgra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausā,[4] which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amīrs of Jaunpūr and Chināŕ came in and offered to tender their services. Shīr Khān seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,[5] which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

1 MS. (A) reads مفتیان Muftiyān.

2 MS. (A) reads دعوت اسما و سحر *da'wat-i-Asmā wa siḥr*, "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic." *Da'wah* is said in the *Jawāhiru l-Khamsa* to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease, for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By اسما *Asmā* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the *Asmāu-l-jalālīyeh* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmāu-l-jamālīyeh*, "amiable attributes." For a full account, *see* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām* articles DA'WAH and MAGIC.

3 فقد مات شهیدا *Faqad māta shahīdan*. These words give the date 945 H. MS. (B) appends the date in figures.

4 Footnote variant جوسه *Jausah*.

5 The text reads رماهي *ramāhe*, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زهابي *zahābe*, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS. (B). MS. (A) reads رهائي *rahā'e* We should read رهابي *rahābe*, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. *See* Elliott and Dowson IV, 370*n*.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad 'Azīz,[1] who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.[2] Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves[3] rolled up, and with a spade in
351 his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*[4] to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,[5] but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.'" Then he sent Shaikh Khalīl,[6] one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world, because out of craft,
In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in armour.
I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

[1] MS. (A) reads محمد يرغري Muḥammad Yarghārī. MS. (B) reads محمد پر عزيز Muḥammad pur 'Azīz.

[2] Read ايلچي گري for ايلچي گيري. MSS. (A) (B).

[3] Omit را MSS. (A) (B).

[4] شاميانه *Shāmiāna*, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. *See* Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and *note* 2.

arriving first [1] at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning [2] them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier [3] came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Āgra. Shīr Khān wrote [4] 35
this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farīd the son of Hasan,[5]
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—[6]

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,
Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes.[7]

This event occurred in the year 946 H. and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written:

Salāmat bawad Pādshāh kase.[8]

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāla, and after fighting several engagements [9] put to death Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh,[10] and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

[1] پیشر *pīshtar* (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read بیشتر. *bīshtar*, in great numbers.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) مي ساختند.

[3] Named Niẓām according to Firishta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) گفت کہ.

[5] Shīr Shāh was originally called Farīd Khān, and his father's name was Ḥasan Khān.

[6] MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

اگرچہ مصرع ثانی این بیت استثار دارد

No authority exists for such a reading.

The verses in question are by Firdausi.

[7] Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دگر را ز شاهي بماهي دهي

[8] MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946).

[9] MSS. (A) (B) omit بشکال. *See* Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376–378.

[10] 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Ḥaẓrat-i-'Ālī*.

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmrān Mīrzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shīr Khān and the rebellion of Mīrzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mīrzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihlī, in which Mīr Fakhr 'Alī and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mīrzā Kāmrān. Mīr Fakhr 'Alī also came in and had an interview with him,
353 but Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mīrzā Hindāl separating from Mīrzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,[1] till that eventful defeat took place:[2] after the defeat at Jausā[3] he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mīrzā Kāmrān in Āgra. The Mīrzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.[4] Afterwards Hindāl Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mīrzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shīr Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mīrzā put forward a claim to proceed to[5] the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded[6] to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mīrzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.[7] In the meantime Mīrzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

1 MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر.
2 MS. (B) حادث گشت.
3 Text چوسا Chausā.
4 MS. (A) گردند.
5 MS. (A) بة.
6 MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودند.
7 Omit the words دار گیر MSS. (A) (B).

of severe diseases,[1] and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers[2] to entertain suspicion against Humāyūn, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered[3] poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lāhor, and in breach[4] of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Āgra in the service of the king, took the whole of it[5] with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar the Mughul and Dughlāt[6] Kashmīrī also remained at Āgra, and were kindly treated. Shīr Khān waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year[7] aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a[8] force under his son Quṭb Khān, sent him across [the Ganges][9] against Kalpī and Itāwa. Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Usbeg, in concert with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Iskandar Sulṭān, after a fight in the vicinity of Kālpī, put to death the son of Shīr Khān with a large number[10] of his following, sending their heads to Āgra. 35

Humāyūn started to oppose Shīr Khān with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qanauj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shīr Khān did not comprise in all more than five thousand[11] cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mīrzā Kāmrān also took flight to Lāhor, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

1 امراض متضادة *Amrāẓ-i-mutaẓāddah.* Lit.: Diseases of opposite tendencies, *i. e.*, those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

2 بگفتهٔ های غرضگویان MSS. (A) (B).

3 MS. (B) دادهٔ اند. 4 MS. (B) بخلافت for بخلاف.

5 Read here همه را همراه خود برد MSS (A) (B) instead of و تتمه را الخ. Text.

6 Read و دغلات MS. (A).

7 MS (B) reads wrongly در خراسان for در آخر سال.

8 MSS. (A) (B) نامی ساختند. 9 MSS. (A) (B) omit گنگ.

10 MSS. (A) (B) جمع کثیر.

11 MS. (B) says پنجاه هزار *panjāh hazār*, fifty thousand.

all directions The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time[1] Shīr Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muḥarram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words *Kharābī-i-mulk-i-Dillī*.[2] The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight[3] and took to their heels, while a small
355. body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,[4] but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),[5] escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that[6] the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,[7] so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabī'u-l-awwal of this year all the Sulṭāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe[8] assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sulṭān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mīrzā Kāmrān

1 MSS. (A) (B) در همین حین.

2 خرابي ملک دلي. These letters give the date 947 H.

3 *Jang nā karda*. MS. (A) omits ترتیب *tartīb*.

4 MS. (B) reads مردانه وار کوشش و کشش دادند.

5 Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word *Atka*, *Atikā*, or *Atākā* is a Turkī word, signifying precepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkōṭ.

6 MS. (A) omits چون. 7 MSS. (A) (B) read اینجا قرار نتوانستند گرفت.

8 For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, *see* Ney and Elias *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 28 *et seqq*. MS. (B) writes چغته.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mīrzā Ḥaidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed[1] that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mīrzā Ḥaidar arrived at Naushahra[2] which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīrīs and conquered it: and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkoṭ. When tidings reached the king 356
that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sulṭānpūr and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mīrzā Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahīra, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkoṭ, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mīrzā Kāmrān together with Mīrzā 'Askarī, separating[3] from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kābul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind. Mīrzā Hindāl, and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of[4] Amīr Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humāyūn, that one *sīr*[5] of the smaller millet[6] could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafī*.[7] The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmīr,[8] and the country of Mārwār, where strange[9] incidents

[1] MSS. (A) (B) مقرر ساختند.

[2] Nowshera.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) supplying از.

[4] MS. (B) reads بہ صحبت, in company with.

[5] About two pounds.

[6] غلۂ جواري *Ghalla-i-jawārī*. This is the Hindustānī, or rather, the Panjābī name. In Persian it is called ارزان *arzan*.

[7] The proper average price of this grain being six *dām* per *man* of forty sīrs, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 : 6,000.

[8] MS. (A).

[9] Omit و غریب MSS. (A) (B).

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Ṭahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

Shīr Khān ibn i Ḥasan Sūr

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shīr Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The
357. chronogram *Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dillī* [1] was invented [2] to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg [3] to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,[4] in the time of Sulṭān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from [5] Roh, by which is meant Afghānistān, entered the service of Sulṭān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Fīrūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar, and was granted the *jāegīr* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāṣpūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.[6] He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,[7] of whom there were seven, he left his

[1] These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) with يافتند for شد as in the text.

[3] The text reads از بككي MS. (B) از هككي MS. (A) از يككى.
The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

[4] Omit كه MSS. (A) (B).

[5] The text and both MSS. read ردة *Radah* it should be روة *Roh*. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

[6] *Rohtās Sharqī*. Rohtāsgaṛh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, 78.

[7] The text reads برادران اعيانى *barādarān-i-a'yānī*. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخيافى *Akhyāfī* brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), *see* E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamāl Khān spent some time in Jaunpūr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself [1] in knowledge, until he had read the *Kāfiyah* [2] with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, *Sikandarnāma* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaikhs* of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāegīrs*. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices [3] for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check.[4] Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farīd and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother,[5] he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān,[6] one of the chief commanders [7] of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers [8] before the Sulṭān.[9] The Sulṭān however, was displeased 358
at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.[10] Upon the death of Ḥasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sulṭān, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shīr Khān. There he remained for some time,[11] and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luḥānī,[12] who had read the *Khuṭbah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

1 There is a little variation in the reading here: MS. (B) reads تحصیل علم و کسب فضائل. MS. (A) also reads فضائل *faẓāil*, excellencies.

2 *Al-Kāfiyah fi'l naḥw*. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn, (Ibnu-l-Ḥājib); for an account of this work and its commentary, *see* H. K. No. 9707.

3 MS (A) لطائف الحیل. 4 MS. (A) ضبط نمود.

5 Niẓām Khān was the brother of Farīd Khān by the same mother.

6 Daulat Khān the son of Budhū, was a commander of 12,000 horse and in great favour with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (E. D. IV, 321).

7 MS. (A) omits کبار. 8 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

9 MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

10 Read here اینکه پدر ازو ناراضي باشد MS. (B).

11 (MSS.) (AB) بسر برد و.

12 نوحاني MSS. (A) (B).

Sulṭān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sulṭān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānīpath, and Bābar Pādshah had conquered Hindūstān and planted[1] the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the title of Shīr Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sulṭān, who also appointed him to be tutor[2] to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sulṭān Muḥammad against Shīr Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sulṭān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Ḥasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawāṣpūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shīr Khān who was known as the father of Khawāṣ Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shīr Khān at Sahsarām. Shīr Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sulṭān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jāegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sulṭān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sulṭān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shīr Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over[3] the *parganas* he held as *jāegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Niẓām his full brother in charge

[1] MS. (A) reads آختند for افراختند.

[2] اتالیغ *Atālīgh*, this word is Tūrkī. In its Arabicized it becomes اطالیق, but the other is the correct orthography. اتالیغ *Atā līgh* literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité: nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestān et le Kharisur, chef de tribu: qui élève une personne.

[3] MS. (A) writes گذرانیده. MS. (B) omits گذاشته.

of the *jāegīr*, went again to Sulṭān Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābar Padshāh. Taking Shīr Khān with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābar on the expedition to Chanderī. In accordance with Mughūl habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person [1] had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.[2] One day Bābar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,[3] and demanded the punishment of Shīr Khān. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double-dealings. Shīr Khān accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sulṭān Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,[4] that since Muḥammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sulṭān Muḥammad to send [5] an army against Shīr Khān's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughūls, and as he could not easily and quickly [6] obtain leave of absence from Bābar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sulṭān. 360.
Thence he proceeded to Sulṭān Muḥammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm 'Ālam, the governor of Ḥājipūr, one of the Amīrs of the Wālī

1 MS. (A) supplies كسى.
2 MSS. (A) (B) supply كرد و after مي تواند.
3 MS. (A) reads عبرت for غيرت text.
4 MS. (A) has بحلف with no dots.
5 Omit مي before بايد MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A) ترددى. The text is correct.

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amīr named Quṭb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm ʿĀlam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm ʿĀlam, and [1] after a fierce battle put Quṭb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānīs,[2] in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālīs in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Quṭb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālīs received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open [3] in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālīs [4] with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sulṭān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khānī [5]][6] Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of
361. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendency over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat [7] had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.[8] He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

1 MS. (A) supplies و.
2 MSS. (A) (B) نوحانیان.
3 MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب, but the textual reading جنگ صف is correct.
4 MS. (A) بنگالة.
5 MS. (B) ساراحاني.
6 Not in MS. (A).
7 MS. (A) بعد از شکست.
8 MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنة.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsarām. Sulṭān Maḥmūd passing by Sahsarām, after writing and making over to Shīr Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,[1] thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnau into his own[2] power. The Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh could not stand against (Shīr Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjar[3] gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Baban and Bāyazīd,[4] who were with him.[5] When the two armies met Shīr Khān, who had stood aloof from Sulṭān Maḥmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindū Bēg Qūchīn, Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. You and the 362.
Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Baban[6] and Bāyazīd.

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Baban[7] being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa[8] he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshāh [after this victory][9] sent Mīr Hindū Bēg as his agent to Shīr Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinār. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amīrs to precede him

1 This agreement was to the effect that should Shīr Khān render effectual assistance to Sulṭān Muḥammad Lodī in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firishta).

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit خود. 3 MS. (B) کالیچر.

4 MSS. (A) (B) read و بین و با یزید. Firishta says Baban and Bāyazīd.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read که همراه او بودند متوجه گشتند. The text is incorrect.

6 MS. (A) بین و.

7 MS. (A). 8 The text reads wrongly اودیسه.

9 Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ.

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also[1] preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazīd. This petition he sent by the hand of Quṭb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Quṭb Khān, 'Īsā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *vakīl* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shīr Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shīr Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shīrgaṛh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another
363. place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dīnpanāh, which Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and[2] Fīrozābād, an extensive city, and built round[3] that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sulṭānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amīrs quarrelled and each took his own way as has been described, and Shīr Shāh himself,[4] not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū,[5] at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin[6] and an Imām.[7] A Musulmān

[1] MS. (A) reads خود هم. [2] MS. (A) supplies و.

[3] MS. (A) reads here و دوران قلعه را. [4] MS. (A) supplies خود

[5] MSS. (A) (B) مندو.

[6] The officer whose duty it is to call the Azān or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, Azān.

[7] The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindū were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a king; to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,[1] I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī[2] in the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer[3] so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next*, the context is well-known. 364.

Verse.

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended.

Rubā'ī.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity.

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, *upon him and his family may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says:[4] "Would that the Lord of Muḥammad had not

1 MSS. (A) (B).

2 21st August, 1540.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read نباید کشید for نبایستی کشید.

4 MSS. (A) (B) omit می writing simple فرماید.

created Muḥammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter
Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.[1]

After that Shīr Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāṣṣ Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khiẓr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sulṭān. Shīr Shāh[2] accordingly bent his course
365. thither, and Khiẓr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shīr Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,[3] Qāẓī Faẓilat the Qāẓī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāẓī Faẓiḥat.[4]

In the year 948 H. he came[5] to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.[6] Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

[1] Cf. Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلـــم سرشتـــهٔ من چکنـــم
وین پشم و قصب تو سرشتهٔ من چکنم
هر نیـــک و بدي که آید از ما بوجود
تو بر سر من نوشتـــهٔ من چکنـــم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I!
Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!
Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

[2] MS. (A).

[3] Omit شرقي MS. (A).

[4] فضیلت *Faẓilat* means excellence. فضیحت *Faẓiḥat* means ignominy.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) باگرہ آمد.

[6] Omit قلعهٔ MSS (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who [1] was one of the slaves of the Khiljī Sulṭāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shīr Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shīr Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shīr Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shīr Khān then nominated Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān [2] to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās; [3] Mallū Khān fought with Ḥājī Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, [4] who was the [5] permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shīr 366.
Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shīr Shāh [6] led an army against the fortress of Rāī Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāī Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

1 Supply كه MSS. (A) (B).
2 MS. (A) supplies را.
3 MSS. (A) (B).
4 MS. (A) سرواني.
5 Omit كه before حاكم MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand [1] women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own *ḥarīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

Qīyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate.[2]

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmal [3] by the intervention of Shāhzāda 'Ādil Khān and Quṭb Khān Nāib,[4] and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mīr Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij,[5] which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodī, broke his word, and caused Pūranmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were
167. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either [6] became food for the edge (*jauhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindī language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and [7] after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast [8] army against Rāi Maldeo [9]

[1] MS. (A) omits دو.

[2] قیام بارگاہ باشد مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

[3] MS. (A) reads دیورپمل Deorīmal and omits ازانجا.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit پائین.

[5] Died at Āgra in 954 or 957, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ايلچي *Ilchī'-e*. MS. (A) reads انجي *Injī*, and MS. (B) reads ايچي *Ichī*. We should read ايجي Ijī, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ايک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, I, p. 415).

[6] MSS. (A) (B) يا.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) و.

[8] *Lit.* exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

[9] MS. (B) omits راى.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstān who held sway over the country of Nāgor and Jaunpūr, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shīr Shāh, from which he never departed,[1] was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ājmīr with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shīr Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amīrs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān,[2] who was grandson to Shīr Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shāh 'Ālam order the *banjāras* (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round[3] the army." This idea[4] highly commended itself to Shīr Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islām Shāh[5] after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'aqīm*[6] (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse.

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about requital.

In short Shīr Shāh, who[7] would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghāns were[8] far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve 368.

1 MS. (A) omits خلاف.
2 MS. (A) reads پسر عادل خان MS. (B) بن عادل خان.
3 MS. (A) reads for برد رگرد.
4 MS. (A) reads این رای او omitting بسیار.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read سلیم شاه. 6 الملک عقیم.
7 MS. (A) omits چون. 8 MSS. (A) (B) read بود.

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish [1] Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,[2] the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo's hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,[3] and, in the dead of night [4] fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,[5] and that this was all the handiwork of Shīr Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions [6] between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,[7] who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shīr Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.[8] After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shīr Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shīr Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

1 سگسار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B) سبکسار.

2 MS. (B) omits نوشت. 3 امرای خویش MSS. (A) (B).

4 شباشب MSS. (A) (B). 5 MS. (A) omits واقع نشده و.

6 *Lit.* to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read درمیان ما. M S. (A) reads و این حیله for و این جمله (Text).

7 This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گویا *Goyā* which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

8 Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, *loc cit*).

mutual assistance, binding[1] their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,[2] and with their swords. Shīr Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and[3] trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.[4] A poet of Basâwar, whose *takhallus* is Faiẓī,[5] wrote this verse on that subject. 369.

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyā[6] protected him as 'Irā.[7]

It is said that after this victory Shīr Shāh on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindūstān[8] for a handful of millet." Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantanbhūr to his son 'Ādil Khān, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mīr Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shīr Shāh, "All my ancestors were[9] authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

[1] The text reads فوطه در فوطه بافتند but we should read بافتند *bāfta*.

[2] *Barchhā*. A Hindī word meaning a small spear.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read پایمال کردند

[4] MS. (B) writes needlessly یك کس ضایع نشد.

[5] See Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I 490, for a full account of the poet Faiẓī.

[6] I read here کنیا for گویا, see *n.* 7, page 478.

[7] بعربی for نفری MSS. (A) (B) عربی 'Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, *see* J. R. S. A. xiii p. 49, (*Bland*, on the Persian game of chess).

[8] MS. (A) supplies را.

[9] MS. (A) بودة اند و.

cities.[1] I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I
370. am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,
My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.[2]

Shīr Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,[3] to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with[4] those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims[5] to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,[6] and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sulṭān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*[7] from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because[8] as soon as the Sulṭān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sulṭān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

[1] Makkah and Madīnah. [2] دفاتر Dafātir.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ايزدي تبارک و تعالی.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) با.

[5] MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Ḥajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, *see* Hughes *Dict. of Islam*, art. Ḥajj.

[6] A footnote variant للهم انزله المقعد المقرب بالقيامة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

[7] MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

[8] MS. (A) چه.

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstān, together with that powerful force and its artillery,[1] his resisting power will be *nil*;[2] and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted 371.
to carry[3] this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object[4] I cannot entertain the idea of your leave.

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,[5] in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibnu Laiṣ[6] [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of 'Irāq, in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imām Ḥusain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the[7] followers of Yazīd,[8] and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known, say, *every man acts after his own manner*,[9] that is after his own desire.

Verse.

My brother thou art all desire, naught else;
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre.
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel.[10]

[1] آتش باري MS. (A).

[2] We should probably read here معدوم for معلوم.

[3] MS. (A) reads او for اد'ای. [4] MS. (A) reads غرض.

[5] *See* next page for the account of Shīr Shāh's accident at the siege of Kālinjar.

[6] See Ibn Khalliqān (De Slane) IV. pp. 301 *et seqq.*

[7] MSS. (A) (B) omit پلید.

[8] Yazīd, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second Khalīfah of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Ḥusain who was killed at Karbalā A.H. 61, *see* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

[9] *See* Qur'ān XVII, 86.

[10] MS. (A) reads هیمه for هیمه. MS. (B) reads هیمه.

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shīr Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions ;[1] and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shīr Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder
372. into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shīr Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,[2] and Shaikh Khalīl the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāẓimu-d-Dīn[3] also were fellow-sufferers with Shīr Shāh in this explosion,[4] Shīr Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,[5] took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,[6] where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little[7] he shouted to his men encouraging them[8] to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs[9] in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

[1] The text reads here مورچلها with a footnote variant مورچها. MS. (B) reads مورچه ها. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading ملحمارها for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read مرحل ها "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مرحل, MS. (A) مرچل, and the text مورچل. *See* note 6.

[2] يلمة *Yulma.* The meaning of this word is given in Faẓlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Chīze ki mūye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair.

[3] MS. (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

[4] MS. (B) reads درين سوزش و شورش.

[5] Both MSS. (A) (B) read هردو دست پس و پيش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

[6] The text reads مورچل. MS. (A) مرچل. MS. (B) مرحل, *see* ante *n.* 1.

[7] MS. (A) مي آيد.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) read here فرياد زدة مردم را الخ.

[9] MS. (A) امراى مورچل.

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,[1] I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cap-a-pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume[2] of the same colour upon his head,[3] and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.[4] The men in the other trenches also gave the same account, saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished :

Verse.

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven itself would have girt its loins, **373.**

If thou hadst[5] been on the side of the faith, the Gemini would have ungirt their sword.

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shīr Shāh suffering and distressed as he was, from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose-water, it was utterly useless[6] to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

1 The text reads و علامات و صورتها از یک دیگر ممتاز بود. MS. (A) reads for صورتها - سوزن MS. (B) reads سورن. The reading of the text is adopted.

2 Fazlu-llāh Khān gives a word یالاو *Yālāū* in the meaning of علم *alam*, a standard or ensign.

3 MSS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant یلو بهمان رنگ, omitting the words ملبوس و عمامه found in the text.

4 MS. (A) جستیم نیافتیم.

5 In the first line MSS. (A) (B) read به for نز (Text). In the second line MS. (A) reads به for نز (Text).

6 The text reads فایده از التهاب اجل نداشت. MS. (B) reads آن for اجل but the correct reading appears to be اصل نداشت MS. (A).

Verse.

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal [1] can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life [2] to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of his death:—

Shīr Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world; the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death. *Zi ātash murd* [3] (he died from the effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahsarām where was the burial-place of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military command was fifteen years, and of his Sulṭānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a mirror, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer." [4]

[1] سندل *Santalum album.* Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the *Makhzanu-l-adwīyah.* The white sandal called in Hindī *Chandan*; the yellow sandal called in Hindī *Malāgīr*; the red sandal called in Hindī *Rakat Chandan.* This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus* (Red sanders). It is generally called *Debī Chandan*, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both *Chandan* and *Malayāgīr* (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in *pūjā* or worship by the Hindūs, who have a saying

Chandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgīr
Prem sahit Thākur nahalwāūn.
With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgīr
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

[2] Omit عاريتي MS. (A).

[3] ز آتش مرد. These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS. (A) (B).

[4] That is to say so late in life. Firishta says: Whenever he looked in the glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, "It was near evening before I attained to empire."

MSS. (A) (B) writes دريغ كه پادشاهي الخ.

Verses.

My heart! like Khiẓr [1] take and drink the water of life,
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.
If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
Take the cup of Kauṣar [2] from the hand of the Hūrī [3] and drink.
The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale. 374.
If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Solomon,
One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide there;
Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.
Every beautiful-faced one,[4] whose beauty is unapproachable
With that one, to thy heart's content,[5] take thy delight.
This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,
Do thou at last see this dream and take it.
Thy life, O Qādirī, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment.
When the hand of Death tears [6] the sleeve of thy existence
Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God).

ISLEM SHĀH IBNI SHĪR SHĀH SŪR,[7]

Who is Islem Khān. on the fifteenth of the month Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amīrs [8] of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,[9] and by the co-operation of 'Īsā Khān Ḥajjāb and the other men of influence and power,[10] succeeded [11] to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem

[1] Al-Khiẓr. *See* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.
[2] Qur'ān cviii. 1–3. *See* Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
[3] The women of Paradise. Qur'ān lv. 56–78.
[4] MS. (A) reads بر خود برو for هر خو برو.
[5] بوادیٔ دل footnote variant بوادیٔ دل MS. (B).
[6] درد (Text) MS. (A) MS. (B) reads دهد.
[7] MS. (A) omits سور.
[8] A footnote variant امرای بهتّه با یلغار. MS (B).
[9] MS. (A) بهتّه *Bhatta.*
[10] اهل حل و عقد.
[11] MSS. (A) (B) read گشت for نشست (Text).

Shāh, and the son of Mulla Aḥmad Junaid,[1] who is well known,[2]
375. found this verse of the sacred word:[3] "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"[4] to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for[5] Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,[6] Khawāṣṣ Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his *jāegīr*, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Quṭb Khān Nāib, 'Īsā Khān Nīyāzī, Khawāṣṣ Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,[7] all of whom were great Amīrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his *jāegīr* after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amīrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fatḥpūr,

[1] MSS. (A) (B) جند *Jund.* [2] MS. (B) omits مشهور.

[3] Supply را MS. (A). *See* Qur'ān xxi, 105.

[4] Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر *i.e.*, that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) عازم آگرہ شد.

[6] Kora (*Corah*) Town in Fatḥpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. *See* Tieff, Vol. I, p. 235 and map, Vol. III. *See* also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* viii, p. 295.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) جلو *Julū.*

otherwise called Sikrī, and Islem Shāh [1] left Āgra and came to Shikārpūr,[2] where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and 376. evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Āgra. Islem Shāh had plotted treachery against 'Ādil Khān, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Ādil Khān. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islem Shāh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Ādil Khān with extraordinary [3] fawning and flattery, saying "I have taken care of these unruly [4] Afghans so far by artful means,[5] now I make them over to you."

Verse.

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance of the cup-bearer.[6]

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.[7] Although 'Ādil Khān was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shāh and his [8] ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islem Shāh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,[9] swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings [10] and oblations. Islem Shāh, in accordance with the compact which had been made,[11] sent 'Īsa Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān to accompany 'Ādil Khān, and having confirmed Baiāna to him as a *jāegīr*, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghāzī Maḥallī, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Ādil Khān.

1 Omit را MS. (B).

2 MS. (A) سنکا پور *Sankāpūr.*

3 MS. (A) reads فوق الحق.

4 MS. (A) بی سر.

5 MS. (A) ما سر خوشیم.

6 From Hāfiẓ. See ode commencing بلطائف الحیل Dīwāni-Hāfiz, Newa Kishore Press, p. 303.

7 MS. (A) reads ملایمت ملازمت.

8 MS. (B) supplies او.

9 Read بمراسم تعظیم MSS. (A)(B).

10 MS. (A) ونثار کرد و ایثار واقع شده

11 MS. (B) omits بود.

'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiāna taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Mīwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Maḥallī, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Ādil Khān, and having gained
377. over to his side all [1] the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Quṭb Khān and 'Īsā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,[2] with whose concurrence the compact [3] had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,[4] and with great management summoned 'Ādil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the *Shab-i-barāt*,[5] so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Ādil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sīkrī on the Shab-i-barāt,[6] spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, in voluntary prayers [7] and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time [8] when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed,[9] spoke very courteously to Quṭb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Ādil Khān. His [10] object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone [11]

1 MSS. (A) (B) read عامهٔ امرا.

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit امرا و.

3 MS. (A) قول و قرار.

4 MSS. (A) (B) read رنجیدند ..... بتقریب instead of بواسطهٔ الخ.

5 The fifteenth day of Sha'bān. A day of great rejoicing among Muḥammadans. Muḥammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. *See* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām.*

Briggs in his translation of Firishta says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و چون شب براة بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) *and inasmuch at it was the Shab-i-barāt.*

6 MS. (A) in error شب بر آب.

7 نوافل و ادعیه. *Nawāfil wa ad'iyah. Nawāfil* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farz* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam, art.* Prayer.

8 چاشتگاهی *Chāshtgāhe.* 14 مضطرب گشته MSS. (A) (B).

9 MS. (A) omits او and also را after مخالفان.

10 Insert تنها after ساعت. MSS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Īsā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amīrs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amīrs[1] whom he had sent,[2] saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khān will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between[3] him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse.

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two-edged sword will make this matter clear.[4]

The Amīrs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused[5] to return to his side and 378.
entered the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khān was defeated[6] and fled alone toward Bhatta.[7] Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Mīwāt and the township of Fīrūzpūr, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindūstān, which[8] are called (the) Kumāon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Quṭb Khān Nāib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunhār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwāliār, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khātampūr, while engaged in playing *chaugān* with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,[9] who was one of the married Amīrs of the Afghāns, and had been[10] an adherent

1 MS. (A) امرای. 2 Omit فرستاد و MS. (B). 3 MS. (B) omits میان.
4 This order of the hemistiches is given in MS. (A).
5 MS. (A) باز ماندة. 6 MSS. (A) (B) شکست افتادة.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit رفت و. 8 MS. (A) omits آن را.
9 MSS. (A) (B) جلو. 10 MS. (A) بودة.

of 'Ādil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],[1] and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Ādil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Quṭb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon
379. hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shīr Shāh had given the title of A'zam Ḥumāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from[2] Islem Shāh, sent Quṭb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī,[3] who was brother-in-law to Shīr Shāh,[4] and Barmazīd Kor who was the *Dajjāl*[5] of that sect, and the Hajjāj[6] of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs[7] and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.[8]

[Among them was Maḥmūd Khān, son of 'Ādil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shīr Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shīr Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly].[9]

And in this year Salīm Shāh summoned A'ẓam Humāyūn from

[1] Not in MSS. (A) (B). [2] بموجب طلب. [3] MS. (B).

[4] Firishta says که شوهر خواهر سلیم شاه بود و بر مزید کور و چند کس دیگر who was sister's husband to Salīm Shah, with Barmazīd Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazīd Kor*. (Briggs II, 132.)

[5] دجال *Dajjāl*. The *Masīḥu-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muḥammad.

[6] *See* ante, *p.* 12 *n.* 1. [7] MSS. (A) (B) omit نامي.

[8] The text reads بداروی تفنگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

[9] This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lāhor, but he advanced some excuse [1] for not coming in person, and sent Sa'īd Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.[2] Islem Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him; at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amīrs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Niyāzī [3] and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown [4] the abovementioned Amīrs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwāliār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkar, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room.[5] [It is said that the 380.
following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying: This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].[6] Then Islem Shāh having made him [7] take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjāb to conquer the country of the Ghakkars [where he arrived with all honour].[8] In short Sa'īd Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

[1] MS. (A) عذر. [2] MS. (B) reads فتانت. صتانت

[3] MS. (A) omits نيازي. [4] MS. (A) omits آن.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read simply در گوشهٔ خانه.

[6] This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) omit باو. [8] Not in MSS. (A) (B).

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Nīyāzī faction, and Ā'ẓam Humāyūn read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dihlī and ordering his army, set out
381. for Lāhor.[1] Ā'ẓam Humāyūn and Khawāṣṣ Khān, and 'Īsā Khān[2] Nīyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the[3] winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of[4] the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'ẓam Khān had asked Khawāṣṣ Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh[5] and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Nīyāzī faction said,[6] The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty.*[7] It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shīr Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,[8] and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Īsā Khān Nīyāzī. The Nīyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre[9] of Islem Shāh's

[1] MS. (A) reads و.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit عیسی خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read only در ایام زمستان. In the winter time.

[4] در ظاهر MS. (A). [5] MS. (A) supplies باشد.

[6] نیازیان گفته باشند. [7] من غَلَبَ سَلَبَ *man ghalaba salaba.*

[8] The text reads جنگ ها کرده but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کرده as in MS. (A) (B).

[9] MS. (A) omits قلب.

army, but in the end[1] pluck told,[2] and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'id Khān, the elder brother of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shāh, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Pādshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shāh recognised the voice of Sa'id Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he[3] made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,[4] and foiled in his purpose made his escape; the Niyāzī faction fled 382.
and came to Dhankoṭ,[5] which is near Roh,[6] and the remainder were plundered by the Kawārs, while some were drowned in the *nullahs* of Ambāla. Islem Shāh pursued as far as Western Rohtās, and despatched Khwāja Wais[7] Sirwānī with a large army to oppose the Niyāzīs, and returned towards Āgra. Leaving Āgra he went[8] to Gwāliār, and made it his capital.[9] When Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, who had made common cause, left the battle field, 'Īsā Khān went to the hill country,[10] [while Khawāṣṣ Khān with five or six hundred cavalry[11] fled to Lāhor]; [and (Islām Khān)[12] Islem Shāh appointed Shams Khān

1 MS. (B) reads آخر for غايتش.

2 نمک کار خود کرد. The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian نمک *nimak* which means literally *salt*, and secondarily *spirit, courage*. It may also mean however that Islem Shāh's men were 'true to their Salt.'

3 The text reads و here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS. (B).

4 Omit حلقهٔ فیلان MSS. (A) (B). 5 MS. (A) دهنکوب *Dhankob.*

6 MS. (A) ردة *Radah.* 7 MS. (A) اویس *Awais.*

8 MS. (A) رفته MS. (B) رفت. 9 آن را پای تخت ساخت MSS. (A) (B).

10 We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words خان بدامن عیسی and goes on به دامن کوه در آمدند. omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

11 MS. (B) کس. 12 اسیلم شاه MS. (A).

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking [1] to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāṣṣ Khān,[2] with three [3] or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped [4] in the grove of Kāmrān Mīrza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having cut down the lofty trees [5] of Safīdār and Chinār [6] of that grove, had set about making *Sāṭūr* [7] and ladders, when [8] his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī and other Amīrs of Salīm Shāh's party with an army of thirty thou-
383. sand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāṣṣ Khān, after a conference with 'Īsā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so [9] that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly [10] he made a breach in the line of Salīm Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.[11]

[1] MS. (A) بجهت مهمی.

[2] MS. (A) هردو سردار. [3] MS. (A) سیصد. [4] MS. (A) فرود آمدند.

[5] MS. (A) درختهای.

[6] The *Safedār*. سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

[7] MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turkī ساتو *Sātū*, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vinea*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

[8] MS. (A) که سواران. [9] MS. (A) reads که راه دهند.

[10] MS. (A) reads از میان بدر رود و.

[11] I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The چهار پای *chahār pāi* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāī Ḥusain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣṣ Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkoṭ][1] whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly[2] in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Nīyāzī faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmīr, but by the craft of the Kashmīrīs were enticed into bye-ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 *H.* (1547 A.D.) an Afghān named Uṣmān, whose hand Sazāwal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Āgra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazāwal Khān and wounded him. Sazāwal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salīm Shāh, he then took his way to Mālwa. Islem Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamīndārs of Sarūr,[3] Salīm Shāh left 'Īsa Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign 384.
Islem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sarkārs* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Niẓām Khān[4] Sūr, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad 'Adilī, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khawāṣṣ Khān and the other Amīrs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pābandh Khazak.[5] He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shir Shāh, which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest-house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,[6] both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

or a broad tape called *niwār*, in common use as a bedstead, and everywhere known as a *chārpoy*. *See* Yule and Burnell, Glossary, *s. v.*

1 The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)

2 MS. (A) مذکور کردہ خواهد شد. 3 Footnote variant سرود Sarūd.

4 MS. (A) writes نظام خان سور.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read خزک *khazak* as in footnote variant. The text reads خبرک *Khabrak*.

6 MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافر.

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash* [1] and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected [2] provinces of Hindūstān which Shīr Shāh had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,[3] should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars* [4] should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized [5] the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave [6] orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,[7] and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system [8] which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions, [9] entering into the minutest essential detail,[10] and dealing with all regulations
85. which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,[11] so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters [12] to the *Qāẓī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.[13]

[1] See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit ممالک.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) ساخته بودند. [4] Dancing girls, *see* ante, p. 250 (Text) *n.* 4.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) omit گرفت. [6] MS. (A) کرد.

[7] MS. (A) خاصهٔ خود ساخت

[8] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (داغ *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

[9] MS. (A) omits the words معاملات و. MS. (B) omits مهمات.

[10] نقیر و قطمیر ضروری *Naqīr o qiṭmīr-i-ẓarūrī*. *Naqīr* means the small groove on the date stone, *qiṭmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

[11] MS. (A) خواه موافق نه. [12] MS. (A) ابواب. [13] MS. (A) بایستی کرد.

Also the Amīrs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,[1] and bring the shoes of Salīm Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*[2] in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munṣif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amīn*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amīr acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amīr would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farīd Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, *on him be the mercy of God*, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H., God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn[3] [fought a battle with the Niyāzīs in the

[1] This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرغه *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkī word. There is a word in the Turkī language سوغمه *Sūghma* or سوقمه *Sūqma* (Faẓlu-llāh Khān) meaning *pilier colonne* (P de C) and it is quite possible that in copying the word ر has been written for و and the م omitted by oversight. We should then have سرغه as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled shāmiānas being very commonly used.

[2] MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بر کشتی که بسردار داده بود upon a tray which he had given to the *Surdār*, instead of با ترکشی که بسر داران داده بود.

[3] MS. (B) omits the words from نامزد to همایون, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'ẓam Humāyūn.

vicinity of Dhankoṭ,[1] and was defeated. A'ẓam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the
386. Nīyāzīs suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwāliār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Nīyāzīs who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'īd Khān, and another Ā'ẓam[2] Humāyūn, and a third Shahbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,[3] and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs[4] and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.[5] This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Nīyāzī, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Nīyāzīs and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.[6] God knows the truth. And Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Nīyāzī party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five
387. forts: *viz.*, Mānkoṭ and Rashīdkoṭ and the others. For a space of

[1] MS. (A) دهنكوب Dhankob. [2] MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

[3] نوبت *Naubat*. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 51.

[4] طبل علاو Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل علا Tabl-i-ulā (nawākhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

[5] سگ فلکم *Sag-i-Falakam*. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shīr-i-falak*, the constellation Leo.

[6] On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghāns[1] employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped[2] the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin[3] by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,[4] he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ād,[5] daily fought with the Afghāns, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghāns[6] dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Ruswāī (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shāh till at last one day Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī,[7] who was one of the most noted Amīrs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third[8] paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindū *daftarī*,[9] and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwāliār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Nīyāzīs came to this, that when 388.

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit دیو نژاد. 2 MS. (A) ریخته.

3 MS. (A) یک فلس و جیتل نداد *Yak fals o jītal na dād.* The text reads فلوس *fulūs.* The *jītal* is an imaginary division of the *dām*, used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 31.

4 Read تا نامزد کرد MS. (A). MS. (B) نامزد کرده. The text is wrong.

5 See Sale's Koran, p. 4. 6 MSS. (A) (B) خط بیني کشیدند.

7 MS A. قرتاملي. 8 MS. (A) در دیگری. 9 A scribe, clerk

their strength[1] was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīrīs, who are[2] born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Nīyāzīs from Rājūrī after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray[3] brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh, held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Nīyāzīs in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn),[4] and fighting with the Kashmīrīs were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shīr Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Nīyāzīs to Dhankoṭ under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shīr Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,[5] and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And[6] in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salīm Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*,[7] the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Māngarh;[8] and Kāmrān Mīrzā, after fighting many battles with[9]
389. Muḥammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salīm Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return[10] to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humūn[11] Baqqāl, who in those

[1] Footnote variant صورت. [2] MS. (A) آمده اند. [3] MSS. (A) (B) پس خم.
[4] Omit که MSS. (A) (B).
[5] همان آش در کاسهٔ ایشان بود. *Hamān āsh dar Kāsa-i-shān būd.* Lit. The same broth was in their cup.
[6] MS. (A) supplies و. [7] *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, *see* p. 8, *n.* 3.
[8] Text مال گڑہ Mālgarh. MSS. (A) (B) مان گڑہ Māngarh.
[9] با MS. (A). [10] MS. (A) omits باز.
[11] Footnote variant هیمون *Haimūn*. The text reads هیموی *Haimūe*.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of Rohtās to meet Mīrzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mīrzā, being led to this by the want of confidence [1] he had in the Afghāns as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humūn, still Mīrzā himself made light of this, and [2] recognising that there were dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse.

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mīrzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Fara'ūn or a Shaddād,[3] gave orders to Sarmast Khān [4] the Afghān, a Dā'ūd Za'i,[5] who held the office of *Bārbak*,[6] in accordance with which he directed Mīrzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,[7] and those diabolical men [8] out of sheer inhumanity seized Mīrzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty! [9] Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mīrzā,[10] and uttered a hypocritical **390.** "Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

[1] Footnote variant and MS. (A) اعتمیدي....

[2] MS. (A) و از قبیل اول خم و دردي.

[3] Shaddād the son of 'Ād, *see* ante, p. 261 n. 6.

[4] MS. (A) omits خان. [5] MS. (A) omits داؤد زئي.

[6] باربک *Bārbak.* The chief attendant of the *darbār* or public audience.

[7] کورنش *Kornish.* A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. *See* Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 158.

[8] MS. (A) دیو مردم. [9] MS. (A) پادشاها. [10] MS. (A) (B) جانب میرزا کردو.

for Mīrzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mīrzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mīrzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes [1] at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say [2] *Moro mī āyad* [3] (Here comes the peacock). The Mīrzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro?*" He answered, "It is the name they give [4] to a man of great dignity." The Mīrzā replied,[5] "At that rate Salīm Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and Shīr Shāh was a still finer." Salīm Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,[6] nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mīrzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mīrzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mīrzā recited this *maṭla'* off hand:

Gardish-i-gardūn-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard
Bar sar-i-ṣāḥib-tamīzān nāqiṣān rā mard kard.[7]

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mīrzā under open arrest. The Mīrzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,[8] made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

1 MS. (A) (B) هزل. 2 MS. (A) کہ.

3 मोरो *Moro* is the Prākrit form of the modern Hindī मोर *Mor*, a peacock. MS. (B) reads مور و مرغ یعنے. Moro, that is to say, a bird.
MS. (A) reads مور و یعنے مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

4 MS. (A) omits میگویند. 5 MS. (B) omits گفت.

6 MS. (B) reads بگویند for نگویند.

7 Read صاحب تمیزان for اهل تمیزان MSS. (A) (B). 8 MS. (B) زمینداري.

horses along the banks of the river Chināb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *chādar* [1] drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his *harīm* and offered no interference. 391.

The Mīrzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a *burqa'*,[2] and taking a *jilaudār* [3] with him, was escorted [4] by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Gharī Khū,[5] on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sulṭānpūr the residence of Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohtās, some one went to Sulṭān Ādam and informed him that a Mughūl woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jilaudār* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sulṭān Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded [6] in person, and had an interview with the Mīrzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sulṭān Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mīrzā's life.[7]

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request [8] of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mīrzā, and [9] after blinding him with a lancet

1 چادر *chādar*. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

2 برقع *Burqa'*. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by Afghān women when out of doors. *See* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, for a description of the *burqa'* proper, which is a kind of veil.

3 جلودار *Jilaudār*. An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul-Faẓl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 *kroh* (100 to 200 miles!) a day. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 138.

4 Text ببدرقي. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدرقگي correctly.

5 MS. (A) MS. (B) reads گهري جو Gharī Jū. 6 MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

7 Read with MS. (A) ميرزا for بميرزا (Text). 8 MSS. (A) (B) مسؤل.

9 MS. (A) supplies و.

(*nīshtar*) sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word *nīshtar* records the date of this occurrence.[1] These incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related[2] fully in the *Akbar Nāma* and the (Tārīkh-i-)*Niẓāmī*.[3] Among the events which took place during the reign of Islem Shāh was the affair of Shāh Muḥammad of Dihlī, of which the following is a brief account. Shāh Muḥammad, in the reign of Shēr Shāh, had come from the country of 'Irāq[4] to Hindūstān, and had given himself out[5] to be a Saiyyid. There was some hesitation among the people as to this claim; however, he used to live in accordance with the customs[6] of the Shaikhs and holy
392. men, and was acquainted with the science of invocation of the mighty names,[7] and was not without an admixture of deceit.[8]

Verse.

What is expected of Shaikhs is the performance of miracles and prayer-stations.
Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic[9] and incoherent ravings.

In spite of all, Shīr Shāh gave him credit for being a *wālī*, and Islem Shāh [10] also had reposed great confidence in him from the time he was a prince, and used to go and do reverence to him, and as is the custom of kings, used to take omens [11] concerning (his accession to) the kingdom, and from the excessively high opinion he had of him used to lift (the Saiyyid's) shoes. The story goes that one day they had brought a basket [12] of melons as a present to Shāh Muḥammad and just then [13] Islem Shāh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islem Shāh and said, I present

1 نیشتر. The letters of this word *nīshtar* give the date 960 H.
2 *See* Elliot and Dowson V. 147 and 235. 3 MSS. (A) (B) read اکبر نامه
4 MSS. (A) (B). 5 میگرفت we should read میگفت.
6 The text reads wrongly بر دوش *bar dosh* MSS. (A)(B) read بروش *ba rawish*.
7 *See* ante, p. 445 n. 6. 8 خالي از شیدی نبود.
9 MS. (A) reads سطحیات *saṭḥiyāt*, superficialities.
10 MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads و شیر شاه.
11 تفاول *tafā'ul* MS. (B) reads تقال.
12 MS. (B) reads سید *saiyyid* for سبد *sabad*.
13 MSS. (A)(B) در همان اثنا.

you with this basket confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you,[1] rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islem Shāh without hesitation lifted the basket accepted it as a lucky omen and took his departure.

How good it is to take a *lucky omen*,
Not to strike one's *cheek* (in grief) but to give mate with the *rook*.[2]

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him [3] as is generally the case. At all events, when Islem Shāh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyids of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amīr Abū[4] Ṭālib who was the inferior, and the other named Mīr Shamsu-d-Dīn who was his superior and brother's son to him, arrived from the country of 'Irāq at the camp of Islem Shāh in the Panjāb, and came to Dihlī, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes. Amīr Abū Ṭālib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to **393.** say nothing of perquisites.[5] A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of 'Alī,[6] *may God be satisfied with him*, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it. God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shāh Muḥammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mīr Abū Ṭālib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

[1] MS. (A) supplies تو after پادشاهي.

[2] *Chi nīkū bawad fāl-i-farrukh zadan*
Na bar rukh zadan, balki shah rukh zadan
There is a play here on the words *rukh* and *farrukh*, illustrating the figure known as تجنيس مركّب. The word *rukh* means *the cheek*, and also the *castle* or "rook" at chess.

[3] MS. (A) puts او را after اينمعني. [4] MSS. (A) (B).

[5] فتوحات MS. (B) reads فتوح.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) supply علی. The ring of Solomon which was given to 'Alī by Muḥammad, was possessed of magical properties.

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his [1] house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihlī Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr,[2] who was *Shaikhu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Mīyān Ḥātim Sanbalī, Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured [3] that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.[4] This result was reported to
394. Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but a dog.
Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

[1] MS. (A) omits او. [2] *See* Āin-i-Akbarī (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.
[3] MS. (B) reads مفهوم شد. [4] MS. (B) محمد شاه.

This event took place in ths year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna,[1] which closely resembles the affair of Sīdī Maula,[2] which took place during the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīrōz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,[3] is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alāī was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangāla, and on his arrival from Bangāla on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣru-llah, who was one of the most eminent of the *'Ulamā*, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Jā'a nasru-llāhi wal fatḥ*,[4] were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *irshād*[5] and *hidāyat*, and the younger[6] to *fatwā*[7] and instruction in religious knowledge.[8]

Shaikh 'Alāī, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time[9] having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction. 395.

[1] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, Biography V, *seqq*.

[2] *See* Beale (Oriental Biog. Dict.), p. 240.

[3] حذو النعل بالنعل. They also say حذو القذة بالقذة, *i.e.*, one feather of the arrow is like another. *See* Freytag *Prov. Arab* I. 345. As we say "As like as two peas."

[4] جاء نصر الله والفتح. The letters give the date 935 H. The words mean,

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

[5] ارشاد *Irshād*, Orthodoxy. هدایت *Hidāyat*, Guidance, direction.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) both omit خورد but the text seems probably correct.

[7] فتوی *fatwā*. Religious or judicial rulings.

[8] MS. (A) omits the words علوم دین.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) فرصت.

Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
Always by day argument and by night repetition.
Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction [1] of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory," [2] seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy [3] and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative [4] and ascetic [5] Shaikhs of the Sūfī party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.[6]

In the meanwhile Mīyān 'Abdu-llah, a Nīyāzī [7] Afghān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,[8] *may God sanctify his holy resting-place*, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdī, on his return from the Ḥijāz took up his

1 MSS. (A) (B) write تلقين و ارشاد.

2 "That last infirmity of noble minds."

3 Badāonī here uses غبطة *ghibtat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

4 MS. (A) reads مينرسم for مترسمة in the text.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read متقشف for متقشفة in the text.

6 MSS. (A) (B) read ميكردند.

7 *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

8 *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head; and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of 396.
wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,[1] with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins[2] and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly[3] to escape him.

When Shaikh 'Alāī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,[4] and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Mīyān 'Abdu-llah Nīyāzī has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity.[5]

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee[6]
The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee;
Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my *Zunnār*, I am free,
This idol however, thy slavery to self-conceit, remains to thee.

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly[7] vexed, and abandoning his *madad-i-maāsh*[8] and his alms-house and monastery,[9] entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed[10] all his worldly possessions

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit نماز. 2 MS. (A) پولي چند.

3 Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ* (Mathew) xxiv. 1.

4 MS. (B) بسيار خوش گرديد.

5 جزبت پرستي و زنار داری نيست. *Juz but parastī o zunnārdārī nīst.* The term Zunnār [Gk. ζωνάρη (Golius) or ζωνάριον (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread: and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.

6 MS. (A) reads تا يك سر موی تو از هستي باقي است. 7 MS. (A) سابقًا.

8 Lands given for benevolent purposes, *see* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 270.

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit لنگر. 10 MSS. (A) (B) read نثار و ايثار كرد.

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,[1] "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take[2] thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.[5]

397. There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,

Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Mīyān 'Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*[4] in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiæ and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,[5] comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"[6] even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

[1] MS. (A) reads جليله. [2] MSS. (A) (B) برداز The text reads wrongly برآور. [3] This line is omitted from MS. (B).

[4] ذکر. *Zikr.* The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqīrs. *See* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr.*

[5] I read here و إلّا MSS. (A) (B).

[6] Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْهِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللّٰهِ.

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'ān. Shaikh 'Alāī had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'ān almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,[1] abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and 398.
they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu-r-rashīd*[2] which should be consulted.[3]

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them[4] as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy; *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty.*[5] And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,[5] and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles[7] in carrying out his

1 MSS. (A) (B) insert را after صحبت.

2 نجات الرشید *Najātu-r-rashīd.* A MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. E. 204. Its author is Badāonī.

3 MS. (A) reads داد. 4 MS. (A) reads باو.

5 Qur'ān ii, 274. يحسبهم الجاهل اغنياء من التعفف.

6 MS. (A) reads گرفته for رفته.

7 MS. (A) reads در امداد او می کوشید.

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband][1] and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdī, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Mīyān 'Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh 'Alā'ī had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Ḥijāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
The hand of the faqīr holds no other coin but that of leisure,
399. Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

Shaikh 'Alā'ī,[2] retaining that selfsame habit and conduct[3] which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs[4] and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters.[5] At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāṣpūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,[6] whereas now every Thursday night Sūfīs used[6] to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alā'ī forbade music and other prohibited[7] pastimes, and enjoined[8] that which

[1] MS. (A) زن از شوهر. The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).
[2] MS. (A) omits علائي. [3] MS. (B) omits و حالت.
[4] MS. (A) reads wrongly باغبان.
[5] Insert in the text را after دوایر MSS. (A) (B).
[6] MSS. (A) (B) بسماع و صفائي مقيد بود. [7] MSS. (A) (B) مناهي و ملاهي.
[8] MS. (B) reads wrongly اوامر for آمر.

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law; accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery: The saying—

Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend[1]

is a well known proverb. Shaikh 'Alā'ī in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'ī reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn the traditionist, and Mīyān[2] Abul-fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'ī from Baiāna, at the instigation of Makhdūmu-l-mulk Maulāna 'Abdu-llah of Sulṭānpūr. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select[3] companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,[4] greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islām.[5] Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased[6] him and his courtiers.

Makhdūmu-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that 400.
Shaikh 'Alā'ī was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdī, and that the Mahdī himself would be king of the whole world: consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. 'Īsā Khān[7] Ḥajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amīrs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'ī in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shāh: "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, doe he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'ī in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

1 إِنَّ قَوْلَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يترک لي صديقا. 2 MSS. (A) (B) میان.

3 MS. (B) omits مخصوص.

4 MS. (A) reads می یافتند for می باشد and omits سلام.

5 Omit و MSS. (A) (B). 6 MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

7 MSS. (A) (B) supply خان.

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,[1] that it had the most profound effect[2] upon Islem Shāh and the Amīrs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.[3] The Shaikh, however, refused to touch[4] the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered[5] he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates[6] of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,[7] and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

Shaikh 'Alā'ī vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension,
401. and whenever Mīr Saiyyid Rafiu-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged[8] in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'ī used to say, "you are a Shāfi'ite by religion[9] and we[10] are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept[11] your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare[12] even Mulla 'Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

1 MS. (A) خطائیات.
2 MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر اُفتادند و.
3 MS. (B) همراهیانش.
4 MS. (A) تناول کرد.
5 MS. (A) هنگام درآمدن.
6 MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.
7 MSS. (A) (B) آن مبحث.
8 MS. (B) writes علامات آن وارد شدهٔ شیخ omitting میشد.
9 MSS. (A) (B) مذهب.
10 MS. (B) و یا.
11 MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.
12 MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house,' and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who [1] have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

Verse.

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief.

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his [2] arguments examples from the Qur'ān and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu-llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalāl Bhīm [3] of Āgra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdī,[4] read as follows,[5] *Ajallu-l-jabhah*,[6] on the form of the *af'alu-t-tafẓīl* derived from *jalāl*; Shaikh 'Alā'ī smiled, and said, "Good Heavens![7] You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies,

1 Omits در MS. (A). 2 Not in MS. (B) which reads اهانت می آورد.

3 MS. (A) reads تهیم *Thīm*.

4 Regarding the Mahdī, *see* Blochman *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I, iii.

5 MSS. (A) (B) چنین خواند که.

6 The text here runs:

که اجلّ الجبهة بفتح جیم و تشدید لام بصیغهٔ تفضیل مشتق از جلال -

MS. (A) reads more correctly - - بصیغهٔ افعل التفضیل الجلیل.

Ajallu-l-jabhah would have no accurate meaning. *Jalāl* meaning greatness. The superlative form with the article is applied to God. - الأجلّ Al-Ajallu.

The form أفعَلُ *afa'lu* is called the صیغهٔ تفضیل or form of superiority, *i.e.*, the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

7 سُبحان الله *Subḥān-Allah*: (lit.) *Praise be to God!* A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.

and subtleties and minutiæ of the science of tradition.[1] The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*[2] which is the form *Afa'alu-t-tafżīl* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.[3] They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak[4] that he was an ally[5] of Shaikh 'Alā'ī in this assembly, and from that day[6] he became known[7] as Mahdawī, and Islem Shāh being deceived[8] by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,[9] and renounce this pretension secretly[10] in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbetted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,[11] cared nought for

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.

2 اجلى الجبهة *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed جَلا *jalā*, *i.e.*, baldness of the fore part of the head. *See* Lane. *Lex. s. v.* اجلى.

3 و ديكر دم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly و ديگر مردم نزد.

4 MSS. (A) (B) have و before the word شيخ.

5 MSS. (A) (B) correctly read مُمِدّ *Mumidd*. The text has محمد *Muḥammad*.

6 MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading ازان باز.

7 MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

8 MSS. (A) (B) omit به read فريفتهٔ بيان.

9 MSS. (A) (B) read گذشته before باز آى.

10 MS. (A) reads آينه for آهسته.

11 MS. (B) reads بوديم for بود بيم.

any ruler and addressed[1] him in these words, "why should I change[2] my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh[3] daily "To-day such and such an Afghān[4] general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion,[5] and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alā'ī who had for years[6] desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawī ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited[7] the text *Verily God's earth is wide.*[8]

Then he arose and started without delay for that country.

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way, 403.
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures.

On his arrival at Handiya,[9] which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half[10] his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Makhdūmu-l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alā'ī. Just at this

[1] Omit مي MS. (A).
[2] MS. (A) تغير مي دهم.
[3] MS. (A) تسليم.
[4] MS. (A) افغان.
[5] MS. (B) اخراج او كردة.
[6] MS. (B) omits باز.
[7] MS. (A) خواند و.
[8] Qur'ān iv. 99. قَالُوا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضُ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَتُهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا. They said was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?
[9] See *Imp. Gaz.* V. 309. Handiya is on the Narbadā in the Hoshangābād District of the Central Provinces. MS. (A) reads هندوية *Hindawiya*, and رسيدة for رسيد.
[10] MS. (B) همه.

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb[1] with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Nīyāzī faction; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh "we have earned a few days respite[2] from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'ī, "but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Nīyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'ī and the spiritual guide of the Nīyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Nīyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath[3] of suggestion, and he ordered Mīyān Bahwa Lūhānī[4] the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents[5] of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Mīyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said: It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying "one should avoid misfortune" and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget[6] all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,[7] and you will have met the emergency,[8] while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

404. Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion[9] of his, and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

[1] MS. (B) omits بجانب پنجاب.
[2] MSS. (A) (B) read خلاص یافتم. [3] MS. (B) reads نفیش.
[4] MS. (A) نو خانی. [5] MS. (A) گرویدگان. [6] MS. (B) فراموش کند.
[7] MS. (B) reads حروف for حرف. [8] MS. (A) باشند.
[9] MS. (B) omits سخن.

Verse.

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course.

Accordingly he set out by night from Baiāna, and had an interview with Islem Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with '*Peace be to you.*' On the instant Miyān Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying :[1] "My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute[2] kings." The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction[3] and replied : "The salutation which is in accordance with the *sunnat*,[4] and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family*, used to make,[5] and which he, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family*, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other." Islem Shāh, with evident aversion asked :[6] Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alā'ī ? Mulla 'Abdu-llah who was lying in wait for him said : The very man. By order of Islem Shāh he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks, and kicked and cuffed ; the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs ; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk !"[7] Islem Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla[8] 'Abdu-llah said : He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers ; Islem Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him,[9] and kept his retinue **405.** standing[10] an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left[11] his body—

1 MS. (B) omits گرفته and که after گفت.

2 MS. (A) سلام میگفتند. 3 MSS. (A) (B) بجانب.

4 The سنة *sunnat* is the traditional law of Muḥammad.

5 MS. (A) omits کردند MS. (B) reads کردهٔ اند.

6 MSS. (A) (B) insert گفت.

7 Qur'ān iii. 141. *See* Palmer's Translation.

8 MS. (B) omits ملا. 9 MSS. (A) (B) read تعذیب و عقوبت.

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit ایستادهٔ او را MS. (B) reads سواری.

11 MS. (A) منقطع شد.

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
That mediator also rose and departed.

he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained[1] in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghanīstān (Rūh), and some time among the Afghāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,[2] on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,[3] and was in the habit of saying:[4] This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,[5] and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawī party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawī party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-maāsh*[6] land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubā'ī.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflāṭūn,[7]
406. These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

[1] MS. (A) omits ماندة.
[2] MS. (A) پتن پنجاب در سرحد. Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan.
[3] MSS. (A) (B) read here مابین انبیر و انبرسر. MS. (A) adds نابن before مبر.
[4] MS. (B) همین می گفت.
[5] MS. (B) omits بسرهند آمدة.
[6] MSS. (A) (B).
[7] Plato.

returned to Āgra, Mulla 'Abdu-llāh set about inciting him,[1] and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alā'ī from Hindīya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alā'ī had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shāh summoned Shaikh 'Alā'ī thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before[2] to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alā'ī, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men[3] of Dehlī and Āgra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Alā'ī to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh Budh[4] the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Irshad-i-Qāẓī*,[5] and bade him act in accordance with his directions.[6] When Shaikh 'Alā'ī went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and[7] to religious law[8] also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin[9] what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm[10] and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

1 MSS. (A) (B) محرک شده. 2 Omit خود. MS. (A).

3 MS. (B) omits را after دیگر and inserts it after آگره.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخ هده Shaikh Hadah (?)

5 *See* Hājī Khalīfah, 522. Irshād.

6 MS. (A) reads فتوی او. MS. (B) reads عمل می نمایند.

7 MS. (B) شریعتی. 8 MS. (B) دیدند.

9 MS. (A) reads امر معروف و نهی منکر نه کرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

10 MS. (B) omits فانی and reads قدت for قدرت and احقاوش for احفادش.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual [1] would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss
407. as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.[2] Shaikh 'Alā'ī said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,[3] as is proved by the fact that, whensoever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference [4] with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāḥ,[5] why should one regret [6] the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*[7] That class therefore stand condemned. Shāikh Budh the physician however,[8] having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising [9] Shaikh 'Alā'ī and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawī question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as [10] to the veritable signs by which the Mahdī is to be distin-

[1] The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read دنيوي و بدني و جاني while MS. (B) omit بمانع.

[2] We should read here

بهرحال در تجويز فسق شايد از تجويز كفر بزه كمتر باشد MSS. (A) (B).

[3] MS. (A) قياس فاسد. [4] MS. (B) reads wrongly تعبير for تغيير.

[5] نكاح *Nikāḥ*. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, *see* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

[6] MS. (B) reads كرد for خورد. [7] البناء على الفاسد افسد.

[8] MS. (B) reads و for اما and omits در مقام انصاف.

[9] MS. (B) reads كردة for نمودة. [10] MS. (B) omits باب.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh[1] 'Alā'ī of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books[2] are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many[3] books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu-l-Mulk[4] was the *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*,[5] and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter[6] and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter[7] as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjāb 408.
Shaikh 'Alā'ī arrived at the camp of Bin Bāū; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'ī to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only[8] say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will[9] and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'ī however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair[10] said to Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, I leave him in your hands.[11] This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.[12] Shaikh 'Alā'ī

1 MS. (B) omits فسق.
2 MS. (A) reads و اینجا کتب کمیاب است.
3 MS. (B) omits بسیار.
4 MS. (B) reads مخدم.
5 The Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muḥammadans. He was also known as Ṣadr-i-kul or Ṣadr-i-jahān. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 271.
6 MS. (A) reads نوشتهٔ اول او را فسخ کرده.
7 Insert خطی after نخواهی MS. (B).
8 MS. (A) reads تو تنها در گوش من بگو.
9 MSS. (A) (B) insert و before فارغ البال.
10 MS. (B) reads مایوس شده.
11 تو داني و این. *Lit.* You know and this fellow, *i.e.*, the matter is one between you and him.
12 MS. (B) inserts بحضور خود after تازیانه, not as in the text.

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.[1] This wound had to be kept open by a tent,[2] in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "*In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king*"[3] and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*" And after his death they tied his delicate body[4] to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces[5] in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,[6] and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,[7] and great lamentation and mourning[8] was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early[9] downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event[10] the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

[1] MS. (A) اکثر خلایق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

[2] فتیلة MS. (A) reads قبیلة.

[3] Qur'ān lvi. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعَدِ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

[4] MS. (B) reads بدن.

[5] MS. (B) reads پارة پارة.

[6] MS. (A) reads دفن نکنند.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) read قیا م قیامت.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) read غلغله و ماتم.

[9] MS. (B) omits عنقریب.

[10] A footnote to the text reads قضیة دولت اسلیم شاهي الخ MS. (A) omits these words and reads و بعد ازین دولت اسلیم شاهي.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sūlṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sīdī Maula,[1] save that the decay of the kingdom of Salīm Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Abdūllāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case. 409.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is *Ẓākiru-llāh*, the second *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharābān*.[2]

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzīs fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khāwaṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect[8] anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.[4] He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came[5] and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly[6] had him put to death and sent his head[7] to Salīm Shāh at the township[8] of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body[9] at the township of Sarastu, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihlī. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

1 MS. (A) reads كشتن.

2 ذاكر الله *Ẓākiru-llāh.* The mindful of God. سقاهم ربهم شرابا *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharābān.* May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

3 MSS. (A) (B) كاري نتوانست ساخت.

4 MSS. (A) (B) insert و.

5 MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

6 MS. (B) omits و تاج خان.

7 MS. (B) omits را and reads سليمان for سليم.

8 MSS. (A) (B) omits قصبهٔ.

9 MS. (A) و جثه.

graphical record they invented the words *Muṣībat ba'ālam shud*,[1] that is to say, A calamity for the world.

410. One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpī in the company of Shīr Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rantanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day[2] to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shīr Shāh died, and Salīm Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees[3] which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ḥaiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbāwī of Dihlī,[4] who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,[5] and was a devout man,[6] and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mīr of Āgra invented the following chronogram :—
He said—

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*
At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.[7]

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

[1] A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مصیبت بعالم شد *muṣībat ba 'ālm shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

[3] MS. (B) omits هزار and reads را after روپیه instead of او as in the text.

[4] MS. (A) دهلي. [5] MS. (A) reads شعرای for شعری.

[6] صاحب سجاده MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت a generous man.

[7] The lines run thus : گفت نامم همي شود تاريخ بنده وقتي كه در ميان نبود.
If we take the name شيخ عبدالحي and remove from it the centre word عبد *'abd* which means a *slave* we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shāh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,[1] and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mān Garh,[2] which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabaṭa Sharran,[3] under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed[4] a blow at him. Salīm Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salīm Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khān Ajyāra, the son of Saẓāwal Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that 411. miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salīm Shāh did not approve of this[5] and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbāl Khān. This Iqbāl Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustān who had rendered Shīr Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,[6] mean-looking, and oafish in appearance that they used to call him Raḥmatu-llāhī, which in Hindustān is the term

[1] Read راهوار for رابدار.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) مان كدّه.

[3] تأبط شرا. The surname of Ṣābit-bin-Jābor bin Sufyān al-Fahmī, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm-pit (ابط) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm-pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, *see* Lane *s. v.* ابط. According to the account in the Aghānī, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqadd taabaṭa sharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

[4] MSS. (A) (B) زخمي بر انداخت. [5] MSS. (A) (B) راضي نه شده گفت.

[6] MS. (B) omits بسيار MS. (A) omits بود inserting it after صعفر.

applied to a weaver.[1] Islem Shāh himself[2] had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amīrs,[3] and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that[4] he made him an example[5] of the saying: *Everything returns to its original state;* but in spite of the incitation of the Amīrs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training.[6]

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why?
It is ashamed[7] to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,[8] and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,[9] and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever[10] set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him:

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou hast laid!

1 جولاهة *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جوالاسا. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جولاهة as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary *s.v.* جلاها.

If we read جوالاسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

2 MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after آوردة.

3 MS. (A) omits خود here. 4 MS. (A) گرفت تا.

5 MS. (A) omits مظهر. 6 MS. (B) تربت for تربیت.

7 MS. (A) reads شرمست for شرمش. MS. (B) omit ز.

8 MS. (A) سراب.

9 MSS. (A) (B) مارزدة. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

10 MS. (B) بیشتر از بیشتر.

After these events Islem Shāh returned [1] towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihlī [2] when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the [3] very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech [4] to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,[5] and binding up his throat with linen rags [6] ordered his army to proceed, and [7] the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazīrs who were well-disposed to him [8] represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if [9] he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,[10] when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,[11] and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks [12] for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwāliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

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[1] MS. (A) omits نمودة here and inserts it after بود in the next line.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit چون ترجمهٔ نمودة. MSS. (A) (B) read بدهلي رسيدة بود كه خبر.

[3] Read در آن ساعت كه اين خبر رسيد. MSS. (A) (B).

[4] زلو بر گلو چسپا نيدة بود. MS. (A) reads زيور probably a copyist's error for زلوها or زلورا.

[5] Omits نا MS. (A). [6] لتّه *latta*. MS. (A) reads ملينه (?)

[7] Insert و. MSS. (A) (B). [8] MS. (A) insert بعد before بعض.

[9] MS. (A) put اگر before درين وقت not after it as in the text.

[10] MS. (B) omit بازگشته.

[11] MS. (A) reads واقعه for آفت. MSS. (A) (B) read بودة for مي بودند.

[12] Text گاوان ارابهٔ. MS (A) reads گاروان. MS. (B) عرابهٔ.

the work of bullocks,[1] and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following :—

Verse.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.[2] At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,[3] at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmīr
413. frontier,[4] and then returned towards [5] Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.[6]

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings [7] fled [8] with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,[9] he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians,[10] at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,[11] and after putting to death [12] a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Dīn and Maḥmūd and Madā,[13] who were [14] the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

[1] Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعتبار کردة.

[2] The text reads که هر کدام را هزار هزار کس دو دو هزار کس کمتر و بیشتر. MS. (A) inserts after کس and omit the second کس replacing it by و.

[3] At the foot of the Alidek range. *See* Rennell's map, Tieff., Vol. III. *Behnbur.* MSS. (A) (B) read بنبهر *Banbhar.* The text reads بنهر *Banhar.*

[4] MS. (A) omits از حد کشمیر. [5] MS. (B) reads به کابل to Kābul.

[6] MS. (A) inserts انشاء الله تعالی between خود and مذکور.

[7] MS. (A) omits خبر. [8] MS. (A) فرار.

[9] This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read انتری *Antarī.*

[10] لوندان Text MS. (B) reads لوانید. [11] MS. (A) براهي ديگر.

[12] MSS. (A) (B) رسانیدة.

[13] MS. (B) omits these last names and reads وغیرة and others.

[14] MS. (A) بود for بودند.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,[1] and sent written despatches to the Amīrs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him.[2]

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack-saddle,
He found a pack-saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had made off with the ass.[3]

[4] Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and[5] had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'[6] and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khān to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on 414.
his face alone.[7]

Verse.

Maḥmūd gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and hen open his eyes, and these words would

[1] MS. (B) سپاهیان.

[2] A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing کہ after سپاہ اجل instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS. (A) and is obviously correct.

[3] A proverbial saying of this kind is–

جب چنے تھے تب دانت نہ تھے جب دانت ہوئے تب چنے نہیں.

When I had pease I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pease.

[4] Omit و مقدمۂ MS. (A).

[5] Insert و.

[6] MSS. (A) (B).

[7] MS. (B) omits در before جانب. MS. (A) reads جاے for جانب.

come[1] to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'[2] They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am[3]
Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered[4] the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,[5] but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,
For what can man do against the Eternal decree.[6]
When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,[7]

[1] MS. (B) میگذشت.

[2] Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read اجیارة Ajyāra, but the text reads (؟) حیارة Haiyāra with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

[3] For چسانم. MS. (A) read جانم. [4] MSS. (A) (B) حکم کردة بود.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read نه پرسد for نا پرسیدة.

[6] کن فیکون. Qur'ān II, iii.

بَدِيعُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضٰى أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

[7] The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus: (1) ماسک *māsik* or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflaṭūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,

The Qānūn[1] of Bū 'Alī lies useless in the hand. 415.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,[2] and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year[3] Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice[4] and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Burhān.[5] Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī,[6] the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusūlī,[7] who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

Verse.

At one time came the decline of three emperors,

Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety :

مغير *mughaiyyir* or variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. *See* Sadīdī, p. 54, *et. seqq.*

1 قانون بوعلي *Qānūn-i-Bū 'Alī.* This is the famous قانون في الطب *Qānūn fi-ṭ-ṭibb*, canon medicinæ, by the celebrated Shaikh Abū 'Alī Ḥussain bin 'Abdu-llāh commonly known as *Ibn Sīna* (Avicenna). *See* Hājī Khalīfah, No. 9354.

Abū Sīna was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhārā, and died at Hamadān in July 1037 A.D., 427 A.H.

(H.K. says 428 A.H.). *See* Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 20.

2 MSS. (A) (B) both write نهٔ صد و شصت omitting و یک which is added in the text.

3 درصدت تک سال. MSS. (A) (B). 4 MS. (B) reads بنصفت.

5 The text reads لا برهان a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation.

6 *See* Beale, *O. B. D.* for an account of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty.

7 MSS. (A) (B) the text reads رشوتی Rishwatī.

One was Maḥmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
Whose beloved son [1] was Sher Khān;
The third was Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī
Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
If you ask of me a *tārīkh* for the death of these three [2] Emperors?
I answer *Zawāl-i-khusrūān*.[3]

Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had
416. many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amīr Saiyyid Na'mat Rusūlī,[4] and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men [5] of his time. They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjāb, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr [6] who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching." They replied: "Who is it, please inform us." [7] He said: "Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four [8] left Hindustān and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied: "This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmast Khān said: "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?" [9] He replied [10] "What can I do, when I can find [11] no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-llāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,[12] which had at that moment arrived as

1 MS. (A) reads عزیزش.
2 MS. (A) ابن هرسه.
3 زوال خسروان *Zawāl-i-khusrūān*. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawāl-i-khusrūān* give the date 961 H. See note 2 *supra*.
4 MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rishwatī.
5 MS. (A) omits و سلحا.
6 MS. (A) omits را.
7 MSS. (A) (B) فرمای.
8 MSS. (A) (B) چهار.
9 Text reads متفنی. MS. (A) reads مفتن seditious. MS. (B) reads متغنی parasitic.
10 MSS. (A) (B) گفت.
11 MSS. (A) (B) نمي يابم.
12 Omit به before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).

a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants [1] not even *jauz*,[2] [and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr and Ḥāfiẓ Niẓām of Badāon were both of them his imāms].[3]

Fīrōz Shāh ibn-i-Islem Shāh,

Who was called Fīrūz Khān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve [4] with the title of Pādshāh.[5] The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubāriz Khān the son of Niẓām Khān [6] Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh,[7] after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibī Bā'ī, who was the sister of Mubāriz Khān,[8] and the wife of Islem Shāh, fell at his feet and besought him piteously saying: "Ah my brother, spare the life of this poor harmless boy, and let me take my own way and bear him away [9] to some place where no one will have a trace of him, and where he will have nothing to do with sovereignty, nay, will not even mention the name of kingship." [10] That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut [11] off the boy's head under the very eyes of his mother. At this day his issue is cut off just as the line of Islem Shāh; and it is said that Islem Shāh 417.

[1] MS. (A) reads و از کیفیت معنوی جوزهم. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads وبغیر از کیفیت معنی جوزهم. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding معنی as in the two readings given.

[2] جوز ماثل *Jauzu māṣil.* Datura, sp. alba. D. fastuosa N.O. Solanaceæ called in Hindustānī धतूरा *dhatūrā*, and in Sanskrit धूस्तूर from धूस elegant, and तूर injurious. (Wilson) Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the *Makhzanu-l-adwiya* a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling *delirium e potu*, the patient raving and chasing imaginary animals along the walls of the room.

[3] These words are not in the text but both MSS. (A) (B) read

و شیخ سلیم چشتي فتحپوري و حافظ نظام بداوني هردو امام او بودند

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read thus دوازده. The text reads ده ten.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) موسوم شد.

[6] MS. (B) reads مبارز خان بن نظام سور.

[7] MS. (A) reads که برادر زادهٔ شیرشاه و عمزاده و برادر زن اسلیم شاه بود. Who was brother's son to Sher Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

[8] MS. (A).

[9] MS. (A) بجای پدرم که کس.

[10] MS. (A) omits هرگز.

[11] MS. (A) برید.

had made several attempts upon the life of Mubāriz Khān, and used to say to his wife, "If you value your child keep clear of your brother,[1] and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all hope of life from the other." She used to say in a deprecatory way, "My brother spends all his time in amusing himself,[2] and the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him."[3] Islem Shāh however, whenever he saw Mubāriz Khān used to say to his wife in a reproachful way, "In the end you will regret this at a time when regret will avail nothing." And at last the prophecy of Islem Shāh, which he had made by his judgment of physiognomy, was confirmed to the letter.[4]

Verse.

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.[5]

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD 'ĀDIL COMMONLY KNOWN AS 'ADLĪ,[6]

Who was the son of Niẓām Khān Sūr,[7] and went by the name of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amīrs and Vazīrs, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title.[8] The general public however used to
418. call him 'Adlī, and that name even[9] they perverted to Andhlī which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind."[10] At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh,[11] he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.

[2] Omit و لغو. MSS. (A) (B). [3] MS. (B) omits او.

[4] In MS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read:
و عاقبت الامر هم چنان شد الخ. MS. (B) omits هم.

[5] MS. (A) reads تیر در خشت پخته آن بینند, a footnote variant reads کهنه (old) for پخته (baked). I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the aged can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror.

[6] See *Āin-i-Akbarī* II, (J.) 221 *n.* 3.

[7] MS. (A) reads ابن نظام خان سور که omitting که and بود و.

[8] MS. (B) صخاطب کرد. [9] MS. (A) omits نیز.

[10] اندهلي means "a blind woman."

[11] MS. (A) reads سلطان محمد تغلق را.

aimed at securing[1] the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with[2] gold of a money value of five hundred *tankahs* and used to throw them. Whatever[3] poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *katība-bāsh*, this fitful habit however quickly[4] came to an end after a few days.

Verse.

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of *Vazīr* and *Vakīl* was bestowed upon one Shamsher Khān, a slave who was the younger brother of Khawass Khān and Daulat Khān, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the Luḥānī[5] faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Hīmūn the greengrocer, of the township of Rewārī in Mīwāt, whom Islem Shāh had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bāzārs and confirmer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant.[6] He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adlī had originally been accustomed to the profession[7] of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of Fīrūz Khān and his unbounded confidence in Hīmūn. Accordingly these Amīrs who were of true Afghān descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

1 MS. (A) ساخت.

2 Text كتيبة باش. MS. (A) كنة باش. MS. (B) كنة باش ها.
The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read كنة باى in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firishta's reading is quite clear he says
Bo: Text, *p.* 439.... كنة باسي كة پيكان آن يک تولة طلا بود
That is, *Katah*, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold.

3 MS. (A) reads بخانهٔ هر غريبي.

4 MS. (A) زود برطرف شه.

5 MS. (A) نوحان.

6 MS. (A) صاحب اعتبار.

7 MS. (A) reads پيشه for پيشگي.

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh
419. snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme:

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship snaps,
When a flaw appears[1] in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amīrs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adlī was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbanī, [Shāh Muḥammad was ill],[2] whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished[3] him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design;[4] thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said: "Now our affairs have come to such a pass[5] that this dog-seller[6] is to enjoy our *jāgīr*." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said: "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those[7] hell-dogs so heavy of head

[1] MS. (A) reads آمدیدیه.
[2] MS. (A) adds the words in brackets و شاه محمد بیماري داشت.
[3] MS. (A) نصیحت مینمود.
[4] MS. (A) omits را.
[5] MS. (A) بجای رسیدة.
[6] MS. (A) از این سگ فروش.
[7] Text دوزخیان. MSS. (A) (B) read دور چنان.

and sleep-stricken[1] that they will never wake[2] till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.[3]

Verse. 420.

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when[4] the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khān did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adlī fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded[5] others, at last made towards 'Adlī and[6] aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amīrs of 'Adlī's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords[7] and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast,[8] they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when[9] Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhīm Khān[10] Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adlī, and Shāh Muḥammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khān Lūḥānī,[11] both of them taking their way to the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Tāj Khān Karrānī, the

1 MS. (A) سرگران و خواب آلودة. MS. (B) read صرگردان.

2 MS. (A) بیدار نشود.

3 Read here بعضي دیگر شیر گیر ماندة. This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.

4 MS. (A) reads ازان زمان کة. 5 MS. (A) مجروح ساخت.

6 MSS. (A (B) نخود و.

7 MS. (B) reads اکثری از سردیوار های خودرا انداختند. Most of them threw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a foot-note variant to the text.

8 The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.

9 MSS. (A) (B) و. 10 MS. (A) omits خان

11 MS. (A) نوحانی.

brother of 'Amād and Sulṭeimān, who eventually became the autocratic[1] ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title[2] of Ḥaẓrat Ā'alā, having left the audience hall of 'Adlī was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī. They asked[3] after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,[4] and am
421. going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,[5] for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,[6] he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adlī.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adlī sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and[7] himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau[8] in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adlī, and his army

[1] MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال and MS. (A) reads بیگانه for صوبهٔ بنگاله.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم (A) میرویم } ازین دایرهٔ بدر نهادهٔ بیرون.

[5] MS. (A) reads wrongly مکن for بکن.

[6] MS. (A) reads شاه محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

[8] MS. (B) چهپرا مؤ. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads چهیرا مؤ Chhcrāmau.

was victorious,[1] and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār,[2] wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adlī he made prisoners[3] of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adlī arrived at Chunār,[4] and the Karrānīs on the banks of the river[5] Ganges came out to fight with him. Himūn asked for a *ḥalka* of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adlī while in Chunār intended to seize[6] Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adlī, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage[7] from the fort. Ibrāhīm Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Hindūn which was his father's *jāgīr*: 422.
'Adlī despatched 'Īsā Khān Nīyāzī after Ibrāhīm Khān, and they fought a battle[8] in the vicinity of Kalpī, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhīm Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.[9] 'Adlī thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānīs, and came against Ibrāhīm Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhīm Khān made overtures,[10] and sent a message saying: "If Rāī Ḥusain Jilwānī,[11] and Bihār Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Aʿẓam Humāyūn, with some others[12] of the Amīrs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,[13] then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

1 The textual reading is wrong, omit بر reading with MSS. (A) (B) فوج او غالب آمد.

2 MS. (A) جنار. MS. (B) چنار.

3 دستگیر ساخته. MSS. (A) (B).

4 MSS. (A) (B).

5 MSS. (A) (B) دریاي گنگ.

6 MS. (A) مقید سازد.

7 MS. (A) reads او را بصوب مجهولي از بالای قلعه which is better than the text.

8 MSS. (A) (B) جنگ کرده.

9 MSS. (A) (B) دم از استقلال زد.

10 MS. (A) omits درمیان.

11 MS. (A) reads حلوائي.

12 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

13 MS. (B) reads بدهند.

submission to you." 'Adlī [1] accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting [2] a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adlī.

The *Khuṭbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adlī, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār [3] taking with him [4] large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,[5] Aḥmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adlī, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with [6] the Amīrs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adlī and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār
423. Khān Kāsī,[7] and Ḥabīb Khān, and Naṣīb Khān Ṭughūjī, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,[8] declared open war against 'Adlī, and [9] assuming the title of Sulṭān Sikandar and reading the *Khuṭbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power [10] proceeded to Dihlī and Āgra.[11]

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,[12] which is situated at a distance of ten *kroh*s from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amīrs, such as Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Ḥussain Jilwānī [14] and Mas'aūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

[1] Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

[2] MS. (B) قرار داده ادای.

[3] MS. (B) omits بسوی.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit خود reading درتصرف داشت.

[5] MS. (B) omits both ملوک and شدند.

[6] MS. (A) بهٔ امرای.

[7] A footnote variant reads كالپي *Kālpī*.

[8] MS. (A) reads یافته بودند.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) و.

[10] چشم تازه زور. MS. (A) reads روز in error.

[11] MSS. (A) (B) شد.

[12] MS. (B) مقابل شد.

[13] MSS. (A) (B) فرو.

[14] MS. (A) حلوائي.

tents and standards, and ensigns[1] and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jāgīr*.[2] In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Ḥājī Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *saqirlāṭ*[3] of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Ḥājī Khān magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale: accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy[4] among the Amīrs of pure Afghān blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhīm as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dihlī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as 424.
far as could be arranged,[5] should belong to Ibrāhīm Khān,[6] and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughuls came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

[1] The text here reads طوق. MS. (A) however reads توع. The true reading should evidently be توغ which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطاس (*quṭās* or Tibetan *yak*) fixed to a pole.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) و جایگیر

[3] MS. (B) reads سقرلات *saqirlāt*. Dozy, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقلاط *siqlāṭ*, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. *See* Dozy *s. v.* *See* also Yule and Burnett Glossary *s. v.* Suclāt also, Skeat Etym: Dict. *s.v.* Scarlet.

[4] Another instance of Badāonī's use of غبطة in this unusual sense.

[5] We should apparently read here تا آنجا که توانند بشود. MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

[6] MS. (A) omits خان.

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār[1] the brother of Sikandar, and the Amīrs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were[2] with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (Khān)[3] gets possession[4] of the treasury of 'Adlī and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,[5] but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,[6] and the majority of the Amīrs of Ibrāhīm (Khān)[7] impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing[8] to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose[9] us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily:

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)[10] a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilz'ai with some of the new Amīrs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide[11] the matter at once,[12] and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession[13] of weakness on our part,
425. and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."[14] Upon 'Adlī

[1] MSS. (A) (B) so also Firishta. The text reads کالا پہاڑ Kālā Paḥār.
[2] MS. (A) reads بود. [3] MS. (B) adds خان.
[4] MS. (B) reads بدست آورد which seems better than the text.
[5] MS. (A) omits بہتر. [6] MS. (B) reads رای for صعني.
[7] MS. (B) ابراهيم خان.
[8] MS. (B) omits قبول. [9] MSS. (A) (B) read که بمقابلهٔ ما در آید.
[10] MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.
[11] MS. (A) reads برسانیم but the textual نرسانیم is better.
[12] MS. (B) reads قضیه را بفاصل فیصل.
[13] MS. (B) omits دلیل. [14] MS. (B) reads اعدا می شود.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Mīyān Yaḥya Tūrān, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyān Yaḥya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adlī's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain [1] of the township of Kandarkhī with Rāja Matar Sen Kahtarīya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,[2] and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: *Chi bas khūb karda and*[3] (How well have they done)! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,[4] the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,[5] the master of masters, the Mīyān Ḥātim of Sanbhal, this[6] tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz-i-Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tārīkh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fatḥhā-i-āsmānī shud*."[7] I replied nine hundred and sixty, which[8] is one unit short. He answered,[9] I said it with the *hamza* of *Iẓāfat*, that is to say, *Fatḥhā-i-āsmanī*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters: and in this way it is correct.[10] He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

1 MS. (B) reads در موضع. 2 MS. (B) reads در سنه and تحصیل.

3 چه بس خوب کرده اند *Chi bas khūb karda and.* A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H. 4 Read مدرس. MS. (B).

5 MSS. (A) (B) read مقتدای جهابذه instead of مقتدای جهاندیده.

6 MS. (A) این خبر.

7 فتحها آسمانی شد *Fatḥhā-i-āsmānī Shud.* They were heaven-given victories. Read with hamza this gives 961 H.

8 MS. (A) reads که for و. MS. (B) reads کو.

9 MSS. (A) (B) read میفرمودند که.

10 MS. (A) reads wrongly دست. According to this the value of hamza is 1. and it is taken as eqnivalent to Alif. The hamza of iẓāfat is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had
426. written containing the instruction of the Qāẓī, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Mīyān Shaikh Abūl Fatḥ, the son of Shaikh-allahdīyah [1] of Khairābād, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Mīyān Yaḥya after taking forcible possession of [2] the country of Kānt [3]-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,[4] and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,[5] and was thus separated from that army; [6] and being introduced to the presence of the late Mīr Saiyyid [7] Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,[8] with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Mīyān Yaḥya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Mīyān Yaḥya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hājī Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī with the Ghilz'ais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated ی (Platts' Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of iẓāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original ی.

[1] MS. (A) ولد شیخ الهدیة. *See* J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

[2] MS. (B) reads بضبط آوردة.

[3] Kānt. Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W. P., *see* Hunter, I. G. vii. 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shahjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S B., 1869, p. 122.

[4] Ahār. Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., *see* Hunter, I. G. i. 81.

[5] Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., *see* Hunter, I G. i. 266.

[6] MS. (A) reads و با مروهة رفتة *after* لشکر جدا شدة ازان.

[7] *See* J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, (B), I. p 268. The Mīr 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāẓī, see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, III. (J.) 41.

[8] MS. (A) reads رحمة الله علیه.

also drew up his forces and came out [1] from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhaiya), carried away the left of Ibrāhīm's army by sheer weight, and after sacking [2] the camp went on to Āgra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.[3]

The right of Ibrāhīm Khān's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal [4] and Palwal,[5] shouting, Prosperity to Ibrāhīm Khān.[6] Ḥājī Khān at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent,[7] and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party,[8] in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Mīyān [9] Yaḥya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Mīyān Yaḥya and two of his fingers were cut off [10] He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrāhīm Khān took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred [11] men, and with his front facing down-hill [12] awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars [13] passed over the heads 427.
of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrāhīm saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam,[14] he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity [15] he proceeded to Itāwa. His canopy and all his regalia [16] were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itāwa,[17] where he heard that Jannat Āshiyānī had reached [18] Hindustān :

1 MS. (B) بدر آمد.
2 MS. (B) reads نهیب کردة.
3 MSS. (A) (B) omit بنام
4 MS. (A) reads بهودل Bhodal.
5 For Hodal and Palwal, *see* Hunter, I. G. v. 437 and xi. 21.
6 MS. (A) omits خان.
7 گذاشتة. MS. (A).
8 MS. (A) omits غارت گران.
9 MSS. (A) (B) درمیان صدای یحیی.
10 Read with MSS. (A) (B) دوی از انگشتان او.
11 Supply صد from MSS (A) (B).
12 I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage.
13 The text and both MSS. seem to be incorrect: we should read I think, وضرب دیگهای سکندر. The text and MS. (A) read زنگها. MS. (B) reads رنگها.
14 Qur'ān, xxv. 25. MS. (A) reads wrongly here سایر منثورا. MS. (B) شد.
15 MSS. (A) (B) بضرورت ماند و.
16 MS. (A) reads خبر for چتر.
17 MSS. (A) (B) از عقب او اتاوة رسید.
18 MS. (B) آمد.

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,[1] he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three[2] thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,[3] and (?) made towards Kalpī in order that having collected a fresh army,[4] he might fight 'Adlī again. At this juncture 'Adlī had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him;[5] Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him[6] ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before.[7] But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty[8] he was not successful.[9] He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.[9] He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,[10] daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,[11] and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate[12] to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought[13] sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success
428. met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*[14]

1 MSS. (A) (B) تا عاقبت.
2 MSS. (A) (B) سه هزار.
3 MS. (A) كني kanī (?). MS. (B) گيسي gīsī (?).
4 MS. (B) جميعتي.
5 MS. (A) reads واقع for دفع.
6 MS. (B) reads در مقابله بمقاتله.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read نهايتش for همان قدر.
8 MS. (A) reads برنيايد.
9 A footnote to the text says that the word با is superfluous, MS. (A) omits با.
10 MS. (B) reads wrongly توضع for تواضع and متحقق for متخلق.
11 MSS. (A) (B) موهبتى.
12 MS. (B) reads again بصيغهٔ for نصيب.
13 MS. (A) supplies فترات.
14 نعوذ بالله من الحور بعد الكور. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundance. *See* Lane s. v. حورية.

Ibrāhim Khān after this [1] defeat, leaving Kalpī made straight for [2] Baiāna with all speed, and Hīmūn pursuing him arrived at Baiāna. Ibrāhīm Khān taking a body of the Nuhānī [3] and Afghān cultivators [4] and landholders of Baiāna, again [5] went out to meet Hīmūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten *krohs* distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Hīmūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that [6] he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Hīmūn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment; [7] Ghāzī Khān the father of Ibrāhīm Khān [8] kept the fort provided [9] with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna. Hīmūn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying.[10] Nearly all the books which my late father [11] possessed in Baṣāwar [12] were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern [13] portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgra, Baiāna, and Dihlī. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jawārī* [14] grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave [15] nor shroud. The Hindūs also were in the same

1 MS. (A) این.

2 We should read here یک انداز *yak andāz* MS. (A).

3 MSS. (A) (B).

4 MSS. (A) (B) زرعون. The text reads ارغون which has no meaning.

5 MS. (A) باری.

6 MS. (A) تا بالضرورة.

7 MS. (A) آتشبازي.

8 MS. (A) omits خان.

9 MS. (B) reads میفرستاد.

10 MS. (A) غارت کردة MS. (B) غارت می نمود.

11 MSS. (A) (B) والد مرحوم.

12 MS. (B) omits بساور.

13 MSS. (A) (B) ممالک شرق رویه.

14 The *ser* is approximately two pounds. *Jawārī* is the Hindustānī name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhota jawār*. (*Andropogon sorghum*).

15 MS. (A) reads in error مذکور for نه گور.

plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn [1] and on wild herbs,[2] also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to
129. time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled [3] and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-Īzad* [4] (Divine wrath) was invented.[5] The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,[6] and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy [7] and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked [8] the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange [9] incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra [10] was emptied of the troops of 'Adlī,[11] one of the Amirs [12] of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,[13] to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting [14] the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms, [15] and was going round [16] carrying an open lamp, [17] a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

1 مغيلان *Mughailān* for أم غيلان *Ummu-ghailān*. According to the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya*. This is the tree called in Hindī *kikar* or *babūl*. (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is *Spina ægyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummifera*. *See* also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

2 حشيش جنگلي MS (B) adds بود. 3 MS. (B) ورم می کردو.

4 خشم ايزد *Khashm-i-Izad*. Gives the date 962. H.

5 MS, (B) يافته شد.

6 MS. (B) omits غله. 7 MS. (B) omits فتنه.

8 MS. (A) omits می reading تاختند. 9 MSS. (A) (B) غرايبی.

10 MS. (B) omits آگرة. 11 MS. (B) reads عدل خان 'Adl Khān.

12 MS. (A) reads از امیری. 13 MSS. (A) (B) قیام می نمود و.

14 MSS. (A) (B) میدید. 15 MS. (A) درون. 16 MSS. (A) (B) سیری میکرد.

17 چراغ *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,[1] and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment-day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauḥīd* (Declaration of Unity),[2] and *Tauba*[3] (Repentance), and *Istighfār* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled[4] through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,[5] in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six[6] *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Āgra was originally Badal Gaṛh, the words *Ātash-i-Badal garh*[7] made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Hīmūn blockaded the fortress of Baiāna God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,[8] 430. a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Hīmūn's army, which numbered five-hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar; the senses[9] were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time :—

Verse.

We cherish enemies, we also destroy friends,
What mortal has the power to question our decrees.

On one occasion Hīmūn was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Afghān Amīrs[10] into his presence,

1 آتشي در گرفت كه MS. (A).

2 The formula of *Tauḥīd* is *Lā illāha illa Allāh waḥdhu lā Sharīka lahu*. There is no god save God. He is one, He has no partner.

The other formula is *Istaghfiru-llāh wa atūbu ilaihi*. I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent.

Both these formulæ are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril.

3 MS. (B) omits و توبة. 4 MS. (B) reads بريدند instead of پريدند.

5 MS. (A) تلف شد. 6 MS. (B) omits و شش. MS. (A) omits و.

7 آتش بدلگرة *Ātash-i-Badalgarh*. The fire of Badalgarh. These words give the date 962 H.

8 I read here with MS. (A) نان می گفتند و جان می گرفتند. Although MS. (A) also reads in the margin می دادند, the other reading is more probably correct, and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiāna were driven.

9 A footnote variant reads خلق را. MS. (A) reads عقلا.

10 MS. (B) omits افغانان.

to the head of the table[1] urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,[2] he would address him[3] in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand,[4] they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force[5] for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults[6] like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,[7] this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Hīmūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sulṭān[8] Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was marching with an army[9] like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for[10] Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an
431. urgent summons[11] arrived from 'Adlī to Hīmūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Hīmūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Manḍāgar,[12] which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)[13] like a hungry hawk which leaves[14] its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

1 MS. (B) omits سر.
2 MS. (B) omits هرکه می بود.
3 MS. (A) reads برآو for بزبان (Text).
4 MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.
5 I read here جهل دستبرد. *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهل دستبرد which making allowance for conversion of د into ر in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.
6 MSS. (A) (B) دشنام اورا.
7 MS. A omits از امید.
8 MS. (B) omits سلطان.
9 MS. (A) omits عظیم.
10 MS. (A) شده.
11 Omit نیز. MS. (A).
12 MS. (A) reads مندّاکر. *Manḍākar.* MS. (B) مندّاگرة *Maudāgarh.*
13 MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.
14 MS. (B) reads پریدة.

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining[1] reinforcements from Hājī Khān Alwarī,[2] he again set about[3] accomplishing his own objects, and Hīmūn detailed[4] his brother's son named Thar Yāl[5] with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl[6] marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Hīmūn; Hājī Khān was not pleased at Ibrāhīm's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrāhīm being disheartened[7] turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood-relations, left them in Hindūn, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghāzī Khān a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta in Baiāna, relying upon assurances,[8] and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,[9] if God Most High so will it; and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Maṣnavī.

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
It brings to pass one thing but promises another;
It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour;
All its dealings are invariably of this nature.
If it calls you know not whither it calls you,
If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you.
All of us, old and young, are destined to death,
No one can remain in the world for ever.

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrāhīm Khān who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him, in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought **432.** with the army[10] of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

1 کومک گرفته. MS. (A) reads کومک کوفته.
2 MS. (B) omits الوری. 3 MS. (B) کرد. 4 MS. (A) فرمود.
5 MS. (B) reads نهر پال. *Nahar pāl.*
6 MS. (B) reads نهر پال. *Nahar pāl.*
7 Read here نا امید. MS. (A) reads تومید (?). MS. (B) نومید.
8 MS. (A) reads تعهد. 9 MS. (A) reads محکم for محل.
10 Read بفوج. MS. (A), for بقنوج.

forced to flee [1] and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,[2] made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,[3] and in a personal interview [4] presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān [5] spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khuṭbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān [6] and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against [7] Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwatī the ruler of the country [8] of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up [9] to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace [10] and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession [11] (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year ٩٧٥ H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
Death [12] will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

1 MS. (A) omits فرار نموده.
2 MS. (B) reads است for میباشد.
3 MS. (B) omits و آداب. MS. (A) reads ادب.
4 MSS. (A) (B) دید.
5 MS. (A) omits خان.
6 MS. (A) omits خان.
7 Read سردادند. MSS. (A) (B), for سپردند (Text).
8 MS. (B) omits ولایت.
9 MS. (A) برخاست و.
10 MS. (A) reads استیلا.
11 MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقدمات.
12 اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Hīmūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adlī.[1]

'Adlī and Muḥammad Khān Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappar Khatta, fifteen *krohs* from Kalpi. 433.

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adlī, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment[2] expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Hīmūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,[3] than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion[4] that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amīrs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty[5] and grandeur became "like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,"[6] and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's.

Verse.

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,[7]
The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adlī proceeded to Chinhār and appointed Hīmūn,[8] who who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

1 MS. (A) عدل.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read دمبدم. The text reads در میدان.
3 MS. (A) omits پایاب
4 Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?
5 MS. (A) omits و سلطنت.
6 Qur'ān II. 4.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read بیک لحظه بیک دم. MS. (B) reads لحظه for لحظه.
8 MS. (A) هیمون را.

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khiẓr Khān, the son[1] of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,[2] issuing the currency and reading the *Khuṭbah* in his own name, with the style and title of Sulṭān (Muḥammad)[3] Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against
434. 'Adlī, who notwithstanding his distress[4] fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adlī was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikusht*[5] was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire;
Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūḥ.[6]
Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize[7] and take for thine own.
Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee;
Every fruit which grows in the world[8] do thou taste and take.
In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth and gnaw it (in despair).

[1] MS. (B) reads و for ولد.

[2] MS. (A) omits در کور. [3] MSS. (A) (B) omit محمد.

[4] The text reads با وجود آن تنگدلي. MS. (A) reads تنندگي (*sic.*) MS. (B) reads تندگي. The meaning is not very clear.

[5] گوریهٔ بکشت *Gauria bikusht.* A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adlī's death.

[6] A footnote variant gives چرخ. [7] MS. (B) reads دست for چنگ.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) read بدنیا for بعالم.

'Adlī was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tāusīn, the well-known *kalān-wat*[1] who is a past master in this art[2] used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adlī.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God *He is exalted and glorified*, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*,[3] which is in length[4] equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach[5] the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all[6] the performers of the kingdom of Dihlī were unable to play it; 'Adlī, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat[7] the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amīr, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāegīr*,[8] a Bhagat boy[9] handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.[10] 'Adlī was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujāhid Khān.[11] When he attained to kingly power 435.

[1] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī I, (B) 612, *note* 1. *Kalān-wat* or *Kalāwant* is a Hindī word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads كلا نونت *Kalān want.*

[2] Badāonī uses the word وادي *wādī* a valley or desert, apparently to shew his disapproval of the art.

[3] A large kind of drum. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 255.

[4] MS. (B) reads كالاني for درازي. [5] MS. (A) رسيد.

[6] MS. (A) omits همه. [7] MS. (A) omits می.

[8] MS. (A) reads here احاون *Aḥāwan.* MS. (B) reads اجاون *Ajāwan.* So also footnote variant to text.

[9] بهگت پسري. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

[10] MSS. (A) (B) بازي كرد. [11] MS. (A) خان.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāon [1] he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzī Khān Sūr whose tent [2] was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adlī, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.[3] No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company [4] and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose [5] he would first grow red, then pale and livid,[6] and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly
436. performed; [7] he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.[8]

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware! beware!
And you, ye lords of state, beware! beware![9]

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

1 The text reads اجاون with a footnote variant بداون. MSS. (A) read بداون.

2 MS. (B) omits كه ذيرؤ.

3 MS. (A) قليهٔ پوتي. The text reads بوتي meaning scraps of meat.

4 The text reads غشيان *ghashyān*. MS. (A) reads غثيان *ghaṣayān*. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

5 تقاضای گرفت MS. (A). 6 بر مي آمد MS. (A).

7 MS. (A) قضانشد.

8 He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

9 MS. (A) reads خداوند مال in the first line, and خداوندان حال in the second. MS. (B) reads حال in the first and مال in the second.

Nasīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh Ghāzi,

Returning from Kābul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune[1] with victory and conquest, restored to the imperial throne fresh lustre, glory and fortune. The following is an epitome of these events: After that the kingdom of Hindūstan slipped from the grasp of that Pādshāh glorious as Jamshīd, like the ring from the hand of Suleimān,[2] and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord,[3] and each one took his own way and sought his own asylum, considering his own interests by consultation with advisers, as has already been briefly related,[4] Humāyūn crossed from the Panjāb and attempted to seize Bakkar,[5] making his camp at the township of Lohrī,[6] which is near to Bakkar. Mīrzā Hindāl having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pāṇtar,[7] which is fifty *krohs* distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humāyūn sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, governor of Tatta, saying, "I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt,[8] and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guid- 437.
ance." Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain spent five or six months[9] in temporising, and brought Humāyūn by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

[1] A footnote says that one copy gives مستعد. MS. (B) has this reading.

[2] *See ante* p. 205, *note* 3.

[3] ad ایتلاف for ایلاف, MSS. (A) (B).

[4] MS. (A) omits در.

[5] See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. III, also Tieff. I, 117, Bukkur. See *Proceedings*, A. S. B., April, 1895, p. 69.

[6] See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. XI, Rohri. Firishta writes لهري *Luhrī*. *See* Bombay text, p. 409.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) read پاتر *Pātar*. I can find no mention of any place of this name.

[8] MS. (B) reads فتح گجرات مصمم و این مرقوف الخ. Firishta says "asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrāt," Bombay text, p. 409.

[9] Omit و, read پنج شش. MSS. (A) (B).

In this year, 948 H.,[1] Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāṇtar returned to Lohrī. Mīrzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,[2] the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mīr Abūl-Baqā,[3] who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mīr Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, [4] At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mīr was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned [5] in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt* [6] was invented to commemorate it.

Mīrzā Yadgār Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mīrzā (Yādgār) and spent their days [7] in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mīrzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Sīyāhwān.[8] Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain kept sending [9] reinforcements

[1] The text reads 947 H. (۹۴۷) نهصد و چهل و هفت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another نهصد و چهل و هفت و هشت 947–948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) روان شد. Firishta, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read میر ابو البقا MS. (A) omits وا.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) add و.

[5] MS. (A) شد.

[6] سرور کائنات *Surūr-i-kāināt*. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

[7] MS. (A) گذرانید MS. (B) گذرانیدند.

[8] Firishta says سهوان *Sihwān*. Sihwān or Sehwān is in the Karāchī district of Sind, lat 26° 26′ N. long 67° 54′ E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 305; but Tieffenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Ḥusain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) آزوقه.

and supplies[1] to the garrison,[2] and embarking on a boat, and[3] coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humāyūn). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain[4] and want of salt.[5] 438.

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared[6] by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,[7] that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally[8] they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse.

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mīrzā[9] Yādgār Nāṣir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,[10] and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar.[11] Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khuṭbah* read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

1 MS. (B) می فرستاد.

2 This is the statement of one author, but Firishta says "The siege lasted for seven months. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals." Bombay text, 409.

3 MSS. (A) (B) و. 4 MS. (B) قحطي غله.

5 بی نمکي. 6 Footnote variant دست ساز 7 MS. (A) omits سر.

8 Text reads آخر. MS. (B) reads اکثرے را most of them.

9 MS. (B) omits میرزا. 10 MSS. (A) (B) read نیاید.

11 Footnote variant بهکر *Bakkar.*

opposing Humāyūn.[1] He further took possession of all[2] the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,[3] seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege[4] of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two *zamīndārs* recovered two boats which Mīrzā had sunk, and reached[5] Bakkar. Mīrzā, as a means of covering[6] the shame he felt, before he came to pay his
439. respects,[7] marched by forced marches against Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,[8] did a good deal to repair[9] his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, prepared for war. Mun'im Khān who eventually became *Khān-i-Khānān* also meditated[10] flight. Both of them, however, became[11] aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side[12] of Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom[13] of Mārwār, who was distinguished above all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following[14] and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain[15] any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmīr towards Mārwār. The Rāja of

[1] MS. (A) reads با پادشاه مخالفت ساخت.
[2] MS. (A) omits بتمام.
[3] Thus the text: MS. (A) reads كه كدام علتي مستقل بود از براى ويراني لشكر.
[4] MS. (A) از سر قلعة.
[5] MS. (B) رسيد
[6] MSS. (A) (B) دفع.
[7] Footnote variant بدفع,
[8] MS. (B) reads از كشتي بدر آمده بودند.
[9] MS. (B) reads تلافي.
[10] MS. (B) ارادة.
[11] MS. (B) مطلع شد.
[12] MS. (B) جانب.
[13] MSS. (A) (B) ملك.
[14] *Omit* و *read* قوت جمعيت *MSS. (A) (B).*
[15] MS. (A) omits خود after بودن.

Jaisalmīr blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humāyūn's army suffered terrible distress, so much so that[1] around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them[2] from the violence of their thirst cast themselves into the well as though they had been buckets, till it became choked.

In this state of affairs Humāyūn quoted the following *maṭla'*, whoever is the author of it:—

Verse.

So many rents did the heavens make in the garments of the afflicted ones,
That neither could the hand find its sleeve, nor could the head find its opening.

From Jaisalmīr proceeding by forced marches to Mārwār he sent Atka Khān to[3] Māldeo, and halted for several days in the vicinity[4] of Jodhpūr, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in those[5] days, Nāgor had fallen into the hands of Sher Shāh, and[6] had inspired Māldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and power of Humāyūn; accordingly Māldeo, fearing the wrath of Sher Shāh,[7] was afraid to obey that summons, and detaining Atka Khān by some trick, sent a large force under the pretence of welcoming him, with the intention of treacherously attacking Humāyūn and taking him prisoner.[8] Atka Khān [becoming 440.

[1] MS. (A) چنانکه.

[2] A footnote reads: بحدي كه تشنه لبان از فرط عطش خود را الخ To such a height (did their sufferings rise) that the thirsty-lipped ones from excess of hunger (cast) themselves (into the wells). MS. (B) has this reading omitting the word لبان.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) نزد. [4] MS. (B) omits نواحي.

[5] MS. (A) omits بن writing در ایام. [6] MS. (A) و.

[7] A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus:

از خوف غضب شیر شاه ملاحظه نموده ازان طلب

This is the reading adopted: it seems preferable.

[8] This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

بقصد غدر و مکر کمر عناد محکم بسته بطلب پادشاه فرستاد

Sent...with treacherous design, and girding the loins of rebellion."

aware of their treachery from its outset][1] returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkoṭ. It so chanced that two of Māldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,[2] and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed[3] a large number of living things,[4] men, women and horses, whatever came in their way.[5] Among the number was Humāyūn's charger: Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardī Beg for a few horses and camels,[6] he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while[7] Nadīm, his foster-brother,[8] gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.[9] His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road[10] which was so terribly difficult, amid constant[11] alarms of the attack of Māldeo, [and with intense labour and distress.[12] In the middle of
441. the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindūs of Māldeo's army][13] pursuing them through the night, missed their

[1] The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

[2] Read کارد یکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده. MS. (A).

[3] هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

[4] Read جانداران for معاندان. MSS. (A) (B).

[5] هرچه پیش می آمد. MS. (B) آید. MS. (A).

[6] This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جند است شیر (*sic*). Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (سستی نمود) so that he asked Tardī Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Māldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

[7] Text تا انکه. MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes با آنکه whereupon.

[8] Firishta writes ندیم کوکهٔ خود.

[9] Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text *loc cit*).

[10] MS. (A) آن راه را. MS. (B) reads روز.

[11] MSS. (A) (B) omit و هردم. [12] Omit راهٔ after مشقت. MS. (A).

[13] All this passage from بود to شاشب is omitted in MS. (B).

way,[1] and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khān and Roshan Beg[2] Koka, and another[3] party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindūs went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.[4] Marching from thence and being without water,[5] after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth[6] a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.[7] For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and[8] disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

1 According to our author's account it seems as though Māldeo's men lost their way, but Firishta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humāyūn ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty-five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction; towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humāyūn's) orders Shaikh 'Alī and the rest who were in all not more than twenty-five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humāyūn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amīrs who had lost their way came up."

2 MS. (A) omits بیگ.

3 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

4 MS. (A) reads خوشوقتي.

5 آب برداشته, is the reading of the text and both MSS. (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firishta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read از آب برداشته. Putting up with the want of water.

6 MS. (A) omits آب.

7 The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS. (A) reads گاو آبکش بود میرسند also دهل for دهلي.

8 MS. (B) omits و غایب.

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died [1] from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,[2] was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless [3] wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route [4] towards Amarkoṭ, which lies at a distance of a hundred *kroh*s from Tatta. The governor of Amarkoṭ, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power [5] to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed [6] all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,[7] he borrowed from Tardī Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts [8] to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, collected a large force [9] from the surrounding country,[10] entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in [11] Amarkoṭ under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,[12] he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.[13]

442. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalīfah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkoṭ. Tardī Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,[14] proceeded

1 MS. (A) هلاک گشتند. 2 سراب MS. (A) reads سیراب.

3 بلادیدگان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

4 راه گردانید. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

5 MS. (A) reads حسب المقدر. MS. (B) reads حسب مقدور.

6 MSS. (A) (B) بخش فرمودند. 7 MS. (A) که نرسید.

8 کمر خنجر. MS. (A). 9 MSS. (A) (B) omit را.

10 از اطراف کرده اورده. MS. (B). The text is correct.

11 MSS. (A) (B) در. 12 MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

13 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. *See* Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkoṭ before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.

14 The text and both MSS (A) (B) read این نام سعادت فرجام مانده which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read نهاده instead of مانده.

with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul [1] he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khān, deserting.[2] At this time Bairām Khān [3] came from Gujrāt and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humāyūn determined to make for Qandahār. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition [4] sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humāyūn crossed the river Indus. At that time Mīrzā Kāmrān[5] had taken Qandahār [6] from Mīrzā Hindāl and had left it in charge of Mīrzā 'Askarī, and having given Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl had read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also.[7] Mīrzā Hindāl having given up all royal dignity in Kābul used to live like a *darvesh*,[8] and Mīrzā Kāmrān yielding to the instigation of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain wrote to Mīrzā 'Askarī saying, "Seize the road by which the Pādshāh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shāl Mastāng,[9] Mīrzā 'Askarī [10] marched by forced marches from

[1] چول *Chaul* or Chore, a village situated on the route from Amarkoṭ to Jaisalmīr, eight miles north-east of the former place. *See* Thornton's *Gazetteer*, I. p. 143, and map. Lat. 25° 25′ Long. 69° 51′. See also Keith Johnston's Atlas.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) با منعم خان نیز یگان یگان فراری نمودند. So also Firishta who says "But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished, Mun'im Khān also fled, &c."

[3] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 315, No. 10.

[4] MS. (B) omits حسب.

[5] MS. (B) omits میرزا کامران.

[6] MS. (A) omits را.

[7] MS. (A) reads آنرا نیز تغیر نمودند. MS. (B) reads آنرا تغیر نمودند.

[8]

[9] The text reads شال مشانگ *Shāl Mashāng*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سال مستان منزل اردو بود *Sāl Mastān manzil-i-Urdū būd*. Firishta Bo. text, p. 411, line 10 reads سال وهسنان *Sāl Wahsanān*, which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مستان *Shāl-o-Mastān* We should therefore read Shāl-o-Mastāng, understanding by it Mustung which lies S. S. W. of Quetta or Shāl, at a distance of about 25 miles. *See* Thornton's *Gazetteer*, II. pp. 65 and 188. The distance from Qandahār to Shāl is about 150 miles.

[10] A footnote variant reads میرزا هندال *Mīrzā Hindāl* Not in MS. (A) or (B).

Qandahār and sent Chūlī[1] Bahādur Uzbakī to reconnoitre.[2] He however, went straight off and informed Baīrām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Baīrām Khān went with all
443. haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula[3] of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself[4] with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge[5] of Atkah Khān[6] on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort[7] with him and journeyed by way of Sīstān.

Mīrzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,[8] and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg[9] in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

[1] Footnote variant جوكي *Jūkī*.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) فرستادة. MS. (B) omits گيري.

[3] MS. (A) omits كلمة. *See* Qur'ān xviii. 77.

[4] MS. (B) reads كشودة for كشيدة.

[5] اتابكي *atabakī*. The word *atābak* or *atābek* is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sulṭāns." (Pavet de Courteille),

[6] Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No. 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anāgah*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anāgah."

The word انا *anā* means a mother in Turkī, while اناكة *anākah* or اناكا *anākā* means a nurse, as اتا *atā* means a father; the word اتاكة *atākah* would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

[7] MS. (B) omits پادشاة after بيگم. MSS. (A) (B) read گرفتند for بردند.

[8] ديوانخانهٔ عالي *Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī*.

[9] The words بحكم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read بحلم *be-ḥilm*.

Prince [1] to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sulṭān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.[2] In that journey important events took place,[3] which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,[4] do not admit of relation in this place; and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.). In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, the elder son of Shāh Ṭahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage [5] of Muḥammad Khān Taklū,[6] and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey,[7] with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed); and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and shewing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Surīq [8] and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies. 444.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat; Humāyūn incautiously [9] replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahrām Mīrzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit را. [2] Omit و MSS. (A) (B).

[3] روی داد MS. (A).

[4] MSS. (A) (B) اصل دز نسخهٔ. That is to say, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See *Elliot* and *Dowson*, V. 217, *et seqq*.

[5] اتالیقي *Atālīqī*. The termination *liq*, *līgh*, *lāq*, or *lūgh*, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چوقلوق *chūqlūq*, abundance; or possession. *See* Pavet de Courteille *s. v.*

The word *patronage* would more etymologically represent *atālīqī*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

[6] Called by Niẓāmu-d-Dīn, Aḥmad Muḥammad Khān Sharfu-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū (E. and D., v. 217). The word تکلو *Taklū* means "eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants" (P. de C.).

[7] MS. (B) reads دیده و ما یحتاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.

[8] The text has ئیلاق سورتق (Sic) (? ایلاق) *Ilāq Sūrtaq*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read پلاق سوریق *Pulāq Sūrīq*.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالي ذهن.

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day [1] forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],[2] and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ōzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive." [3] This was a reference [4] to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Isma'īl [5] with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,[6] and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ōzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash,[7] (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Ōzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met [8] he withdrew [9] to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance [10] is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sulṭān Begam [11] the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ازان روز باز.

2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ضایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

3 MSS. (A) (B) زنده بدر نیامد.

4 The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads یلمح.

5 In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Ṣānī Iṣfahānī).

6 MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

7 MS. (A) reads کس *kas* (?).

نخسب *Nakhshab*. "In Mawarān-u-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samarqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samarqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samarqand." *See* Yāqūt, *s. v.v.* نخشب and نسف. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz.

8 MS. (B) reads تلاقي for التقای. 9 MS. (A) کشیده.

10 MSS. (A) (B) قضیهٔ. Text reads قصهٔ.

11 MS. (A) reads سلطانم *Sulṭānam*. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdī,[1] (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sāmirah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-ra'ā,[2] and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs[3] of State were bound up,[4] dissuaded him from that mistaken step,[5] and by the use of rational argument brought him back[6] to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist. His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse.[7] 445.

Verse.

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,[8]
Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow.

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,[9] and sent it to the Shāh.

1 The promised Mahdī, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, xxiii. also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 305.

2 Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq. Founded by Al Mu'tasim b'Illāh eighth Khalīfah of the house of Abbās. See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p. 350.

Its name was changed by Al Mu'taṣim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-raá meaning "Who sees it rejoices." Sāmarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Baghdād, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdī, Al-Qāīm is to appear. *See* J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Le Strange.

3 MS. (A) مهمات. 4 MS. (B) omits بود.

5 Text ازان وادي گردانيدة. MS. (A) reads گبياندة. (?)

6 MS. (A) آورد. 7 MSS. (A) (B) بيت آخرين اين است.

8 هما *Humā*, see p. 57 of this work, and *note* 2.

There is an allusion here to the name Humāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

9 Read قطعهٔ سلمان را. MS. (A).

Salmān Sāwajī. Jamālu-d-Dīn, a native of Sāwah. Shaikh 'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmān or the pomegranates of Samnān." He died in the year 669 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā*, II. 19. *See* Beale *O. B. D.*, p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 779 A.H. *See* also H. K. 8946 Firāqnāma. The date of his death given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan and of his son Sulṭān Awais Jalāyer the latter of whom died in 776 A.H. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 100 *n*. 6.

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As 'Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Arẓhan.[1]

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,[2] arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shī'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after[3] much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence[4] in the *Khuṭbah*, after the custom of 'Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.[5] Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand[6] cavalry under the command[7] of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,[8] was nominated[9] to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

[1] One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shīrāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Alī for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Isābah*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū 'Abdi-llah al Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text هست اُمید آنکه لطف با ما آن کند. MS. (B) reads اُمید وارم.

[2] Omit و and read ترتیب داد و MS. (A). [3] بعد التیا و المتي.

[4] Read here تقبل نمودند for نقل نمودند. MSS. (A) (B).

[5] The Shī'ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the Imāmīyah and the Iṣnā 'Asharīyah. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

[6] MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

[7] باقالیقي Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

[8] See *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and I [illegible] 4 *n*. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who [illegible] the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

[9] MS. (A) نامزد شد و.

by one route and Humāyūn by another,[1] and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabīl and Tabrīz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,[2] and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.[3]

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice[4] to his fellow, "This is not Humāyūn Pādshāh."[5] The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humāyūn used generally in Bangāla to cast[6] a veil over his crown, and when he removed it[7] the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said[8] "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mīr Abūl Baqā with the Amīrs and Vazīrs paid the due respects, and the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)[9] arrived at Garmsīr and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view[10] of Qandahār, when[11] after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askarī was besieged, and for three months continuously[12] fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairām Khān was sent to Kābul as an ambassador to

446.

1 MS. (A) reads قرار یافت که پادشاه قندهار را ..... گذارند. It was settled that Humāyūn should ..... hand over Qandahār (to Shāh Murād). MS. (A) omits مراد.

2 MS. (A) inserts مقدس.

3 At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Mūsa ar-Reẓā. *See* Meynard *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 396 *s. v.* طوس. *See* also Āīn-i-Akbarī, (J.) III. 86. Firishta reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

متوجه مشهد مقدس امام علیه الاف التحیه.

4 Insert آهسته after دیگری instead of after زایران MSS. (A) (B).

5 MS. (A) reads نیست for این ست.

6 MSS. (A) (B) می انداختند. 7 Read بر می داشتند MSS. (A) (B).

8 Supply که. MSS. (A) (B). 9 از راه دیگر. MS. (A).

10 MS. (B) reads در ظاهر and ساختند. 11 Omit درین اثنا MS. (A).

12 Insert پیاپی after ناسه ماه. MSS. (A) (B).

Mīrzā[1] [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mīrzā 'Askarī was fighting and Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā] Suleimān Badakhshī and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir[2] who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight;[3] and [since][4] the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him[5] and would all come in.[6] This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large[7] number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mīrzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mīrzā 'Askarī, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.[8] It so happened that just at that very time certain Amīrs deserted from Mīrzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ulugh Mīrzā, and Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yad Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of
447. Qandahār, escaped[9] from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mīrzā 'Askarī in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined[10] the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

1 The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکري از جانب او محاربه
می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان الخ

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. *See* Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

2 MS. (A) reads را but it seems to be in error.

3 Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A). 4 MS. (A) omits چون.

5 چغتیه ایل خواهند شد - ایل شدن *Il shudan*. To become submissive. *See* Pavet de Courteille, *s v.* ایل.

6 Read here. و همه خواهند در آمد MSS. (A) (B). The word با طاعت seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *īl*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe."

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

7 MS. (A) کثیر.

8 MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads
که بدیار خود مراجعت نمایند.

9 The text read پایان آمده having come down. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. *loc cit.*

10 MS. (A) شده.

Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amīrs of Qizilbāsh that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghtā tribe,[1] and the inhabitants of the city, so as[2] to allow of their all coming out; and although Humāyūn had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khān and Mīrzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them.

Verse.

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise
That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him.

With the exception of Bidāgh Khān and two or three other Amīrs,[3] no one remained in the service of Mīrzā Murād, while the remaining Amīrs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Irāq.

Humāyūn was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidāgh Khān to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.[4] On this account some of the Chaghatai Amīrs began[5] to take to flight towards Kābul; among them was Mīrzā 'Askarī, who was seized in the way and brought to Humāyūn, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events[6] happened in those days, which[7] led to the delivery of Qandahār from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amīrs urged upon Humāyūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

1 الوس چغتا *Ulūs-i-Chaghtā.* The word *Ulūs* is a Turk'sh word, it is not found in Redhouse's dictionary. In Faẓlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as قبیلهٔ بزرگ *qabīla-i-buzurg*, a large tribe. The title of *Ulūsbegī* "chief of the tribe" was a very old one among the Mughuls. See *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross), p. 132 *n.* 1.

2 MS. (A) reads wrongly با for تا.

3 Bidāgh Khān, "Abūl-Fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār, and Ṣūfī Walī Sulṭān Kadāmū." *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* E. and D., v. 221.

4 Read سخنان نادر MSS. (A) (B).

5 MS. (B) reads نهادن کردند.

6 MS (A) reads از قضا قضای چند. The text is correct.

7 Omit بعضی MS. (A).

that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought [1] to
448. bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mīrzā Murād on that very day,[2] by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh *canaille* on [3] the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.[4]

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce [5] *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

[2] MS. (A) inserts قرار داد after روز "the very day of the agreement."

[3] Omit نسبت MS. (B). [4] MS. (B) omits مطلقا.

[5] MS. (A) reads تبرای تندي. The word here seems to mean one who is anathema, *i. e.*, a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word تبرا *Tabarrā*. This word means enmity (as opposed to تولا *Tawallā*, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining *tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that محبت *maḥabbat*, affection, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عداوت *'adāwat* is of two kinds, *religious*, as for instance the *'adāwat* of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith: and, *worldly*, as the *'adāwat* between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests. Thus it is conceivable that *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *quā* Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the *'adāwat* which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of *'adāwat* in religious matters is *kufr* (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood or other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and *'adāwat* must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *īmān* (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Maḥabbat and *'adāwat* between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees ..... The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members, secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members, thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*īmān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ān become worthy of *'adāwat* (واجب العداوت) they are excepted (from the rights of *maḥabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. ..... Inasmuch as فسق *fisq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude ایمان *Īmān* (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرا *tabarrā* against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains *Īmān* it is lawful to entertain محبت *maḥabbat* for him, and *'adāwat* on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as *tabarrā* and سب *sabb* (reviling) are only justifiable when *maḥabbat* for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shī'ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilāfat of 'Alī as *kufr*, according to the words of Khwāja Naṣīr Ṭūsī "*Mukhalīfūhu fasaqah wa muḥāribūhu kafarah.*" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of *tabarrā*, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fāsiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-Iṣnā 'aṣharīyah* of Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Āzīz of Dihlī.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that *Tabarrā* is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ἀνάθεμα of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of *tabarrā* which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of ایمان (*Īmān*) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرا *tabarrā* provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir he is called تبرای *tabarrāī* accursed.

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

ʿABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONĪ.

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badāonī's *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badāonī's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زرگر شناسد قدر جوهر جوهري

CALCUTTA: *July 18th*, 1898. GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Badāonī reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following:—

1. The "Muntakhab Al-Tawārīkh," edited by Maulavī Aḥmad Alī, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., "on Translations from and into Persian." Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk Shāh Badāonī, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muḥammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muḥammad Nāẓim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.

Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and *'adāwat* must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *īmān* (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

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their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā [1] [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mīrzā from Kāmrān Mīrzā] and come thither, uttered foul [2] and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet,[3] *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them;* Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir could not endure this, and struck him such a blow with an arrow which he had in his hand that the arrow penetrated his chest up to the wing, and passing through him struck the ground.[4] Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kūkī with two servants first of all entered the fortress of Qandahār together with a train of camels laden (with supplies), and put the guards to the sword; a second party following him, came up, Mīrzā Ulugh Beg and Bāirām Khān were of that number.[5] The Qizilbāsh were astounded,[6] and utterly confounded,[7] and the proverb was exemplified,[8] "Qāẓī, I am an old woman,[9] and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!" Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn[10] entering the fort[11] allowed Bidāgh Khān, who had come to him[12] in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards 'Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāsh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction,[13] he made over charge of that district to Baīrām Khān and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mīrzā Kāmrān also came out to meet him with the intention[14] of fighting. Every day one or two[15] of his noted Amīrs deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

[1] MS. (B) omits the portion in brackets.

[2] MS. (A) omits ی فاحش. [3] MSS. (A) (B) omit الله.

[4] MS. (A) reads از او بزمین رسید. MS. (B) reads آزاد بیفتاد.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read ازان جماعت MS. ازان جملة

[6] Omit و MSS. (A) (B). [7] *Literally*, lost their hands and feet.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) بکار آمده.

[9] The text reads قور بقه a footnote gives two variants قازی من قوز بقه ام and قاری من قور بقه ام. The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read for قور بقه *qūrbaqa*, the word قورتغا *qūrtaghā*, which is Turkī for 'an old woman.' *See* Pavet de Courteille.

[10] MS. (A) omits پادشاه [11] MS. (B) insert دید که after آمده

[12] MS. (A) omits و دیده [13] MS. (B) omits خاطر

[14] MS. (B) بعزیمت جنگ باستقبال بر آمده [15] MS. (A) یک دواز

part of the inhabitants of the world[1] are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.[2] Mīrzā Kāmrān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaikhs* and *'Ulamā* to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mīrzā, in accordance with the saying "*The traitor is a coward*,"[3] would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznīn. The whole of his army[4] came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mīrzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "*Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place*"[5] was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,[6] in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),[7] and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date :— 449.

Be jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai.[8]

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,[9]

1 MS. (A) مردم عالم ; MS. (B) omits عالم حکم

2 MS. (B) می آوردند

3 الخاین خایف *Al-khāinu khāif.* MS. (B) reads الخاین و الخایف

4 MS. (A) reads سپاهیانش

5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85. 6 MS. (A) omits المبارک.

7 The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says : "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952 : but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

8 بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل ازوی. These words give 952 H. Firishta also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 448).

9 Text که طناب اطناب را کشیده دارد. *Lit.* to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را ; MS. (B) reads سخن for اطناب.

the thread of his discourse [1] has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*[1]

To make a long story short when Mīrzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznīn and was unable to enter it,[2] he departed towards Bakkar, and Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humāyūn put to death Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mīrzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and
450. Kāmrān Mīrzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies [3] of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mīrzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mīrzā Suleimān, and making over [4] the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mīrzā Kāmrān after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka [5] made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

Verse.

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

[1] MS. (A) omits بی اختیار MS. (B) omits رشتهٔ سخن.

The proverb is الحدیث ذوشجون *Al-ḥadīṣu ẕu-shujūn*, and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, *see Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, I. p. 350, *n.* 29.

The text reads wrongly الحدیث شجون and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads شبخون.

[2] MS. (A) و در آنجا.

[3] بر حضرات عالیات بیگمان *Bar ḥaẓarāt-i-'āliyāt-i-Begamān.*

[4] MS. (B) reads سپردن for تفویض نمودن.

[5] Māham Ānka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. *See* Āīn-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 328.

Anākā or Anāka in Turkī signifies *nurse* (P. de C.) Fazlu-llāh Khān gives انگه *Anagah* in the meaning of foster-mother شیر مادر *shīr mādar*. Read the account given by Niẓāmu-d-Dīn. (Elliot, v. p. 227).

The Sardārs and Amīrs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,[1] and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,[2] Mīrzā,[3] having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,[4] and when Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mīrzā,[5] Mīrzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābā Qashaqa?" Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn safe and sound, and the part returned to the whole.[6]

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years[7] beside,
For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages.

And Mīrzā Kāmrān took refuge with Pīr Muḥammad Khān, 451.
Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance[8] seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleimān Mīrzā and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and took possession of them; and Qurācha Khān,[9] who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping[10] Amīrs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kābul.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer[11] says with reference to this:

1 MS. (A) omits را; *i. e.*, to make feints.

2 Read تا آخر مرزا MS. (A). 3 Mīrzā Kāmrān.

4 Text بصورت ناشناسا MSS. (A) (B) read بصورت ناشنا سان.

5 MS. (A) بمیرزا رسید.

6 Text reads و جزء به کل رجوع نموده. MS. (A) has the better reading جزو بکل رجوع نمود.

7 A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).

8 Text صدد خواسته. MSS. (A) (B) صدد طلبیده. 9 MS. (A) reads جان.

10 MS. (A) reads نمودند و اغراض ..... خام طمع شده.

11 Text و ظریفی دران باب گفته. This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;[1]

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months male.[2]

On several occasions it happened that Mīrzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,[3] and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,[4] and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pīr Muḥammad Khān and 'Abu-l-'Aziz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khān,[5] the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīrs, who were treacherous hypocrites,[6] and in alarm about Mīrzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul.[7] Mīrzā Kāmrān[8] once more broke[9] his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,[10] and he had to fight numerous battles,[11] he eventually sought

Ẓarīf." There was a poet of that name, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān See *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā*, II. 345.

1 کیوان *Kaiwān*. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

2 See *ante* p. 352 *n.* 1.

3 و سینهٔ صاف شدند.

4 *See* Elliot, v. 229, 230.

5 MS. (A) reads عبید الله خان. *'Ubaidu-llāh Khān.*
The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* calls him *'Abid Khān*, Elliot, v. p. 230.

6 MS. (A) reads امرای مُرائی منافق.

7 The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mīrzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Osbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but out his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. *See* Elliot, v. p. 231.

8 MS. (A) omits کامران.

9 MS. (A) کردو.

10 او را از راه میبردند.

11 Read نمود for نمودند MS. (A).

aid from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,[1] and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar at Pashāla.[2] Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but 452.
the jewel of sight was taken from him,[3] (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him.

Verse.[4]

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark.
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment which it has not afterwards torn from him.
The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
The Time has never played any piece without practising deception with it.
Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn.
Khāqānī! cast dust into the eyes of the world,
For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee no remedy.

[1] MS. (B) reads از اسلیم شاه مایوس گشته.

[2] Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account *see* Elliot, v. 232 to 234. MS. (A) reads پرهالة *Yarhāla.*

[3] Mírzā Kāmrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, *see* Elliot, v. 146 and 235 in the year 960 H. Firishta gives the *tārīkh* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید زبیداد سپهر *Chashm poshīd zi bedād-i-sipihr.* He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death. Firishta also says that he made the pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Ẓū Ḥijjah 964 H. (*Bo. Text*, p. 455), October, 1557 A. D.

[4] Khāqānī, whose name was Afzalu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abūl-'Alā Ganjawī; he took the name Haqāiqī, as his *takhallus* and entered the service of Shirwān Shāh the great Khāqān Manuchihr, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwān, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuḥfatu-l-'Irāqain* while on the way. He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī[1] wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,[2] than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.[3]

And the poet Waisī[4] wrote:

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
153. After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhāb in Tabrīz in the year 582 H.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥa, I, p. 200. See also Beale, *O.B.D. s. v.* Khāqānī.

[1] MS. (B) reads مولا. MS. (A) reads و مولا قاسم كاتبي.

[2] This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

[3] *Pādshah Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd.* The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Mīyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (*see* vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufiism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāonī laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Ataṣh-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Tīmūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 566 *n.* 1; also Beale, *O.B.D.*, p. 144.

[4] MS. (B) reads دبسی *Dabsī* for ویسی *Waisī* (Text).

One night as Waisī was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka." [1]

Mīrzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good-natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch; eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well.[2]

This event took place in the year [3] 964 H.

Mīrzā 'Askarī, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālu-d-Dīn [4] Maḥmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakhshān and made him over to Mīrzā Suleimān. He was kept in confinement for some time,[5] and then was released, and Mīrzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities.[6] When he reached a valley which lies between Shām [7] and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from [8] that desert to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārīkh* of that event:—

'Askarī pādshāh-i-daryādil.[9]

Verse.

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison.[10]

1 *Shāh-i-marḥūm dar Makka mānd.* This line gives the date 964 H.

2 الامور بالعواقب. *Al umūru bil 'awāqib.* Lit. Events are according to their terminations.

3 MS. (A) omits سال. 4 MSS. (A) (B). 5 MS. (A) بودة.

6 حرمين شريفين. *Ḥaramain-i-Sharīfain.* Mecca and Medīna.

7 Syria. Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad says: "in the country of Rūm," Elliot v. 234.

8 MS. (A) reads از راة.

9 *i.e.* 'Askarī the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

10 In the *Mishkāt* (xxi. Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muḥammad. "A man came to his majesty and said: 'Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mīrzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mīrzā Kāmrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān[1] Kūkī was executed[2] on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mīrzā Kāmrān made a night attack upon the camp.[3] By chance that night the dart of death struck Mīrzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place[4] in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.[5]

purging.' And his highness said: 'Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said: 'I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice: 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said: 'give him honey.' Then the man said: 'I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said: 'God has said truly, *there is a cure for man in honey*, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantīn (Absinthium) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some Rhododendrons *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the *N. O.* Ericaceæ, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

[1] MS. (A) omits خان. [2] MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاهي after سیاست.
[3] Read شبخون بر اردوی آورد. [4] MS. (A) روی نمود.
[5] شبخون. *Shabkhūn*. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārīkh*. *See* Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.

Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack[1] with the forces of the world
That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindāl the world-conqueror left the world,
And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyūn;
The young plant-like stature of that shapely palm-tree
Was like a lamp to the sleeping-apartment of the sky.
Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,[2] I said,
Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night attack*.

Mīrzā Amānī also wrote[3] the following:—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,[4]
The wailing ring-dove uttered this *tārīkh*,
"A cypress has gone from the garden of glory."[5]

And Maulānā Hasan 'Alī Kharās[6] wrote:

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night; 455.
Since a night assault (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhūn*.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mīrzā Hindāl upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznīn with its dependencies as *Iqṭā'* grants.[7]

[1] MSS. (A) (B) read شبا خوني.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit و.

[3] MS. (A) reads مانى Mānī for امانى Amānī (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read گفته for يافته (Text).

[4] Read بجنت for بحنت. MSS. (A) (B).

[5] سروي از بوستان دولت رفت. *Sarve az būstān-i-daulat raft.*

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Būstān-i-daulat* which is 959, and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value 1, thus we obtain 958 H.

[6] MS. (A) reads گفته.

[7] See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 116.

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mīrzā Kāmrān, and it so happened that Mīrzā went to Islem[1] Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.[2] In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Baīrām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Baīrām Khān came out in person to receive[3] Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Baīrām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walīs, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī[4] sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavī was from Bahdā,[5] which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,[6] and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavī Makhdūmī 'Ārif Jāmī, and Maulavī 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr
456. Lārī, *may God He is exalted*[7] *sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Baīrām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

[1] MS. (A) reads سلیم شاہ *Salīm Shāh.* [2] MS. (A) هندوستان.

[3] MS. (A) باستقبال برآمده.

[4] The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 *n.* 2 where the meaning of *Naqshband* is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave *Kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*). *See* also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, *et seqq.*

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

[5] Footnote variant بهدایین *Bahdāyan.*

[6] MS. (A) reads قندهار *Qandahār.* [7] MS. (B) omits تعالی.

"Oh, Bairām what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaikha [1] in the world." And Humāyūn having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the *Ākhūnd*,[2] and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairām Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Ākhūnd indicated Mīr Ḥabību-llāh, the grandson of Mīr Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, and said,[3] "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mīr, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Ākhūnd without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content. At this time Humāyūn enquired,[4] "How much water is enjoined by the *Sunnat* to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands;" then first Bairām Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdī, son of Qāsim Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām Khān, saying, "This is a present."[5] Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents[6] must be given on both sides."

The story goes that one day Bairām Khān caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmīr *shāls*,[7] and brought it to him. 457.
He took it in his hand and praised it[8] saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairām Khān said, "As it is a suitable garment for a darvesh, I have brought it as an offering for you." He thereupon made a sign[9] with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit دیگر
2 آخوند a tutor, teacher, preacher.
3 MS. (A) reads نه میدانید.
4 MS. (A) reads پرسید.
5 MS. (A) reads که این نذر است.
6 MS. (A) omits هدیه.
7 Shawls.
8 Text کرده MS. (A) فرموده. MS. (B) گفته.
9 MS. (A) omits اشارت.

deserving of it than I. Many[1] miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Dīn, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'īn Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalīfah of the time was for some time Qāzī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day[2] to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise[3] archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first[4] defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchīwāra,[5] when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sīstānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was[6] saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of their's that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep
458. of death he is superior to the archangels.[7]

[1] MS. (A) reads خیلی منقول است.

[2] MS. (B) reads هر وقت و هر روز. [3] Read ورزش for روش. MSS. (A) (B).

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read ماچهي وارة كه شكست.

[5] *Māchiwāra.* On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb. *See* Tieff. I, 112. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āīn-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchhīwārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

[6] MS. (A) omits می. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

[7] MS. (B) reads بهتر از فرشته خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads مهین for مهیمن and omits بهتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take him
And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun'im Khān. Mun'im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed [1] to Bairām Khān, and Zamīndāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Ẓū Ḥijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.[2] And the following *qiṭa'h* was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qiṭa'h.

Khusrū Ghāzī Naṣīru-d-Dīn Humāyūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is *nuh ṣad wa shast wa yake.*[3]

At the halting-place of Parshāwar [4] Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār [5] and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus [6] and Bairām Khān and Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, with Tardī Beg Khān and

[1] MS. (A) مقرر ماند.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

[3] نهصد و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this *qiṭa'h* gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says يعنى صورى و معنوى that it is both in form and in literal value.

[4] The text reads پر شادر *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پر شاور *Parshāwar*.

[5] MS. (A) omits بر.

[6] MS. (B) omits سند.

459. Iskandar[1] Sulṭān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward[2] and Tātār Khān Kāsī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort[3] and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.[4]

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard[5] started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar][6] Jalandhar[7] and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣīr Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dīpālpūr with Shāh[8] Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, who was eventually *Khān-i-zamān*,[9] and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands[10] upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhorīs), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrahīm Sūr, and having conquered him[11] formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

[1] MS. (B) adds خان.

[2] MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند. MS. (B) reads پیس پیش می آمدند.

[3] Read قلعة omitting the *hamza*.

[4] The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Ādam Ghakar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

[5] امرای منقلای *Umarā-i-Manqalāī*. MS. (A) reads *Umarā-i-mutafarriq*. The text is correct. منقلای *manqalāī* منغلای *manghalāī* or مانگلای *māngalāī* is a Turkī word signifying forehead (*front*) or advance-guard of an army. *See* P. de C. *s. v.* so also Faiẓullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی *pīshānī* forehead.

[6] These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

[7] MS. (B) omits جلندهر *Jalandhar*.

[8] MS. (A) reads شاهپور شاه ابو لمعالي in error.

[9] 'Alī Qulī Khān was the son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāsh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of *Khān-i-Zamān*. *See* Badāonī, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānīpat. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I, (B), p. 319.

[10] MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

[11] غالب شده MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghāns, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children; however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shāh who could successfully contend against the Mughuls, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first [1] appointed [2] Tātār Khān Kāsī with Ḥabīb Khān and Naṣīb Khān Ṭaghūchī with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyūn which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātaī Amīrs [3] crossed the river [4] Sutlej, and the Afghāns followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued.[5] The Mughuls set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short,[6] took refuge in [7] a ruined village; and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops [8] they set fire to the roofs.[9] The result, however, was the very reverse [10] of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghāns with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Flee! Flee! [11] rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

1 MS. (B) omits اول. 2 MS. (A) نامزد کردو.

3 MS. (A) امیر چغتای. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Text reads امرای حصار.

4 MS. (B) omits آب. 5 MS. (A) واقع شد.

6 کهٔ لوتاه سلاح بودند. *Ki kotāh silāḥ būdand.* A footnote variant reads صلاح *salāḥ* which would mean "who were ill-advised" this is the reading of MS. (B) but the other is preferable.

7 Text در. MS. (A) و دیهی.

8 Read بهٔ نظر. MSS. (A) (B) for در نظر.

9 The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads چنبرها *chambarhā* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads جیر *jīr* (?) while MS. (B) reads چنبرنا (?) *chanbarhā*.

The account given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot, v 237–238) differs, and makes it appear as though the Mughūl troops used fire-arms or fire-arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable.

10 Omit روی. MSS. (A) (B). 11 MS. (B) omits الفرار.

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached [1] Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Fīrūza was entirely [2] subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihlī, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp [3] after the custom [4] of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed [5] marched and came to Sirhind,[6] and every day fierce contests [7] took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the
461. world; [8] seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one [9] side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able,[10] behaved with due bravery and valour,[11] but could not contend [12] against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled.[13] The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

[1] *Supply* رسید after بپاد شاه. MSS. (A) (B). [2] MS. (A) یک قلمه.
[3] MS. (B) reads لشکر for معسکر. [4] MS. (B) reads بطرز for بدستور.
[5] MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.
[6] The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.
[7] MSS. (A) (B) read مقابله for مقاتله. Text.
[8] MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان. [9] MS. (A) omits یک.
[10] MS. (A) حسب امکان. [11] MS. (B) reads داد مردي و مردانگي دادند.
[12] MS. (B) reads بس بر نیامدند. [13] MSS. (A) (B) روی بفرار نهاد و.

to which Bairām Khān gave the name[1] of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.[2]

Verse.[3]

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,[4]
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān[5] brought thither by the wind.[6]

Another says:

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Fārīdūn or a Kaiqubād.[7]

The words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*[8] were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i*.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well-balanced nature;
When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,
He sought the date in the words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*.

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikandar Khān Osbak turned towards Dihlī, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction[9] of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns[10] who were in Dihlī, fled hot-foot[11] for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst[12] a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "*He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate*;" and the hidden[13] meaning of the words "*the day* 462.

[1] MS. (A) نام نهاد.
[2] MS. (B) reads نظم for مثنوي (Text).
[3] MS. (A) adds هم after هنوز.
[4] A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B) و زرهای گرد.
[5] MS. (A) reads سلیمانی.
[6] MS. (B) reads یاد for باد.
[7] Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay
May stop a hole to keep the wind away.
[8] شمشیر همایون *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*. The sword of Humāyūn. These letters give the date 962 H.
[9] MS. (B) reads بجای پای تخت هند.
[10] MSS. (A) (B) omit از.
[11] Read بنگ پا. MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text.
[12] MS. (B) inserts که after معرکهٔ.
[13] Supply سر MS. (A).

when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons" [1] became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was detailed [2] to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramaẓān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khuṭbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time,[3] after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories [4] among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas* as a votive [5] offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy *on him and on his family be blessings without end.* He also gave Hissār Fīrūza as a reward [6] to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward,[7] upon Muḥammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī having reached high rank [8] was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass [9] that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

[1] Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت.

[3] The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads مرتبهٔ دیگر بفر سلطنت برسد. A footnote variant reads بمقر سلطنت رسد.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) ولایات را.

[5] Text صدقه MS. (A) نذر.

[6] Faizullah Khān gives this word as چلدو *Childū* in the sense of انعام *In'ām*. In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as *jildū* or *juldū* in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

[7] MS. (B) omits بانعام محمد.

[8] MS. (B) reads مرتبهٔ تمام and omits بشوکت تمام.

[9] Text بانجا رسید. MS. (B) reads بانجام رسید.

intentions,[1] as will shortly be described, if God He *is exalted*[2] *so* will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'ālī had treated badly the Amīrs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)[3] interfered in their *Aqtā's*, and not only in these but even in the public 463.
treasury and in the government lands, the Amīrs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed[4] to the office of tutor (*Atālīq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was appointed to Hiṣṣār Fīrūza, but had not yet started when Qabā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, 'Alī Qulī Khān to Mīraṭh and Sambal, and Qambar Dīwāna to Badāon, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī[5] to Baiāna. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān kept Ghāzī Khān Sūr,[6] the father of Ibrahīm Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.[7] And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantanbhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse.[8]

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will.
Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths[9] to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,[10] and[11] the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,[12] put all the

1 آثار خلاف و تخیلات فاسد ازو بمنصهٔ ظهور شتافت. The text reads wrongly خلافت. MS. (B) reads خلاف.

2 تعالی MS. (A). 3 MS. (B) گاه.

4 MS. (B) reads مقرر فرمودند و بدفع اسکندر تعین نمودند.

5 MS. (B) omits آخته بیگی. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humāyūn who had given the Emperor his horse when Humāyūn's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī, (B) I, 384.

6 MSS. (A) (B). 7 MS. (A) omits قلعهٔ and reads محصر for محصور.

8 MS. (A) reverses the order of these two lines.

9 MS. (B) reads پیمان for بایمان. 10 MSS. (A) (B) read معین کرد.

11 The text has a superfluous و here. 12 MS. (A) اموال ودفاین.

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,[1] sending[2] the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;[3] accordingly[4] he despatched Mīr Shihābu-d-Dīn[5] Nīshāpūrī *Bakhshī*, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn
64. Aḥmad Khān, to Baiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzī Khān. Ḥaidar Muḥammad[6] concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary[7] things. Qambar Dīwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while 'Alī Qulī Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'[8]

And before that 'Alī Qulī Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Dīwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola[9] he fought with Rukn Khān Afghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,[10] but was subsequently defeated by the Afghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort[11] arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Alī Qulī Khān sent to summon him,[12] he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,[13] this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Alī Qulī Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

1 MS. (B) reads همگي را تا اطفال شير خوارة. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

2 MS. (B) فرستادند. 3 MS. (B) reads اين معنى پسند نيامد.

4 MS. (A) omits بناء reading و. 5 MS. (B) reads مير شهاب *Mīr Shihāb*.

6 MSS. (A) (B). 7 اشياى سهل را نمود. *Ashyā-i-sahl rā namūd*. MS. (A) omits را.

8 Read here سنبل و قنبر چه. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

9 Shāhjahānpūr. MS. (B) omits كانت.

10 The text reads ملانوة *Mulānwah* (?) MS. (A) reads لاوة (?) *Malāwah*. MS. (B) reads ملاوة *Malāwah*. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* ix. 237) s a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E.

Firishta makes no mention of this.

11 MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits كس.

12 MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبيدة.

13 MS. (B) reads زيادة از آنست.

(Dīwāna)[1] who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust[2] in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night[3] from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,[4] and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty[5] room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on[6] from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post; suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my[7] ears, dig up[8] the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine[9] which 'Alī Qulī Khān had laid from outside the fortress. 465.
The people who saw those[10] mines said that from the side[11] of the fort in whatever direction they struck[12] into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of *sāl*[13] wood arranged under its foundations, bound together[14] for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Alī Qulī Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Alī Qulī Khān was

1 The word دیوانه. *Dīwāna* means a madman.

2 MS. (B) reads اعتمادي. The text reads اعتميدي. an incorrect form by *imāla*.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read بشبها after خود omitting شبها before میگشت.

4 This appears to be the meaning, though the word فراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS. and in two others مسترجب.
Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.

5 A footnote variant reads بقال for خالي. The text is correct.

6 MS. (A) omits پیشتر.

7 MS. (B) omits من.

8 MS. (B) reads بکاوند.

9 نقب Text. MS. (A) reads نقت.

10 MS. (B) omits آن.

11 MS. (A) reads طرف for اطراف.

12 Text شروع در نقب نمودند. MS. (A) reads کردند for نمودند.

13 چوبهای سال. *Chūbhā-i-sāl.*

14 Read بود. MS. (A).

astonished at this degree of vigilance,[1] and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Alī Qulī Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack[2] up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Shaikh Ḥabīb Badāonī, who was one of the most notable men[3] of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,[4] who were the relations of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,[5] came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Alī Qulī Khān spoke gently to him,[6] saying "Bow thy head,[7] that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Dīwāna is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Alī Qulī Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when[8] Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīnpanāh in Dihlī, as he was coming
86. down, the *mu'azzin*[9] uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

1 MS. (B) omits او.

2 MS. (A) reads حچله for حمله.

3 Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخزادهٔ.

5 MS. (A) باو بمالیمت گفت.

6 Text reads که از گلیم بخت وی نشانه بود, but it seems as though we should read گلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

7 Text فرود آر. MS. (A) reads فرود آورد. 8 Supply که MSS. (A) (B).

9 مؤذن *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer. The Azān was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Aẕān*; and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps[1] to the ground. When he recovered a little,[2] Naẕar Shaikh Jūli[3] was sent to the Panjāb[4] to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth[5] of the same month (Humāyūn)[6] bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity;[7] and this *tārīkh* was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Riẕwān
Bihisht āmad maqām-i-pāk-i-ū gives the date.[8]

and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī wrote as follows:—

Humāyūn, Pādshāh of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he;
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace,
And from that fall his precious life was lost.
Kāhī made a calculation for the *tārīkh* of that event,
Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād.[9]

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billāl was ordered to repeat *Allāhu Akbar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the Aẕān to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The Aẕān has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it. Thus it is said "The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection," and again "Whoever acts as Mu'aẕẕin seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire." *See* also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam, s.v.v., see* Mishkāt iv. Chapter 5, 6.

[1] MS. (B) omit پایه. [2] Firishta says that he was taken up unconscious.

[3] Footnote variant جمعالي *Juma'ālī*. [4] MS. (A) بجانب پنجاب.

[5] Firishta says the eleventh. (Bo: Text, 459).

[6] MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه غفران پناه.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) دار بقا.

[8] بهشت آمد مقام پاک او. These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his pure resting-place.

[9] همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, Humāyūn Pādshāh fell from the roof.

The following was also found to give the date:[1]

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!
Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbāl-i-ū.[2]

The following *tārīkh* was also found:

Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uftād.[3]

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,
And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,
The sky gave the head of Muḥammad Yaḥya to ruin,
467. And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.
The fourth heaven became a house of mourning
The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign[4] was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.[5] He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and[6] of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wuẓū'*,[7] nor did he ever

[1] MS. (A) reads here ایضا.

[2] همایون کجا رفت و اقبال او. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune."

[3] MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārīkh*. Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'
We must read اوفتاد as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has افتاد.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) سلطنتش.

[5] MS. (B) reads و دیگر فنون غریبه.

[6] MS. (A) omits و.

[7] وضوء *Wuẓū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muḥammad "Wuẓū' is half the prayers," and another "When a Moslim uses Wuẓū' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take[1] the name of God nor of the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, without *Ṭihārat*;[2] and if it chanced[3] that the necessity arose for mentioning a name[4] compounded of this word *'Abd*, or one of the *Asmāu-l-ḥasna*[5] such as 'Abdu-llāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Haiyy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "*huwa*"[6] when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him; so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution." Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution." The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuẓū'.

For a full account of Wuẓū' and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ* II. 34, also see Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Wuẓū'*.

[1] MS. (A) بحسب اتفاق.

[2] طهارة *ṭihārat*. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muḥammadan law.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Purifications*.

[3] MS. (A) بر زبان براندی.

[4] The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. (A). They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text:

* قطعة *

اعتقادي درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدان نگردد سست
بنده را بی شک از عذاب خدای - نرهاند جز اعتقـــاد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

MS. (B) reads

نا مي اعتمادي دوست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بذات نگردد سست هرگاه

[5] *Asmāu-l-ḥasnā*. The best of names. See *Mishkāt*, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu-llāh (the servant of God) or 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān (the servant of the Merciful One).

[6] هو *Huwa*. The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God*. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul-'aẓam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. *See* Qur'ān III, 1. *La Allāha illa Huwa*. There is no God but He.

thus (11), whose letters thus arranged[1] have the same value as those of the word " "*Huwa*." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].[2] He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *vakils*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention
468. the name[3] of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more. Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left[4] foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Ḥamīd, the commentator of Sanbal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfiẓī[5] (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shaikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind.[6] I find they are all Yār 'Alī (Friend of 'Alī), or Kafsh 'Alī (Shoe of 'Alī), or Ḥaidar 'Alī (Lion of 'Alī), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil[7] upon the ground in anger, said "The

[1] The value of ه being 5 and of و being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven.

[2] MS. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

[3] MS. (A) omits نام and reads نیاوردی. [4] MS. (B) omits چپ.

[5] رافضي *Rāfiẓī*. This term was originally applied to the Shī'ahs who joined Zaid ibu 'Alī but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalifahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads راضي. The Text and MS. (A) have راقضي.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) read این مرتبه omitting در.

[7] قلم تصویر *Qalam-i-taṣwīr*. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has تحریر *taḥrīr* writing, instead of *taṣwīr* (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh[1] and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *ḥaram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindliness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith.[2]

Verse.

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting-place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless[3] poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign.[4] Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūnī[5] 469
Badakhshī the enigmatist, who composed a *qaṣīdah* made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that[6] monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a Mīrzā; and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qaṣīdah* which Mīr Saiyyid Ẓū-l-fiqār Shirwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd *Vazīr*, and the *qaṣīdah* of Salmān Sāwajī which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghiās *Vazīr*, this poet[7] seized, for example the *mu'ammā*,[8] and *Iẓhār-i-muẓmar*,[9] and the *tārīkh*,[10] and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *kārnāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it:

[1] 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Tīmūr, was the father of Bābar. See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) 1. 299.

[2] MS. (A) reads بملایمت و رفق شیخ را بر حسن عقیدهٔ خویش اطلاع دادند. So also MS. (B) except that را is omitted.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) read بیشمار. [4] MS. (A) از دامن دولت او.

[5] Text reads جنوبی *Junūbī*, but MS. (A) reads جنونی *Junūnī*.

[6] MS. (B) omits آن. [7] MS. (B) omits او.

[8] معما *Mu'ammā*, Enigma. A saying of which the meaning is hidden. *See* Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie*, p. 165.

[9] *See* Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[10] تاریخ *tārīkh*, chronogram. Several examples have been given, *see* page 301, *n.* 8.

Verse.[1]

Shahanshāhā *rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn* lab-i-tū jān
Hamī bīnam *lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn* shuda khandān
Namī gūyam *khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān* khad-i-tū gul
Shavad ẓāhir *qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān* dam-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this *qaṣīda* after the manner of an acrostic,[2] the following opening couplet is formed:—[3]

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādishāh-i-zamān
Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shuda kāmrān.

While again, if the *ḥashw*[4] of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.[5]

[1] MS. (A) قصيدة *qasīda.*

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.
As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile
I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose
Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

[2] توشيح *Taushīḥ.* The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are ش *sh* ه *h* ن *n* ش *sh* forming Shahansh. *See* Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[3] The couplet when translated, reads:

Emperor of the faith, Pādishāh of the age,
From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed.

[4] The first foot of the first *miṣrā'* (hemistich) is called *ṣadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called *'urūẓ*; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *ẓarb*. All the feet intervening between the *ṣadr* and the *'urūẓ*, or between the *ibtidā* and *ẓarb*, are called *ḥashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālish*). In the above the *ḥashw* of the verses is printed in red ink. The scansion is as follows:—

Shahanshāhā	rukh-i-tū lā	la-o-nasrīn	labitū jān
Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Muṣamman.*

[5] The three metres in which these lines may be read are—
(i) Hazaj-i-muṣamman. See note 4 above.

Rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān
Lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān.[1]

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,[2] and with a change of *qāfiyah*[3] and *radīf*[4] in the following manner :[5]— 47(

Khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān,[6] lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained.[7] Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal-i-muṣamman makhbūn, and the scansion is :

رخ تولا	لہ و نسرین	خط تو سب	زہ و ریحان
فعلاتن	فعلاتن	فعلاتن	فعلاتن

(iii) Mujtaṣ-i-muṣamman makhbūn : and the scansion is :

رخی تلا	لہ و نسرین	خطی تسب	زہ و ریحان
مفاعلن	فعلاتن	مفاعلن	فعلاتن

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp. 49, 67, 90.

1 MS. (B) reads ستان in place of دوران so also footnote variant.

2 The three metres are those given in *note* 5, on the preceding page.

3 قافیہ *Qāfiyah.* This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the روی *rawī*, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following.

4 ردیف *Radīf* is the name given to a quiescent *alif* following a *fatha*, a wāo quiescent following a *zamma* or a *ye* quiescent following a *kasra*, in other words it is one of the letters ا, و, ی placed as a letter of prolongation before the *rawī*. It is more accurately called ردف *Ridf.*

Thus in the lines now cited the *Radīf* is the letter *ye* in the words *rangīn*, and *nas'rīn*, whereas in the former verses the *radīf* was *alif*, as in the words *raiḥān* and *dauran.* MS. (A) omits و ردیف. *See* also Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

5 MS. (B) omits باین طریق.

6 MSS. (A) (B) read بوستان *būstān.*

7 For example, we can read

Shahanshāhā lab-i-tū jāu	King of kings thy lip is life
Hamī binam shuda khandān,	As I look it wreathes in smiles;
Namī gūyam khad-i-tū gul	I say not thy cheek's a rose
Shavad ẓāhir dam-i-jaulān	Blooming as thou passest by.

And from the four[1] couplets of a *qaṣīdah*[2] some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qiṭa'h*[3] containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qiṭa'h* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qaṣīdahs*.[4]

Qiṭa'h.

Tū-ī Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud
Hamīsha turā kār fatḥ o ẓafar.
Giriftī Badakhshān o tārīkh shud.
Muḥammad Humāyūn Shah-i-baḥr o bar.[5]

Rubā'ī.[6]

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

[1] MS. (A) reads چهار. [2] MS. (A) قصیدهٔ.

[3] The قطعه *qiṭa'h*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The قصیده *qaṣīdah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. *See* also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

[4] The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read این دو for آیند. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

[5] محمد همایون شه بحر و بر. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is:

Thou art king of the kings of the age,
Whose continual object is conquest and victory.
Then did'st seize Badakhshān, and its *tārīkh* was
Muḥammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

[6] MS. (A) adds مظهر *muẓhar*.

Gūshwāra.[1]

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith. And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor[2] Death, this *qaṣīdah*, together with all the *qaṣīdahs* and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*[3] which I am anxiously longing to complete, 471.
should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet[4] is Wafā'ī, by which *takhallus* Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī[5] is commonly known, who was *Ṣadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary)[6] during the reign of Bābar Pādishāh. There

1 گوشوارہ *Gūshwāra.* Lit., earring. The first line of a *ghazal* or *qaṣīda*, following immediately upon another.

Read گو خبر فتح شہ دین ما. MS. (A) سہ دین نامہ and گوجد فتح. A footnote variant reads.

2 The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the *gūshwāra*

و اگر عمر روزي چند از غريم متقاضي اجل مہلت يافت اين قصيدہ
مع ساير قصايد و فوايد کہ درمدت ايام سياحی در بياضی عليحدہ نوشتہ شدہ
آن فوايد فرايد را الخ - MS. (A).

3 نجات الرشید. *Najātu-i-Rashīd.* There is a MS. of this work of Badāonī, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. $\frac{E}{204}$. (*See* J. A. S. B. xxxviii. p. 136). The title of the work gives the *tārīkh* of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

4 MS. (A) reads دیگر وفائی کہ.

5 One Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, was a famous saint. His life is given in the *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns*, Calcutta edition, p. 569; but the one meant in this passage is the Shaikh Zain who read the *khuṭbah* in Dihlī in Babar's name after the battle of Pānīpat, *see* Firishta, Bo. Text, p. 381 and Erskine, Memoirs of Baber, p. 308.

Khāfī or Khawāfī means 'coming from Khawāf' which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have Khāff or Khāf due west of Herāt. See *'Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. p. 445 and *footnote*, also p. 592 and *footnote*.

6 صدر مستقل. *Sadr-i-mustaqill.* The Ṣadr was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king.

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,[1] and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiæ of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl* chil *sāla būdam, wa ḥālān* chihal *sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar* chihal *tamām mī shavad.*[2]

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pīsh azīn ba yak sāl* panjah *sāla būdam, wa ḥālān* panjāh *sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl* panjāh *sāla mī shavam.*[3]

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā *may God sanctify him*, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak wa tanhā khushtarak*"[4] repeated this *qiṭ'ah* on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāẓī* and the *Mīr 'Adl.* See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, (B) I. 268-270.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) read اورا مسجدیست instead of او صاحب مسجدیست (Text).

[2] That is to say "Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihal* (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihal* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (*chil*) stands for 33 thus چ =3 ل =30

چهل (*chihal*) stands for 38 thus چ =3 ه =5 ل =30

while چهل *chihal* is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading چل *chil* throughout."

[3] That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (panjah with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (پنجاه) *panjah* years of age.

پنجاه (*Panjah*) stands for 60: thus

پ =2 ن =50 ج =3 ه =5

Apparently we should read پنجاها (*Panjāh*) which would give 61.

[4] This refers to a visit paid by Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī to Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Niẓāmu-d-

Qiṭ'ah.

Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,
What am I that I should say "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak*"
Thou sayest "*Tanhā khushtarak*" as thou didst say before
Make it "*Mushtarak*" if thou dost not say
"*Tanhā khushtarak.*"

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head in my sleeve?
Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot within my skirt? 472.
Ah! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn to rags,
Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my foot within my skirt without thee?[1]

He wrote a *tārīkh* dealing with the circumstances[2] of the conquest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of erudition.

His death occurred near Chinhār in the year 940 H. and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded.

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandī, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection.[3] He had a strong attachment for a beautiful youth named Niẓām, and the following well-known solution of an enigmatical meaning, was composed for him:

Verse.

I the broken-hearted tell the praises of Niẓām the famous,

Dīn Auliyā. Amīr Khusrū exclaimed "*Al hidāyā mushtarak.*" "The gifts are in common;" whereupon Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā replied.

"*Al hidāyā mushtarak lākin tanhā khushtarak.*"

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."

[1] MS. (A) transposes the last two lines.

[2] MS. (A) omits احوال.

[3] MS. (A) reads وفاضل جامع بود. See *Ain-i-Akbarī*, (B) I. 605 *n.*

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered[1] and enfeebled.

Rubā'ī.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,
Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;
I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshwāra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.

And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal.[2]

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādirī! go towards the wineshop
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse.

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah[3] towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

1 نظامي *Nizâme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

2 غزل *Ghazal.* The ghazal or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

3 سجده *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected;
Why do you ask Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,
At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy[1] there.

He also wrote this *Qaṣīdah* in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qaṣīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
Intimate[2] friends sat together in pleasure;
The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been stripped naked by Autumn,
So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred petals of the rose.
The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in one place,[3]
See! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and troops.
The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly grandeur[4]
On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their pulpits.
The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshīd, Humāyūn,
Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree of the Almighty.
From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute vision.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the Ka'bah. *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Ka'bah*.

1 MS. (A) خوشنودم آنجا.

2 The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر intimate.

3 MS. (A) reads یک جانب. 4 Text فلک مرتبه. MS. (B) reads مرتبه.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine sanction.

474. There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the army of Islām,
The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his troops,
Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have their being,[1]
By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both accidental and essential[2] obtain permanence.
In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this revolving sphere,
Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages[3] will be revealed in thy glory.
Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted tradition.[4]
It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine on the discovery of circles.
How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge?
None but a stubborn disputant[6] will deny self-evident truths.

1 قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

2 اعراض و جواهر *A'rāẓ o jawāhir*. By عرض *'Araẓun*, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," *see* Lane, *s. v.* عرض also *kashshāf*, *s. v.* عرض and جوهر.

3 MS. (A) reads preferably آيات طواهر for ايات ظواهر.

4 These two lines commencing هر نكتهٔ حكمت occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در روز ازل as well as in this place.

5 مبني. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم.

6 مكابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled;

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material[1] objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of bestowing 475.

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār[2] is also by him:

Verse.

That face[3] is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign[4] of tyranny and oppression;

The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.[5]

[1] Read احساس for اجناس. MS. (A).

[2] MS. (A) reads کبا MS. (B) reads کیا.

[3] The text reads آنرو with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads ابرو.

[4] The text reads آیت, MS. (B) reads آینهٔ.

[5] The verse in the original runs thus:

Muṣḥaf ast ānrū wa ān khaṭṭ āyat i jaur o jafā st
'Āriẓ i ān dil-sitān bī bahra az khāl i wafā st

The word مصحف *muṣḥaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages صحف *ṣuḥuf*, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by *taṣḥīf*, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word آنرو the letter و *wāo* is first dropped leaving آنر *ānr* then ر *r* is changed into ب *b* giving آبر *'ābr*, by transposing these letters we get بار *bār*.

The word خط *khaṭṭ* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now کافتن *kāftan*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root کاف *kāf*, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بار *bār* above found gives the word کبار *kibār*, thus completing the *mu'ammā* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mīr Amānī Kābulī wrote the following *tārīkh* [1] of the event.

Verse.

Alas! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādirī has departed,
That rare poet [2] who did full justice to eloquence in the world;
I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,
Wisdom answered *one has gone from among the masters of speech.* [3]

Another is Shaikh Abul Wāhid [4] Fārighī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvesh* and was [5] renowned for his sweet singing; the following is taken from his poems:

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.

And in his impassioned style he says:

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,
Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,
Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,
Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

[1] MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

[2] آن نادری که' This we may read *Ān Nādirī ki.* That Nādirī who: or, *Ān Nādire ki.*

[3] رفت یکی از سخن وران *Raft yake az sukhun warān.* If from سخن وران *sukhun warān* the value of which is 967, we remove یکی that is *one*, we have left 966.

[4] Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'isu-l-Maāṯir* reads Abūl Wājid: MS. (B) reads ابو الوجد Abūl Wajd.

[5] MSS (A) (B) omit بود after مشرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him. 476

Verse.

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,
It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed;
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in separation from thee,
Who can count the joy of meeting! what a store of happiness it was!
Strangers last night were near you, while Fārighī at an immense distance was burning like rue [1] upon the fire of disappointment.

This is also his:

Verse.

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes:

Verse.

When thou drawest out thine arrow from my breast leave its point there,
Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully.

His death occurred in the year 940 H., and he was buried in the monastery [2] of Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn [3] at Agra, and in consequence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when these two eminent men went to Hindūstān, owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postīn* [4] between them. Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn [5] said to Shaikh Abūl-Wajd,[6] "I will take this to the bāzār of Kābul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

1 سپند *Sipand.* Rue is said in the *Ghiaṣu-l-lughāt* to be burned to avert the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism.

2 Omit پیش. MSS. (A) (B). 3 MS. (A). 4 A sheepskin coat.

5 MS. (A). 6 MS. (B). MS. (A) reads ابوالوجه.

was ready to give five *shahrukhīs*[1] but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said,
477. "Ah! you cheat! why this door mat[2] itself contains[3] five *Shahrukhīs* worth of fleas and lice"! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, "What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for[4] it"! Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān,[5] who was from Bukhārā, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān[6] obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū[7] was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,[8] he treated[9] the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

[1] The *Shahrukhī* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or 2½ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sulṭān of Persia, A. H. 807–850. Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postīn*. The *postīn* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O'Linn's breeches "with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in." They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

[2] Text reads بتیل. *Batīl.* In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS (A) has what may be پتل *patal*, in which case the meaning would be "a mat," and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading.

[3] MS. (B) omits باشد. [4] MSS. (A) (B) اداي شما اين است.

[5] MS. (A) reads و ديگرى حامي تمبان *wa dīgare Ḥāmī Tambān.* MS. (B) reads جاهي يتميان *Jāhī-i-yatmīnān.* A footnote to the text gives يتميان and says that *Nafā'isu l-Maḍṣir* writes "Jāhī Yatmīyān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

[6] MS. (A) reads سند *Sind.*

[7] MSS. (A) (B) read سالو *Sālū.* The text reads شاپور Shāhpūr, but in a footnote gives سالو.

[8] بجهت سزاولي *ba-jihat-i-sazāwalī.*

[9] MS. (B) reads تصوريده for تصور نمود.

band lampooning Sālū,[1] and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū[2] in his service, he made an exception[3] in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass[4] who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read[5] in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows :—

" I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his thres- 478.
hold,
The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness into shade.
My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry and soldiery,
I experienced oppression from a fool,[6] without any fault or crime of mine.
If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,
If my meditations turn towards[7] satirizing him,
The object is that that these idiotic asses
May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.
Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, " Why do you not word it thus :

" Whoever contends with me contends with God "

The following verses are also by him :—

1 MSS. (A) (B). 2 MSS. (A) (B).

3 MSS. (A) (B) مستثني ساخته.

4 The Text reads خر *Khar* but M.S. (A). reads خسر *Khusur*, father-in-law.

5 MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرمودة.

6 MSS. (A) (B) read بيخودي *be-khirade*. The text reads قحبه زني *qaḥbazane*. Whoremaster.

7 Text برو روی with a footnote زدة for برو.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,
Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.

This is also his:—

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
Say truly, why are ye all thus false?
Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
479. Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
How often will ye ask what is your object in the world?
I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him:

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Īd appeared in the form of a *miṣqal*[1]
Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart was clouded.
Was this the new moon? or by reason of the leanness of their bodies,
Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring ones appear?
Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle[2] for the camel of Lailī?
Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale and wan through grief?
The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

1 مِثْقَال *miṣqal* or مِثْقَالَة *miṣqalat*, called also خَرْزَة *kharāzat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tāju-l-'Arūs*.

MS. (B) reads مِثْقَال *muṣaqqal* which suits neither metre nor sense.

2 MSS. (A) (B) read خَطِيب for خَطْب. A footnote variant to the text is خَصْب.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it.[1]
Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells,[2] and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,
He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār.

It must be borne in mind that this verse[3] *Khwesh rā dar silk-i-khuddāmi tū mīkhwāhad falak.* (The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *qaṣīdah* of Niẓām Astarābādī, which runs thus,—

Shab nujūm az majma'-ī-mardum nishān āwarda and
Waz mah i nau tāza ḥarfe darmiyān āwarda and
At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men
And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of the new moon;
The Shāh of Zangbār has taken his seat upon the throne of Empire 480.
And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

Rubā'ī.

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,
Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,
That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,
All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his:

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime[4]
The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook.[5]

1 بهر زه گذار (Text). MS. (A) reads بهر بر گذار. MS. (B) reads بهر بر گذار.

2 بسته زنگ *Basta zang.* The dāk-runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang*, tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders, to the other end of which the mail-bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way. *Zang-bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance. MSS. (A) (B) read رنگ for زنگ.

3 MS. (A) reads این بیت را که.

4 قبق بازي *qabaq bāzī.* *Qabaq* signifies in Turkī *a gourd*; in ancient times the Turkomāns used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.

5 کجک *kajak.* The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq andāzī.* (*Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt.*)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq* [1] from its hook,
Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niẓārī Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūniā'ī, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn* [2] of the
481. time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,[3] accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure [4] Fāṭimah, *upon them be peace*,[5] is read during the *'Āshūrā* in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.[6]

[1] The text reads كبك *kabak* and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kaliman (ک). MS. (A) however has قبق *qabaq*. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (محكّة)

[2] Prince of Astrologers.

[3] Husain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām.*

[4] البتول *Al-Batūl.* The word *batūl* literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article ال *al*, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. *See* Lane *s. v.*

[5] عليهم السلام *'alaihimas-salām.* MS. (A) The text reads عليه السلام, with a footnote variant رضى الله عنه, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

[6] معارك *m'aārik* lit., battle fields.

Verse.

The month of Muḥarram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Ḥusain's parched lips.[1]

Rubā'ī.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him:—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this:—

Every moment my heart's desire has some fresh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her life.
How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaidar Tūnī was an arrant coward and spiritless;[2] accordingly in the months[3] of the year 985 H. he had 482
entered the service of Humāyūn; one day he was describing the circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour.[4] I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj?[5] and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudsī.[6]

[1] The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, *artt.* Muḥarram, and Al-Ḥusain, where a full account of Ḥusain's death is given.

[2] MS. (A) reads پسرش. MS. (A) (B) omit و بیدل.

[3] MS. (A) omits شهور.

[4] Text اداهاش MS. (A) ادهاش MS. (B) دهانش.

[5] حج *Hajj* or greater pilgrimage.

[6] Mīr Ḥusain Qudsī of Karbalā, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 602.

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns, [1]
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathīn [2] Khān, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up [3] to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Ḥaidar, [4] and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions, [5] till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī [6] Dakkanī, the younger brother of Shāh Ja'far; the *'Ulamā* of 'Irāq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwāndī stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures, [7] as is mentioned in the *Kāmilu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibn Aṣīr Jazarī, [8] and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh* [9] of Qāẓī Yaḥya Qazwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with Shāh Ṭahmasp, but

1 خار مغیلان *Khār-i-mughailān.* See *ante*, p. 550 *n.* 1.

2 MSS. (A) (B) متهي. *Mathī.* 3 MS. (B) reads ساخته.

4 MS. (A) reads ابن حیدر را. 5 MS (A) omits هرسو.

6 MS. (A) reads Khondī خوندي. Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidī, *See* Beale *Dict. Or. Biog.*, p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishta*, vol. iii. reign of Burhān Niẓām Shāh.

7 MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند. The text reads نهاد MS. (B) reads خطا.

8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kāmil fi-t-tārīkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kāmil*, was Shaikh Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī-l-Karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid ash-Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Aṣīr.

He is called Al-Jazarī (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). *See* Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Ḥājī Khalīfah, 9733.

9 لب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh.* (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Yaḥya ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī (Dimishqī) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). *See* Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Ḥājī Khalīfah, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,[1] and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr Astarābādī, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the 483. refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception from Niẓām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities[2] reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shī'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Ṭāhir.[3] Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, who was afflicted with an incurable[4] malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue[5] of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*karāmāt*) of Shāh Ja'far,[6] and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

1 MS. (A) reads نسب. 2 MSS. (A) (B) و مشیر و مشار الیه گردیده

3 Shāh Ṭāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Niẓām Shāh to reject the names of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṡmān, who are the three first Khalifahs of the Sunnīs, from the Khuṭbah, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shī'ah. *See* Firishta, Bo. text, II. 220 *et. seqq.* Briggs, (III. 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

4 Read لا علاج له. MS. (A).

5 بطفیل فسون خوانی. *Baṭufail-i-fusūn khwānī.* This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read بفضل *ba-faẓli.* The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرک *shirk*, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side." They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ*, XXI. Part II. MS. (B) reads صحتی می دارد.

6 استدراج. *Istidrāj.* In the *Kashshāf* this is defined as follows: "A præternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires." Another definition is also given from the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadiyah.* "*Istidrāj* is a præternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*[1] and *Jamā'at*,[2] which he held as one of the *Mahdawīyah*,[3] and became a fanatical heretic.[4] What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones[5] inflict upon the *'Ulamā* and Shaikhs of that land! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy[6] from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Ṭāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Niẓām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qaṣīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwarī.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of Ḥamal,[7]
The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiza*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Ihānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'ūnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāj*.

Kashshāf I. 463.

[1] The word سنة *Sunnat* means literally 'a path' and the Sunnīs are known as اهل سنة *Ahl-i-Sunnat* "the people of the path." The Sunnīs have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalīfahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

[2] جماعة *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of سنة موكدة *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnīs are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

[3] For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

[4] متروفض غالي *mutaraffiẓ-i-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves." The form of the word *mutaraffiẓ* requires some such translation.

[5] مشئوم *mash'ūm* MSS. (A) (B) read ميشئوم.

[6] رفض *Rafẓ* lit. forsaking. The Sunnī Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfiẓī* or heretics.

[7] حمل *Ḥamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by Bahman and Dai,[1]

And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.[2]

The following *Qaṣīdah* in praise of the Prophet[3] is also his, although the *gurīz-gah*,[4] nay even the commencement of the *Qasīdāh* in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy Commander (of the Faithful) *on him be peace*.[5] 484.

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the summons of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the garden;

The clouds of Naisān, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning

Erases the word "ice"[6] from the pages of the earth's surface.

The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,[7]

Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,

Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!

The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose.

[1] بهمن و دي *Bahman-o-Dai.* Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. *See* Al-Birūnī Chronology, p. 52.

[2] صندل *Sandal.* Santalum album, N. O. *Santalaceæ.*

The wood ground into powder is much used in India made into a paste with water as an application to the forehead in headaches. The *Makẖzann-l-Adwiya* recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. *See* Ibn Baiṭar II, 138. See *ante*, p. 434 *n.* 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India*, p. 383.

[3] منقبت *Manqabat.* This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Walīs).

[4] گريزگاه *Gurīz-gāh.* Point of departure. This name is given to that portion of a *qaṣīdah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised.

[5] MS. (A) omits حضرت - also عليه السلام - and تعالى.

[6] Text حرف برف *ḥarf-i-barf.* MS. (B) reads حرف حرف *ḥarf-i-ḥarf.*

[7] The Turks are called *tang-chaẖm* close-eyed, and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the "tāj" or red caps of the Qizilbāsẖ.

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,
The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rosé-branch with its buds are the lute;
The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds
Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen cloak[1] of verdure.
Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the elephant-like cloud
It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
The garden became the table of 'Īsā, and the dew lying on it[2]
Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,
The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-stone.
Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,
Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well
485. If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.
Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dai
Became emboldened[3] to lay waste the garden of roses.
The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn
Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned[4] nightingale,
And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

[1] Text reads كنپک. MSS. (A) (B) read كپنک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*.

[2] Read و بروی شبنم MSS. (A) (B).

[3] Text reads شیرک but we should read ستزک. MS. (A).

[4] MS. (A) reads شورند for شوریدهٔ.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,[1]
While the Siparak[2] sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose.
With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai[3] has laid the foundation in the garden,
Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,
[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn
The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice.
[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai
The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another].[4]
It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden
Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force.
That garden is the rose-garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity
That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court.
Murtaẓā[5] the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance.
That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons, 486.

1 بوستان افروز *būstān afrūz*. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurūs (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qāti') *Amaranthus candatus* Love-lies-bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N. O. *Amaranthaceæ*.

2 سپرک *Siprak* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass). This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose.

3 MS. (A) reads گل for دی.

4 This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.—

زود باشد که از بیم کتک شحنه دی
گریزند رعایای ریاحین یک یک

The text reads پیش از اندم instead of زود باشد.

5 مرتضی *Murtaẓa*. The Chosen. A title of 'Alī.

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle [1] as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjīs [2] bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid [3] that of Zīrak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,

Has brought the Pleiades [4] in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.

The moon has become the censer of his [5] assembly, and the rays of the moon,[6]

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.[7]

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,

We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise [8] and glass beads;

1 نسرین فلک. *Nasrain-i-falak.* The constellations Eagle and Lyre.

2 برجیس. *Birjīs.* The planet Jupiter, which is one of the سعدان *Sa'dān*, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

3 عطارد. *'Uṭārid.* The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name زیرک *Zīrak*, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zīrak are commonly given to servants.

4 ثریا *Ṣuraiyyā.* The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs النجم *An-najm.* The constellation, *cf.* Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

5 MS. (A) reads تو for وی.

6 The expression جرم قمر *jirm-i-qamar* is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم *jirm* is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane *s. v.*) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

7 The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In maṯla'i ū nīz maẖẖūr ast.* So MS. (B).

8 To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of Faddak[1]
The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.][2]

The following opening couplet of his[3] is also well-known :— 487.

Verse.

In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my sorrowful heart,[4]
We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy been forgotten.

Verse.

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy ;
Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is between us ?

The following is also his :—

Verse.

Come not out, for you will be the calamity[5] of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qaṣidah* also[6] is a very happy production of his :—

Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise ;

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts to itself the whole force of the blow. *Mani Mālā* I., p. 88. It is also supposed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise is commonly worn set in an amulet.

[1] Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muḥammad. After his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah took it from her by force, saying, "I have heard the prophet say 'we prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will be given in charity.'"

[2] The verses in brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

[3] MS. (A) omits او.

[4] Text reads در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت. MSS. (A) (B) read در غم او لذت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left my sorrowful heart.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read فتنه for شهرة. [6] Insert نیز از after قصیدهٔ. MS. (A).

His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dakkan and for the *tārīkh* of his decease the words *Tābi'u ahl-i-l-bait*[1] were devised.

Another is Khwāja Aiyūb[2] ibn Khwāja Abūl-barakāt,[3] who was one of the hereditary grandees of Mawarā-an-nahr. Both father and son, in spite of their excellencies acquired[4] and inherited, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and the other in Kābul and Hindustān. This *Muntakhab* has no room to relate their circumstances in detail, but they are related in many other places, and are well-known. It is said that Khwāja Abū-l-barakāt[5] read the following *maṭla'*[6] of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.[7]

Verse.

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed.[8]

488. Either this was from the fire of our heart, or that in the cloud of our eye there remained no rain.

By way of fault-finding some one said to him that the *yā* (یا) in the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written *tā* (تا). The Khwāja repeated the following *qiṭ'ah* extempore by way of excuse:

Qiṭ'ah.

Whatever comes before men of discrimination,
They do not draw lines by way of criticism.
They take the dots either above or below (as may be required)
Wise men are not bound by simple dots.
They read *yā* (یا) and carefully consider,
They do not read *yā* (یا) but make it *tā* (تا) in error.[9]

1 MSS. (A) (B) تابع اهل البيت *Tābiu-ahl-i-l-bait.* Follower of the people of the House. *See* Qur'ān, xxxiii. 33. The text omits the article ال before بيت, which is correct, as the date required is 952.

2 Text reads ايواب. 3 MS. (A) reads ابو البركة *Abū-l-barakah.*

4 MS. (B) reads مكتبي for مكتسبي. 5 MS. (A) again reads ابو البركة.

6 MS. (A) omits مطلع. 7 MSS. (A) (B) omit خود here.

8 MS. (A) reads خشک شد کشت اميد ما و شد قحط وفا.

9 There is great cleverness of construction in the original *qiṭ'ah*, in the last line we should read بکنند *bi-kunand* for نکنند *na kunand*, and in the last but two پيروي for پيرو. MS. (A).

He also wrote a *qaṣīdah* in imitation of Salmān Sāwajī,[1] of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

I burn with the fever of love, and my head is racked with the pain of separation,
My soul comes to my lips, but my beloved comes not to me;
[Since the fire of my heart burns in my body like the flame in a lamp
My skirt has been rent and my garment torn upon my head].[2]

And the following two poems are taken from a *qaṣīdah* which he wrote to satirise the Qāẓī of Nīshāpūr:—

Verses.

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet,[3]
There was nothing of that kind written in the books.
He wrote that honey is unlawful and wine lawful to be used because (said he) the latter is the juice of the vine and the former the spume of the bee.
To the wife who went[4] to complain of her husband to the Qāẓī, saying I get no enjoyment of sense from him, 489.
He replied, If he has become enfeebled and weak,
It is right that he should employ a hireling in his place.

The Khwāja in his poems sometimes uses the *takhallus*[5] of Ayūb and sometimes that of Firāqī; the following *ghazal* is by him:—

Verse.

Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress,
Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,

The last lines also mean—
Either they read and consider carefully
Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

[1] Salmān Sāwajī, whose surname was Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad, was a celebrated poet, a native of Sāwa, and flourished in the reigns of Shaikh Hasan Jalāyer and his son Sulṭān Aweis. He died 779 A. H. (Beale, O. B. D.)

[2] Not in MS. (B). [3] MSS. (A) (B) پیمبر.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read رفت for برد.

[5] Poetical name, *nom-de-plume*.

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened),
And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.[1]
Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;
Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chīn,
Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.
Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.[2]

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājah.

Accordingly, so[3] desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope[4] that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the Khwājah was held so close a prisoner[5] by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindliness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear Khwāja what sort of manners are these!" The Khwāja sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,[6] and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

[1] An Alif ا with a curved line written across it horizontally آ is called *Alif mamdūda*. This cross line was originally the word مد, *madd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

[2] MS. (B). transposes the two last lines. [3] MS. (A). از بس omits كه.

[4] MS. (A) reads تا شايد كه. [5] MS. (A) reads گرفتاريي.

[6] MS. (A) omits معظمه مباركه MS. (B) omits معظمه.

requirements for a sea-voyage,[1] he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what[2] are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."[3] Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed[4] him a daily allowance of one *ashrafī*[5] for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Aḥmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the *Tirpauliya* mosque,[6] he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sulṭān Bahādur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.[7]

Just at that time too Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī came to Gujrāt with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Niẓām Shāh Dakkanī, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

1 ساز جهاز MS. (A). The text reads اسباب سفر و جهاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر جهاز. MS. (A.) is however evidently correct here.

2 MS. (A) reads چه چیز است.

3 Read here تا ارماني نماند. MS. (A.), instead of the reading in the text تا ازو باقي نماند.

4 MS. (A) فرمود.

5 The *Ashrafī* is a gold coin weighing ten *māshas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Pādshāh (*Ghiāṣu-l-lughāt*).

6 MS. (A) reads بازار for مسجد. The word تر پولیه *tirpauliya* is a Sanskrit word, meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India*. Vol. I, pp. 97-98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain, and Muhammadan types. He says "Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details, with a Saracenic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islām."

7 MS. (A) omits را.

491. day, after arranging all the requirements of hospitality, with a *khil'at*, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the Khwāja an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation * turned upon [1] religion and sects. The Khwāja enquired of the Shāh, what is the reason that the Shī'ahs among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet *on him be peace*? He answered 'Our jurisconsults [2] have decided that cursing (*la'n*) is an element of faith (Īmān).' The Khwāja rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.' The Shāh was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan, and had an interview [3] with Niẓām Shāh, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the Khwāja remain, owing [4] to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence.

Verse.

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,
Is sitting and grieving sore [5] at his own unhappy fate.

Verse.

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?

Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for the rein of my restive, hasty [6] and audacious pen has been turned in this direction, and words have leapt forth beyond the area of my control. Were it not so, I know that it is no virtue to pry into faults, while to carp at the vices of others, shutting one's eyes to one's own defects is the acme of shortsightedness.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) insert در before

[2] مجتهدین *Mujtahidīn*. Mujtahid (one who strives) is the highest attainable title among Muslim divines. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, *s. v.* and *Ijmā'*.

[3] MS. (A) ملاقات نمودند.

[4] MS. (A) از جهت. MS. (B) reads انجام for انجامهم.

[5] MS. (A) reads خوی کشید for روی نشیند.

[6] MS. (A) تند رو.

Verse.

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains.[1]

492.

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time[2] the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself[3] to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies.

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God.[4] Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author.

Qiṭa'h.

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent;
If I should die,[5] accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust.

1 This proverb in one form or another is well-known. The Arabic proverb runs كل اناء ينضح بما فيه. Every vessel exudes what it contains.

2 MS. (A) درين هنگام. 3 MS. (A) (B) اقتصار و اختصار.

4 من الله MS. (A) (B) which omit تعالى و تقدس.

5 MSS. (A) (B) بمرديم.

THE END.

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MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH.

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Aaron of Scripture, 302 *n* 2.

Abāhāt, the *nuh ābā-i-'ulwīya*, or nine heavens, 176 *n* 2.

Abardhan, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.

Abardīn, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.

Abāward, city of, 30 *n*. See under Abīward.

'Abbās ibn 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, 74 *n* 2.

'Abbās, Dynasty of, 13 *n* 1. House of, 571 *n* 2. See also under the 'Abbāsides.

'Abbās Khān, the Historian of Shīr Shāh, 461 *n* 10.

'Abbāsides, the, 17, 310. See also above under 'Abbās.

'Abdu-l-'Azīz, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

'Abdu-l-'Azīz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khān, the Ozbak king, 582 and *n* 5.

'Abdu-l-Ghafūr Lārī, Maulavī,—a celebrated Shaikh, 588.

'Abdu-l-Ḥaiyy, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbāwī of Dihlī,—a poet of the time of Islem Shāh, 526 and *n* 7.

'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd ibn Abi-l-Ḥadīd al-Mu'tazilī, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balāghah*, 458 *n* 3.

'Abdu-l-Ka'bah ibn Abī Quḥāfah, original name of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, successor of Muḥammad, 106 *n* 1.

'Abdu-llāh, one of the best of names, 603 *n* 5.

'Abdu-llāh Ḥusainī of Baiāna, Shaikh, —one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 424.

'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 594.

'Abdu-llah Khān, the Ozbak king of Khurāsān, 582 and n 5.

'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, Miyān Shaikh,—a Niyāzī Afghān who adopted the manners of a Mahdī, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.

'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr, Mullā,—*Shaikhu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr* under Islem Shāh, 506 and n 2, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

'Abdu-llāh Tulumbī of Dihlī, Shaikh, —one of the great and learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426 and *n* 10, 427, 429.

'Abdu-llah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Ḥijāz and 'Irāq, 287 *n* 2.

'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, of the Umayyad dynasty of Khalīfahs, 12 *n n* 1 and 2, 18 *n* 1.

'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, Amīr, —last of the Sāmānī dynasty, 16 and *n* 2.

'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of Muḥammad the Prophet, 2 *n* 5.

'Abdu-l-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badāonī, author of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 8. See under al-Badāonī.

'Abdu-l-Qādir, son of Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 *n* 3.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, one of the best of names, 603 *n* 5.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, Mullā Nūru-d-Dīn, 32 *n* 2. See under Jāmī.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Muljim, murderer of 'Alī, 207 *n* 6.

'Abdu-r-Rashīd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, 50.

'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sulṭānī, Sa'ādat Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 349.

'Abdu-r-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandī,—Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 50. Same as Khwāja Imām Abul-Fatḥ 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, (*q. v.*).

'Abdu-ṣ-ṣadr Ḥājib-i-Khāṣṣ, Qāẓī,—of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 393 *n* 3.

'Ābid, Qāẓī,—a poet of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh of Dihlī, 341 and *n* 2.

'Abid Khān, the Ozbak king of Khurāsān, 582 *n* 5.

Āb-i-Siyāh. See the Kālī Nadī, 378 *n* 1.

Abīward, a city of Khurāsān, also called Abāward and Bāward, 29 *n* 6, 43 *n* 2.

Abiwerd, same as Abīward (*q. v.*).

Abkand, hill of, 438 *n* 7.

Abkh, town, 445 *n* 3.

Abraham, 154 *n* 8, 155 *n*, 207 and n 4, 234, 488 *n* 5.

Absantīn (Absinthium), herb, 586 *n*.

Abtar, name of a noxious serpent, 426 *n* 9.

Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad, ibn Abi-l-Ḥasan Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, the celebrated Imām, 6 *n* 3. See under Bukhārī.

Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad ibn Omar ar-Rāzī,—a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, 73 *n* 1. See under Fakhru-d-Dīn Rāzī.

Abū 'Alī Ḥasan the Kotwāl of Ghaznīn, and *Dīwān* of the kingdom under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47, 48, 49.

Abū 'Alī Ḥusain bin 'Abdu-llāh, commonly known as Ibn Sīna (Avicenna), 533 *n* 1.

Abū 'Alī Sinjūrī,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20.

Abū Bakr, the first Khalīfah, 3 n 6, 59 n 2, 106 and *n* 1, 149 *n*, 156 *n* 5, 157 *n*, 158 n 1, 303 *n* 4, 604 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3. See under aṣ-Ṣiddīq.

Abū Bakr Dolaf ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) ibn Yūnus ash-Shiblī, a celebrated Muḥammadan Saint, 59 and *n* 1.

Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Alī Samarqandī, Amīr Rūḥānī,—one of the most learned men of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-Timish, 93 and *n* 2.

Abū Bakr Khān, a prince of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

Abū Bakr Khān, a relation of Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Nāgor, 423 *n* 11.

Abū Bakr Khān, *afterwards* Abū Bakr Shāh, son of Ẓafar Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz, 341, **342**, 343, 344, **345**, 346.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīya ar-Rāzī, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1.

Abū Bakr Shāh. See under Abū Bakr Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān.

Abū Bakr Ṭūsī Ḥaidarī, chief of the sect of Qalandars, 234.

Abū Firās Hammām, son of Ghālib, the poet known as al-Farazdaq (*q. v.*), 287 *n* 1.

Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām,—founder of the Ḥanafite School of jurisprudence, 57 *n* 1.

Abū Ḥanīfah, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 134 *n* 3.

Abū Isḥāq, son of Alptigīn, governor of Ghaznī, 13 *n* 1, 14 and **n** 1.

Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 74 *n* 2.

Abu-l-'Abbās ibn Māmūn, Khwārazm Shāh,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 23.

Abu-l-'Abbās, al-Qādir billāhi Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Muqtadir, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 17 and *n* 2.

Abu-l-Ajsād, Father of bodies, a name for Sulphur, 340 *n* 2.

Abu-l-'Alā Ganjawī, master of the poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Abu-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, the Arab poet, 183 *n* 1.

Abu-l-Arwāḥ, Father of spirits, a name for Quicksilver, 340 *n* 2.

Abu-l-Baqā, Amīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 573.

Abu-l-Barakah, 632 *nn* 3 and 5. Same as the next (*q. v.*).

Abu-l-Barakāt of Māwarāu-n-Nahr, Khwājā, 632 and *nn* 3 and 5. See the above.

Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Ustād, a celebrated poet of the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn, 53 *n*, 54 and **n** 1.

Abu-l-Fatḥ 'Abdur-Razzāq, grandson of Ḥasan Maimandī, Khwāja Imām,—Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47, 50.

Abu-l-Fatḥ, Mīyān Shaikh, son of Shaikh-allahdīyah of Khairābād, 546 and *n* 1.

Abu-l-Fatḥ al-Mu'taẓid billāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 *n* 6.

Abu-l-Fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār, one of the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 *n* 3.

Abu-l-Fatḥ of Thanesar, Mīyān,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.

Abul-Fazl 'Allāmī,—the celebrated minister of Akbar and author of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 26 *n* 2, 27 *n* 1, 52

n 3, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 410 *n* 4, 415 *n* 4, 417 *n* 7, 503 *n* 3.

Abu-l-Faẓl Zangī, of Bust,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Abul Feda, Annales, 167 *n* 4.

Abul Feda, Geography of, 14 *n* 3, 15 *n* and *n n* 2 and 5, 17 *n* 4, 23 *n* 1, 27 *n* 1 and 2, 30 *n* and *n* 1, 34 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 35 *n* 2, 36 *nn* 2 and 10, 42 *n* 1, 43 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 46 *n* 1, 50 *n* 2, 67 *n* 1, 71 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 167 *n* 4, 265 *n* 5.

Abu-l-Fidā'. See under Abul Feda.

Abu-l-Ḥāriṣ Sinjar ibn Malakshāh ibn Alp Arslān, the Seljūq, 167 *n* 3. See under Sinjar.

Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abi-l-Karam Muḥammad ash-Sharbānī, Shaikh, commonly known as Ibnu-l-Aṣīr, 624 *n* 8.

Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 50 and *n* 1.

Abu-l-Hirṣ Manṣūr Sāmānī, Amīr, 14 *n* 1. See under Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ.

Abu-l-Majdūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 6.

Abu-l-Ma'ālī, Shāh, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.

Abu-l-Mujāhid, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 6.

Abu-l-Najm Amīr Aiyāz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.

Abu-l-Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 474.

Abu-l-Qāsim Firdausī, the famous poet, author of the *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 *n* 1. See under Firdausī.

Abu-l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm, Sulṭān, son of Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 53. See under Ibrāhīm Sayyidu-s-Salāṭīn.

Abu-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48.

Abu-l-Qāsim-i-Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmānī, Amīr, 14 *n* 1. See under Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmānī.

Abu-l-Wāḥid Fārighī, Shaikh, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616 and n 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. See the next.

Abu-l-Wajd Fārighī, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Abu-l-Wājid Fārighī, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4. See the two above.

Abū Manṣūr Zangī, brother of Abu-l-Faẓl of Bust (*q. v.*), 47.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Yahīn ibn Yūnas Aljigilī, the Khaṭīb of Samarqand, 159 *n*.

Abū Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanāī al-Ḥakīm, 35 *n* 1. See under Ḥakīm Sanāī, 56 *n* 2.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāj, son of Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥakam aṣ-Ṣaqafī, 12 *n* 1. See under al-Ḥajjāj.

Abū Muḥammad Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 298 *n* 4. See under *Shaikh* Niẓāmī Ganjawī.

Abu-n-Najm Amīr Aiyāz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.

Abu-n-Najm Aḥmad Manūchihrī Dāmaghānī, Ḥakīm,—a Poet of the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 46 *n* 4.

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, Wazīr of the Ghaznawī Sulṭāns, 46.

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maudūd of Ghaznīn, 47.

Abū Naẓar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr. Ḥakīm, the poet known as 'Asjadī, 17 *n* 3.

Abū Qaḥāfah. See Abū Quḥāfah.

Abū Quḥāfah, father of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, the first of the Khalīfahs, 106 and *n* 1.

Abūrijā, Malik Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn or Mujīru-d-Dīn,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305, 308.

Abū Sa'īd 'Abdullah ibn Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī,—author of the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 *n* 8. See under Baiẓāwī.

Abū Shujā' Muḥammad, son of Chākirbeg Dāūd, son of Mīkāīl Saljūqī, surnamed 'Aẓdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljūqīyah dynasty, 35 and n 1. See under Alp Arslān.

Abū Tāher (Ṭāhir), chief of the Karmatian sect of Muslim heretics, 21 *n* 1.

Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad and father of 'Alī, 74 *n* 2, 105 *n* 2.

Abū Ṭālib family, 74 *n* 2. See the above.

Abū Ṭālib of 'Irāq, Mīr Sayyid,—a contemporary of Islem Shāh, 505.

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'īl ibn Saljūq, Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, 42 *n* 3. See under Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljūq dynasty.

Abū 'Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn 'Uṣmān ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al-Juzjānī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 127 *n* 2. See under Minhāj-i-Sirāj.

Abyssinian slaves, 334.

Acesines, the,—the river Chenāb, 23 *n* 3.

Aconite plants, 586 *n*.

'Ād, tribe of,—a pre-historic tribe of Arabs, 261 *n* 6, 499 and n 5.

Adam, 4, 144 *n* 2, 200 *n*, 304, 320 *n* 4, 422, 449 *n* 8.

Ādam Ghakkar, or Ghakkar, Sulṭān, —a contemporary of Islem Shāh and Humāyūn, 503, 583, 592 and *n* 4. The name is also spelt Ghakar,

Ādam Kūkar, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 431. 432.

Ādam Lodī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

'Adāwat, enmity, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Adeṣar, Rāi of Satgaṛh,—contemporary of Fīrūz Shāh, 329 *n* 5.

'Ādil Khān, brother of Sārang Khan, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, 349 and *n* 5.

'Ādil Khān, Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, the governor of the Doāb, 354, 359.

'Ādil Khān, son of Shīr Shāh, 476, 477, 479, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492.

Aditya, name of the Sun in Sanskrit as being the origin of all things, 79 *n* 2.

Adjmere, same as Ajmīr (*q. v.*), 129 *n* 2.

'Adl Khān Sūr, 550 *n* 11. See under 'Adlī.

'Adlī, popular name of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr, *formerly* Mubāriz Khān (*q. v.*), **536**, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 544, 545, 548, 550, 552, 555, **556** and *n* 5, **557**, 558, 592.

Adonis, 104 *n* 2.

Adwantgaṛh, fortress, 422 *n* 2.

Af'alu-t-tafḍīl, 515 and *n* 6.

Afgans, 80 *n* 5. See under the Afghāns.

Afghān, Malik, 334,—of the Maliks of Fīroz Shāh.

Afghānistān, 362 *n* 2, 466, 520.

Afghānpūr, 259, 300.

Afghāns, the, 44, 80 *n* 5, 129 *n* 2, 399, 436, 439, 440, **443**, 444, 457, 458, 460, 470, 471, 477, 479, 487, 489, 490, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503 *n* 2, 513, 517, 520, 525, 528, 537, 543, 549, 551, 552, 554, **558**, 586, 588, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 597, 598.

'Afīf, the Historian. See Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf.

Aflāṭūn (Plato), 520 and *n* 7, 533.

Afrāsiāb, an ancient king of Tūrān, 52, 116 *n* 5, 180 *n* 2, 435. See also the next.

Afrāsyāb, 410. Same as the above *q. v.*

Africa, 167 *n* 4.

Afshār, name of a Turkī tribe, 572 and *n* 8.

Afṣalu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār, the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, author of the *Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb*, 110 *n* 3.

Aghānī, Kitābu-l-, 527 *n* 3.

Āgīn-i-bālish, 606 *n* 4.

Agra, city of, 70 *n* 4, 341 *n* 1, 386 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 414, 419 and *n* 3, 420, 421 and *n* 4, 423, 425, 430, 431, 433, 435, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 455, 456, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 464, 467, 472, 474, 476 *n* 5, 486 and *n* 6, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492, 493, 495, 513, 515, 518, 521, 526, 542, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 556, 573, 597, 610, 617.

Agra road, 386 *n* 3.

Agra, Sarkār or district of, 70 *nn* 3 and 4, 425 *n* 4.

Āgra, Ṣūbah or province of, 365 *n* 8, 410 *n* 4.

Ahār, ancient town in the Bulandshahr district, 395 and **n 4**, 396, 546 and *n* 4.

Aḥāwan, a Bhagat boy, named Mujāhid Khān by 'Adlī, 557 *n* 8.

Ahl-i-Sunnah wa jamā'ah, a name of the Sunnīs, 626 *n* 2.

Ahl-i-Sunnat, a name of the Sunnīs, 626 *n* 1.

Aḥmadābād, capital of Gujrāt, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 454, 455, 635 and *n* 6.

Aḥmad ibn 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, Khwājah, 47. Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd of Ghaznīn.

Aḥmad Abu-l-'Abbās, son of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh al-'Abbāsī, 458 *n* 3.

Aḥmad Aiyāz, Khwāja-i-Jahān (*q. v.*), Malik,—of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315, 323, 328.

Aḥmad 'Alī, Maulawī, editor of the

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Budāonī, 92 *n*.

Aḥmad, son of Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī, a poet, 339, 340.

Aḥmad Chap, Malik, Vazīr of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 241, 243, **248** and *n* 6.

Aḥmad Dānyāl, father of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, the celebrated Muḥammadan Saint, 266 *n* 1.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandī, Vazīr of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 35.

Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, Sulṭān, ruler of Baiāna, 414. See also under Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī.

Aḥmad Junaid, Mullā, 486 and *n* 1. Same as the next.

Aḥmad Jund, Mullā, 486 and *n* 1. Same as the above.

Aḥmad Kathū, Shaikh, 357 and **n 3**. Surnamed Ganjbakhsh, the name is also written Khaṭṭu.

Aḥmad Khān, brother of A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.

Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī, ruler of Baiāna, 405. See also under *Sulṭān* Aḥmad Jilwānī.

Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Karra under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.

Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, styled A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, 416 and *n* 11.

Aḥmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 and *n* 11.

Aḥmad Khān Lodī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.

Aḥmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, assumes the title of Sulṭān Sikandar, 542. See under *Sulṭān* Sikandar Sūr.

Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, Shaikh, 357 *n* 3, surnamed Ganjbakhsh. The name is also written Kathu.

Aḥmad Lāchīn, Malik,—one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.

Aḥmad, Malik, son of Amīr Khusrū the famous poet of Dihlī, 339, 340.

Aḥmad, Malik, brother of 'Imādu-l-Mulk Maḥmūd Ḥasan, the governor of Multān, 392.

Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 45 and *n* 2, 46.

Aḥmad Niyāl Tigīn, Amīr, treasurer of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 36 and *n n* **6**, 8 and 9.

Aḥmad Shāh, Sulṭān, the ruler of Gujarāt, 357 *n n* 3 and 4, 379 and *n* 2.

Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, 280 and **n 3**.

Aibak, soubriquet of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d Dīn Lakbakhsh, the ruler of Dilhī, 77 and **n 2**.

Aimah grants of land, 496 and **n 1**.

Āīn-i-Akbarī, the, 8 *n* 3, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 14 *n* 3, 15 *n* 2, 17 *n* 4, 19 *n* and *n* 6, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 2, 25 *nn* 1 and 5, 26 *n* 2, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 2, 34 *n* 5, 36 *n* 10, 48 *n* 1, 52 *n* 3, 62 *n* 2, 65 *n* 1, 67 *n* 3, 69 *nn* 2 and 5, 71 *n* 3, 72 *n* 4, 76 *n*, 81 *n* 2, 82 *nn* 3 and 5, 84 *n* 2, 87 *n* 1, 91 *n* 2, 92 *n* 2, 95

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'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264, 282, 283, 285, 290, 291, **292**, 294, 312.

Aiyāz, Amīr,—one of the favourites of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 32 *n* 1, 33 and *n* 3, 34.

Aiyāz, Malik, Khwāja-i-Jahān, (*q. v.*), —of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, **315**.

Aiyūb, Khwāja. ibn Khwāja Abu-l-Barakāt, of Māwarāu-n-Nahr, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 632 and *n* 2, 633, 634, 635, 636.

'Aja'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt of al-Qazwīnī, 79 *n* 2.

Ajallu-l-jabhah, 515 and *n* 6.

'Ajam (Persia), 233.

Ajāwan, town, 495.

Ajāwan,—a Bhagat boy to whom Islem Shāh gave the name of Mujāhid Khān, 557 *n* 8.

Ajlaḥ-l-jabhah, 516 and *n* 2.

Ajmīr, 69 and *n* 2, 70 and *n* 2, 120 *n* 4, 124, 129 *n* 2, 477.

Ajūdhan, town,—known also as Pāk Pattan, 133 *n*, 233, 349 *n* 3, 355 and *nn* 1 and 3, 360, 362 and **n 2** and **3**, 363 *n*, 520 *n* 2. See also the next.

Ajūdhya, town, 223 *n*. Same as Ajūdhan, (*q. v.*).

Ajyāra, Daulat Khān, son of Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and *n* 2.

Akat Khān, brother's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 258 and *n* 7, 259 and *n* 5.

Akbar, the Emperor, 8 and *n* 2, 9 *n* 2, 58 *n* 5, 63 *n*, 97, 125 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3, 306 *n* 1, 383 *n* 8, 408 *n* 1, 421 *n* 8, 432 *n* 10, 464 *n* 5, 520, **566** and *n* 13, 568 *n* 6, 580 and *n* 5, 581, 592 *n* 9, **594** and *n* 6, 596, 597.

Akbar Nāma of Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, 504, 579 *n* 7.

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Akchak, a district of Hindūstān, 334 and *n* 4.

Akhal, town, 334 *n* 4.

Akhāra, a kind of musical entertainment, 332 and **n 5**, 496.

Akhirīnpūr, popular name of the town of Fīrūzpūr, as the 'Last city' built by Firoz Shāh, 336 and *n* 3.

Akhor, stable, 274 *n* 5.

Akhor Beg, a Court Office, 232.

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Ākhūnd, tutor, 589 and *n* 2, the Ākhūnd, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar Naqshbandī, 589, 590 and *n* 6.

Akhyāfī, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 *n* 7.

Al-Aāsi, son of Nabīh, of the tribe of Quraish, killed in the battle of Badr, 74 *n* 2.

Alagh Khānī (Ulugh Khānī), a canal leading from the Sutlej, now called the Jureah canal, 325 *n* 3.

'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ḥasan of Bangāla, 507 and *n* 1, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, **524**. [to God, 515 *n* 6.

Al-Ajall, the Great, an epithet applied

'Alam, a standard or ensign, 483 *n* 2.

'Ālam Khān, title of 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī (*q. v.*), 292.

'Ālam Khān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 411 *n* 2.

'Ālam Khān Lodī, Governor of Kālpī, —one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 436, 437, 438, 443, 446.

'Ālam Khān, Governor of Mīwāt,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 2.

'Ālam Lodī, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454.

'Alam, Malik, Governor of Daulatābād,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.

'Alams, the two—, or standards, the sun and moon, 147 *n* 2.

'Ālam-i-amr, the world of the order, or potentiality, 105 *n* 1.

'Ālam-i-khalq, the world of creation, or the material world, 105 *n*.

'Ālamu-l-Ḥaiwān, the animal world, 147 *n* 2. [147 *n* 2.

'Ālamu-l-Ins, the world of mankind,

'Ālamu-l-Jinn, the world of the jinn or genii, 147 *n* 2.

'Ālamu-l-Ma'ādin, the mineral world, 147 *n* 2.

'Ālamu-l-Malā'ikah, the world of angels, 147 *n* 2.

'Ālamu-n-Nabāt, the vegetable world, 147 *n* 2.

Alaptagīn. See under Alptigīn.

Al-Arkān, the four elements, 102 *n* 1.

Al-Aṣma'ī, the celebrated Arab Grammarian and Philologist, 75 *n*.

'Alāu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, ibn Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 and *n* 2.

'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān, Shaikh, 571 *n* 9.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān, title of 'Alī Mardān (*q. v.*) as ruler of Lakhnautī, 86.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ayāz, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī, under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 260 *n* 5.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Governor of Badāon under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 and *n* 6.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāonī, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 335. See 'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Shāh.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, Sulṭān of the Deccan, 309, **314**. See Ḥasan Kaithalī.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān, king of Bangāla, —contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 417.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, Malik,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 349.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain Sūrī, King of Ghūr, 60, 61, 62. Same as the next (*q. v.*).

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥusain ibn Ḥasan Ghorī Jahānsoz, the first of the kings of Ghūr, 61 *n* 4, 64 *n* 2. See also the above.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī, Malik,—of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 *n* 3, 98 *n* 2.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Governor of Karra, 236. See 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Malik 'Izzu-l-Mulk, Governor of Lakhnautī,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 and *n* 3.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Malik and afterwards Sulṭān, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, **246**, 247 *n*, 249, 250 and *n* 5, 251, 252 *n* 1, 254 *n* 1, 256, 259, 266, **269** and **n 1**, 271 *n* 6, 273 and *n* 1, 274 and *n* 1, 282, 283, 286 *n* 1, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294 and *n* 3, 296 and *n* 3, 379 *n* 2, 397 *n* 1, 472.

'Alāu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sulṭān. See under 'Alī Mardān.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, of Lakhnautī, Sulṭān, 309. See under 'Alī Mubārak.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm ibn Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 55 and *n n* 2 and 4.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, **124**, 125, **126**.

'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khiẓr Khān, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 398, 399, **400** and *n*, 401 and *n* 4, **402** and *n* 1, 405 and *n* 4, 406, 409.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Sikandar Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Fīroz Shāh, 347. See Humāyūn Khān, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

'Alāu-l-Mulk, Malik, uncle of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī the Historian, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 249, 255, 260 and *n* 5.

Alberuni. See under Albīrūnī.

Albīrūnī's *Chronology* (Sachau), 76 *n*, 104 *n* 2, 108 *n* 4, 166 *n* 1, 280 *nn* 3 and 4, 369 *n* 3, 627 *n* 1.

Albīrūnī's *India* (Sachau), 17 *n* 4, 21 *n* 4, 22 *nn* 1 and 5, 23 *nn* 2 and 3, 24 *n* 6, 25 *n* 1, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 3, 36 *n* 10, 76 *n*, 79 *n* 2, 95 *n* 5, 114 *n* 2, 131 *n* 2, 332 *n* 4.

Alburz, mountain of,—in Persia, 178 *n* 2.

Alchemy, science of, 244 *n* 6.

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Alf Khān. See Alp Khān Sinjar.

Alfī, 80 *n* 4. See under the Tārīkh-i-Alfī.

Alghāyatu fil fiqh, by Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 *n* 4.

Alghū Khān, the Mughūl, grandson of Chingīz Khān, and son-in-law of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 236, **248**.

'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Khalīfah, **3 n 6**, 59 and **n 4**, 74 and

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'Alī Beg Mughul, a prince of the royal house of Khurāsān, 250, 251 and *n* 5, 252.

'Alī Dāya, one of the generals of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43.

Alidek range of mountains, 530 *n* 3.

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Aliganj *tahsil*, 185 *n* 1, 218 *n* 3.

Aligarh, town, 135 *n* 1, 386 *n* 6.

'Alī Gujrātī, Amīr,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 396.

'Alī Ismā'īl, the Sipah Sālār,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 88.

'Alī, son of Iyal Arsalān, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 *n* 2.

'Alī Karmākh, 69 *n* 1. See under 'Alī Kirmāj.

'Alī, of Kashmīr, Sulṭān, 381.

'Alī Khān, a prince of the family of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

'Alī Khān, a relation of Muḥammad K'[illegible]n, the ruler of Nāgor, 423 *n* 11, 425.

'Alī Khaṭaṭī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304.

'Alī, Khilāfat of, 577 *n*.

'Alī Khiṣhāwandī, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 *n* 2.

'Alī Kirmāj, an Amīr of the Ghorī dynasty, Governor of Multān, 66 and *n* 4, 69 and *n* 1.

'Alī Kirmāny, 66 *n* 4. For 'Alī Kirmāj (*q. v.*).

'Alī, son of Kizil Arsalān, father-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 *n* 2.

'Alī Kurbat, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 *n* 2.

'Alī Malik, Governor of Uchh, under Sāraug Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, 353.

'Alī Mardān, one of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's Generals, seizes the sovereignty of Lakhnautī under the style of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, 85, **86 and n 2,** 88 *n* 1.

Āl-i-Marwān, the,—a branch of the Umayyad family, 59.

'Alī Masīj (Mīch), Amīr, a chief of the tribes of Kūnch and Mīj, 83 and *n* 4. Called also 'Alī Mīj.

'Alī ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, 50 and *n* 1.

'Alī Mīj, 83 *n* 4. See under 'Alī Masīj.

'Alī Mubārak, Inspector of Troops under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, **309.** Assumes the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn as Sulṭān of Lakhnautī.

'Alī Mughul, Shaikh, ruler of Kābul, —contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.

Āl-i-Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, the Family of the Prophet, 59.

'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥibu-z-Zanj, of the family of 'Alī, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 458 *n* 3.

'Alī, son of Mūsā ar-Riẓā, one of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 573 *n* 3.

'Alī Qulī, Ustā, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and *n* 6.

'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, the Khān-i-Zamān, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 592 and n 9, 594, 597, 598, 599, 600.

'Alī Qulī Khān Sīstānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 590. Probably the same as above.

'Alī bin Rabī', an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48, 50 and *n* 1.

'Alī, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 505 and *n* 6.

'Alī *Sarjāndār*, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.

'Alī, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 *n* 1.

'Alī, Shaikh, the ruler of Kābul. See under 'Alī Mughul.

'Alī Shaṭranjī, Khwāja, Auḥadī's Life of, 114 *n* 2.

'Alī Sher, the Vazīr Amīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.

'Alī Sher, sister's son to Ẓafar Khan 'Alā'ī,—an Amīr of the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.

'Alī, Sulṭān, King of Kashmīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 381.

'Alī Tagīn, ruler of Māwarā-an-Nahr, —contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 27.

Allahabad, city of, 415 *n* 5, 417 *n* 7, 486 *n* 6.

Allahabad, Sarkār of, 416 *n* 3.

Allāhdād Kālū or Kāla, Lodī, Malik, —one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 391, 395 396, 398.

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Almagest of Ptolemy, 76 *n*.

Almanṣūra in Sindh, 36 *n* 10. See under al-Manṣūrah.

Alor, city of, 66 *n* 2.

Alp Arsalān, son of Dāūd, son of Mīkā'īl, son of Saljūq, second monarch of the Saljūqīyah dynasty, 35 and n 1, 51 and n 2.

Alp Khān, Governor of Dhār, 384 and *n* 5, 385, Governor of Kālpī, 393. Same as the next *q. v.*

Alp Khān, commonly called Sulṭān Hoshang, ruler of Mālwā, 363 *n* 2, 384 and *n* 5, 385, 393.

Alp Khān, title of Sinjar, wife's brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 249, 254, 267, 282.

Alptagīn. See under Alptigīn.

Alptigīn, a slave of the house of the Sāmānīs, the independent governor of Ghaznī and Kābul, 13 n 1, 14 and *n n* 1 and 2, 16 *n* 3.

Alptigīn Ḥājib, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47 *n* 5.

Altamish or Iyaltimish, 88 *n* 3. See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Altamsh, meaning of the word, 89 *n* 1.

Altigīn, 47 and *n* 5. Same as Alptigīn Ḥājib (*q. v.*)

Itūn Bahādur,—one of the Amīrs of the king of Khurāsān, 320.

Itūn Tāsh, an officer of Sulṭān Maḥ-

mūd of Ghaznīn, whom he appoints Governor of Khwārazm, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh, 23.

Altūnīyah, Malik. See under Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūnīyah.

Alwar, town and fortress, 129 *n* 2, 256, 385, 443, 462, 534, 542, 543, 547, 553. See also under Ulwar.

Alyās Khān, Governor of Chhāīn, under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 379 and *n* 2.

'Amād Khān Karrānī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindustān, 540.

Amal or Amol, capital of Ṭabaristān, 36 and n 2.

Amānī Kābulī, Mīrzā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and *n* 3, 616.

Amarcōsh, a Sanskrit Dictionary, 374 *n*.

Amarkôṭ, town, 464 *n* 5, 564, 566 and *n* 13, 567 *n* 1, 568 *n* 6.

Ambālā, town, 330 *n* 7, 334, 362 *n* 1, 492, 493.

Ambēr, town, 520.

Ambergris, notes on, 182 *n* 1.

Ameer Jadeeda, 334 *n* 2.

'Amīd Abū Naṣr, Maqāmāt of,—by Baihaqī, 32 *n*.

'Amīd Dailamī, the poet, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1. Called also 'Amīd Lūmakī, *q v*.

'Amīd Lūmakī, of Gīlān, the poet, —panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn, 99 and n 4, 138 and n 1, 141, 144, 151, 159 *n* 1, 160, 165 and n 1, 169, 172, 177, 182. Called also 'Amīd Dailamī.

'Amīd Lūyakī, 99 *n* 4, for 'Amīd Lūmakī the poet, (*q. v.*).

'Amīd Tūlakī, 99, for 'Amīd Lūmakī, the poet, (*q. v.*).

Amīn, Chief Commissioner, 497.

Amīn b-'Abdullah Kasharī, governor of Khurāsān, under Hishām ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik (*q. v.*), 13 *n* 1.

Amīn Khān, Governor of Bengal, under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186.

Amīr of the Eight Squares, the Wazīr at Chess, 103 and *n* 1.

Amīr Abū Ṭālib, of 'Irāq, Saiyyid, —a skilful physician of the reign of Islem Shāh, 505.

Amīr 'Alī Sher, the Vazīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.

Amīr Arslān Kātibī. See Arslān Kātibī.

Amīr Ḥasan. See Ḥasan of Dihlī, the poet.

Amīr Khalīfa, Prime Minister of Bābar, 451.

Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dā'ūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān Auḥadī, the Governor of Baiānā, 385 *n* 1.

Amīr Khusrū, the poet. 134 *n* 4, 135 *n*, 142 *n* 3. See under Khusrū and Mīr Khusrū.

Amīr, Khwāja, of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.

Amīr Muẓaffar,—one of the Maliks of Shaikh 'Alī Mughul, the King of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.

Amīr Rūḥānī, Ḥakīm Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Alī Samarqandī, —a learned man of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and *n* 2.

Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan, King of Khurāsān, 571 *n* 9.

Amīr Ṭamghāch, title of Ibak, slave of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and *n* 2.

Amīrān-i-Ṣada, the Amīrs of hundreds, 334 and *n* 2.

Amīru-l-Millat Yamīnu-d-Daulat, title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Amīru-l-Umarā (Chief of the Amīrs), a title, 90.

Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, *Kotwāl* of Dihlī, 260 *n* 2. See Maliku-l-Umarā.

Amīru-l-Umarā Hindū Bēg, of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 457. See under Hindū Bēg Qūchīn.

Amīru-l-Umarā, Malik Mubārak Kabīr,—of the Amīrs of Tughlaq Shāh, grandson of Sulṭān Fīrūz, 342 and *n* 1.

Amol, capital of Ṭabaristān, also written Amal, 36 *n* 2.

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, of the Banū Umayyah, one of the Governors of Mu'āwiyah, 157 *n* 2.

'Amr ibn-u-Laiṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār, King of Khurāsān, 481 and n 6.

Amrāẓ-i-Mutaẓāddah, 463 and *n* 1.

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Amroha, town, 185, 231, 251, 261, 268, 395, 398, 546 and *n* 5.

Amron ibn al-'Āṣ. See 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.

Amū Daryā, the,—the Jaiḥūn or Oxus, 27 *n* 1.

Anā, a mother, in Turkī, 568 *n* 6.

Anagah or *Anāgah*, foster-mother, in Turkī, 580 *n* 5. See also the next.

Anāka, *Anākā*, or *Anākah*, wet-nurse, in Turkī, 464 *n* 5, 568 *n* 6, 580 *n* 5. See also *Anagah*.

Anandpāl or Anand Pāl, son of Jaipāl, ruler of Hind,—contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20 22 *n* 6.

Anandrāj, *Farhang of*, 596 *n* 6.

Anberī, township of, 530 and *n* 9.

Ancient Arabian Poetry, Lyall's *Introduction* to, 99 *n* 6.

Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham's, 21 *n* 4, 22 *n* 5, 23 *n* 2, 24 *n* 6, 48 *n* 5, 66 *n* 3, 67 *n* 1, 69 *n* 5, 80 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 293 *n* 5, 362 *n* 2, 363 *n*, 382 *n* 4, 389 *n* 2, 415 *n* 5.

Ancient India, McCrindle's, 364 *n* 4.

'Andhlī, the name 'Adlī (*q. v.*) perverted, 536 and *n* 10.

Andhra, country, 265 *n* 2.

Andkhūd, fortress of, 71.

Anhalpur, original name of Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2.

Anhalwāra (Nehroāla), ancient name of Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2.

Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom, in Gujerāt, 256 *n* 4.

Āṇkus, in Hindī, a hook or goad for elephants, 118 *n* 2.

An-najm, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.

Annales, of Abul Fidā, 167 *n* 4.

'Anqā', a fabulous bird, called Sīmurgh in Persian, 178 *n* 4.

Anṣār, the,—tribes of al-Madīnah who supported the Prophet, 215 and n 7, 216 *n*.

Ansurī, Ḥakīm,—a famous Persian poet, 17 *n* 3.

Ant, notes on the, 108 *n* 1.

Antarī, township of, 530 *n* 9.

Anth: Gram: Arab:, of de Sacy, 6 *n* 4.

Anti-christ, 278 *n* 4, 369 *n* 3. See under ad-Dajjāl.

Ants, Valley of the, 340 *n* 2.

Anwarī, the famous Persian poet, 54 *n* 1, 76 *n* 1, 626.

Anwāru-t-Tanzīl, the, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāẓī Baiẓāwī (*q. v.*), 6 *n* 4.

Anwla, forest of, 379.

'Aql-i-awwal, 374 *n* 5. See under 'Aql-i-kull.

'Aql-i-kull, called also *'Aql-i-awwal*, the first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel, 374 *n* 5.

'Aql Nāmah, a work by Ḥakīm Sanāī, the celebrated poet, 56 *n* 2.

Aqṭā's, 597. See *Iqṭā'* grants.

Arabia, 3.

Arabian Nights, the, 148 *n* 1.

Arabian Poetry, Clouston's, 99 *n* 6.

Arabs, the, 28, 61 *n* 5, 94, 117 *n* 2, 145 *n* 1, 146 *n* 1, 192 *n* 2, 198 *n* 2, 287, 369 *n* 1, 527 *n* 3, 630 *n* 4, 637 *n* 1.

Arabum Proverbia, Freytag's, 458 *n* 3, 507 *n* 3, 580 *n* 1.

Arail, town, 415 *n* 4.

Ārām Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, **87**, 88 and *n* 1.

Arangal or **Warangal**, 265 *n* 4. See **Arankal**.

Arankal, ancient capital of Telingāna, 265 and **n 4**, 297, **299**. Afterwards called Sulṭānpūr. The name is also written Arangal or Waraṅgal.

'Ar'ar, the Juniper tree, 182 *n* 4.

'Araẓ, an accident, a term of Muslim theology, 614 *n* 2.

A'rāẓ-o-jawāhir, 614 *n* 2. See under *'Araẓ* and *Jauhar*.

Ardabīl, a town of Persia, 573.

Arg, meaning of, 314 *n* 1.

Arghawān, the, (Arabicé) **Arjuwān**, a kind of tree, 109 *n* 4, 172 and **n 4**, 173.

Aria, ancient name of Herāt, in Khurāsān, 35 *n* 2.

'Ārif, or holy, a Ṣūfī title, 32 *n* 2, 272 and *n* 1.

Ārīl, a place near Ilāhābās (Allahabad), 415 and *n* 4.

Aristotle, 255.

'Āriz-i-Mamālik, Mustermaster General, 230 *n* 1, 293 and *n* 2.

Arjuwān, the. See under **Arghawān**.

Arkal, a place, 415 *n* 4.

Arkalī Khān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 233, 235, 236, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 4, 248 and *n* 8.

Al-Arkān, the four elements, 102 *n* 1.

Armān, country of,—in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausī, 180 *n* 2.

Armenia, 61 *n* 5.

Armenians, the, 130 *n* 1.

Arrah, town, 185 *n* 1.

Arrian, the Greek geographer, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 6, 30 *n* 1, 332 *n*.

Arsacia, an ancient name of the city of Rai (*q. v.*), 30 *n* 1.

Arsalān Khān, one of the Shamsīyah Amīrs, 130, 131.

Arsalān Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sayyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 and *n* 4, 56 and *n* 1.

Arsar Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, the grandson of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 226 *n* 1.

Arslān Kātibī, Amīr, an eminent poet

of the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Artagīn, a general of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Artaulī, township, 386 and n 6.

'Arūs-i-Jahān, town, 379 *n* 2.

'Arūẓ, a term of Prosody,—explanation of, 606 *n* 4.

Aryal, a place, 415 *n* 4.

Arzan, the smaller millet, 465 *n* 6.

Arẓhan, desert of, between Bushire and Shīrāz, 572 and *n* 1.

Asad Khān Lodī,—of the Amīrs of Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Fīroz Shāh, 364.

Asad bin Sāmān, founder of the Sāmānī dynasty, the princes of Khurāsān, 14 *n* 1.

As'adak Allāh, 412 and *n* 3.

Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khān, called Malik Khamūsh,—uncle's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283.

Asad 'Ullah, or the Lion of God, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 93 *n* 4, 150.

Āṣaf, Wazīr of Solomon, King of the Jews, 206 *n*.

Asamabad, town of, 21 *n* 4.

Āṣāru-l-Bilād, the,—of al-Qazwīnī, *n* 4.

Asāwal, town in Gujarāt, 357 *n* 4, 361.

'Aṣfīr, a flower, 173 *n* 3.

Aṣghar, Governor of Dihlī under Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418.

Ash'arī, Sharafu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, of Dihlī, 125.

'Ashars, portions of ten Āyats into which the Qur'ān has been divided, 102 and *n* 4.

Al-Ashbāh wa-n-Naẓāir, a work on Fiqh or Jurisprudence, by Zainu-l-'Ābidīn bin Najīm, 5 *n* 4.

Ashhab, or white ambergris, 182 *n* 1.

'Ashīqa, a poem by Mīr Khusrū, of Dihlī, 256, 264, 266, 267 *n* 1, 274 *n* 1, 276 *n* 1.

Ashraf Pādshāh, 635 *n* 5.

Ashrafī, a gold coin, called after Ashraf Pādshāh, 635 *n* 5.

Ashrafu-d-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Nāṣiri-l-'Alavī,—a poet of the time of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 *n* 3. Same as Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī the Poet, *q. v.*

'Āshūrā', day of, 199 *n* 3, 200 and *n*. 320 and n 4, 464, 622.

Asī river, the, otherwise known as the Medakī, 419 *n* 6.

Asia, Northern, 191 *n* 2.

Asiatic Lithographic Press, the, 102 *n* 1.

Asiatic Researches, 374 *n*.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 127 *n* 2, 511 *n* 2.

Aṣīr, Qāẓī,—contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217.

'Asjadī, Ḥakīm Abū Naẓar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr, a celebrated poet of Merv, 17 and n 3.

'Askarī, Mīrzā, one of the Mughul chiefs under Humāyūn, 455, 465, 567, 568, 573, 574, 575, 585 and *n* 9.

Aṣl wa Far', signification of the term, 5 *n* 4.

Asmā', names or attributes of the Deity, 459 *n* 2.

Aṣma'ī,—the celebrated Arab grammarian and philologist, 75 *n*.

Asmāu-l-ḥusnā, the best of names, 603 and *n* 5.

Asmāu-l-Jalālīyeh, terrible attributes of the Deity, 459 *n* 2.

Asmāu-l-Jamālīyeh, amiable attributes of the Deity, 459 *n* 2.

Asparag, a herb, 173 *n* 2.

Ashrafu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, brother's son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq. 324.

As-Suyūṭī. See under Suyūṭī.

Aṣṭarjī, the jinn who stole Solomon's signet ring, and ruled in his place, 205 *n* 3, 206 *n*.

Astronomers of Greece, 75 *n* 2.

Asun river, the,—flowing west of Gwāliār, 419 *n* 6.

Atā, a father, in Turkī, 568 *n* 6.

Atābak or *Atābek*, a Turkī word, signification of, 568 *n* 5.

Atābakī, the office of *Atābak* (*q. v.*), 568 *n* 5.

Atābaks of Āzarbaijān, the, 158 *n* 3.

Atākā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 *n* 5, 568 *n* 6.

Atala Masjid, at Jaunpūr, built by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr, 364 *n* 3.

Atāligh, or *Atālīq*, a Turkī word, signification of, 468 and n 2, 569 *n* 5, 597.

Ātashkadā i-Āzur, the, 32 *nn* 1 and 2, 35 *n* 1, 53 *n*, 54 *n* 1, 96 *n* 2, 134 *n* 3, 187 *n* 2, 270 *n* 6, 341 *nn* 1 and 2, 584 *n* 3.

Atāva, a town in the Sarkār of Agra, 70 *n* 3. See under Aṭāwah.

Aṭāwah, town of, in Hindustān, 70 and *n* 3. Also written Atāva, (*q. v.*).

Atgah, 568 *n* 6.

Atgah Khān, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad. See under Atka Khān.

Atīkā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 *n* 5.

Atka, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 *n* 5, 568 *n* 6.

Atka Khān, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, and foster-father to Prince Akbar, 464 *n* 5, 563, 568 and *n* 6.

Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 *n* 1, 116 *n* 5, 178 *n* 2, 180 *n* 2, 321 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2.

Aṭlas, meanings of the word, 142 *n* 1, 246 *n* 3.

Atlas, Keith Johnson's *Royal*, 567 *n* 1, 570 *n* 7.

Atlas of India, 384 *n* 1.

Attock, on the Indus, 20 *n* 1, 44 *n* 6 358 *n* 6.

Aṭwāl, the,—a geopraphical work, 14 *n* 3, 29 *n* 6, 30 *n* 1.

'Auf ibn Qassī (called also Ṣaqīf), 12 *n* 1.

'Aufī, Muḥammad, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*, 220.

Auḥad Khān Auḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, 385.

Auḥadī's Life of Khwājā 'Alī Shaṭranjī, 114 *n* 2.

Auḥadī family of Baiāna, the Governors of the city, 386.

Aulaka or *aulakā*, a Turkī word, signification of, 354 *n* 7.

Aunla, town of, 71 *n* 2.

Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, 82 *n* 4.

Avicenna, 533 *n* 1.

Awadh (Oudh), 415.

Awais Jalāyer, Sulṭān, son of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan, King of Khurāsān, 571 *n* 9. See also under Aweis.

Awais Sirwānī, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493 *n* 7.

Awe, Loch, 301 *n* 3.

Aweis, Sulṭān, son of Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer, King of Khurāsān, 633 *n* 1. See also under Awais.

A'yānī, uterine brothers, 466 *n* 7.

Ayek, the,—a small river of Siālkot, 67 *n*.

Ay-tutulmash, eclipse of the moon, probable origin of the name Iyaltimish, 89 *n* 1

Ayūb, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwāja Aiyūb ibn Khwāja Abu-l-Barakāt, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 633.

Āzādpūr, fortress of, 324 *n* 6.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, Bāyazīd, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409, 410 and n 1.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, Haibat Khān of Lāhore,—one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 490, 492, 493, 497 and *n* 3, 498, 500.

A'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, Governor of Karra,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm bin Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 431 *n* 1.

A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Bihār Khān, Governor of Handīya,—one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 517, 541.

A'ẓam Khān Haibat, of Lāhore, 492. See A'ẓam Humāyūn Haibat.

A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, son of Bāyazīd, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 410 *n* 1, 411 *n* 2, 412 *n* 2, 414 and *n* 2.

A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 416, 434.

A'ẓam Khān Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464. Same as Atkah Khān, (*q. v.*).

A'ẓam Malik, Shaikhzāda-i-Busṭāmī,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 328.

A'ẓamu-l-Mulk, Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.

Aẓān, the,—or call to prayer, 472 *n* 6, 600 *n* 9, 601 and n.

Aẓarbaijān, province of, 30 *n* 1, 61 *n* 5, 158 *n* 3.

Aẓdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljūqiyah dynasty, 35 and n 1. See under Alp Arslān.

'Aẓdu-d-Daulat, title given by the Khalīfah Al-Qādir billāh to Amīr Yūsuf, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29

'Azīz Ḥimār, 313 *n* 2. Same as the next (*q. v.*).

'Azīz Khumār,—of the servants of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313 and *n* 2.

'Azīzu-llah Tulumbī of Sambhal, Shaikh,—one of the great and learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426, 427, 429.

Azlām, the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

'Azra, heroine of a Turkish romance, mistress of Wāmiq, 40 and *n* 1.

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Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī, a Shaikh of Nāgor, 357 *n* 3.

Bābā Qashqa.—or

Bābā Qushqah, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441, 581

Baban, the Afghān, of the Amīrs of Bābar, 439.

Baban, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 471 and *nn* 4 and 6, 472.

Bābar, 9 *n* 2, 63 *n*, 128 *n* 3, 421 *n* 8, **436**, 437, 438 and *nn* 3 and 5, 439, 440, 441, 442, **443**, 444, 445, **447**, 468, 469, 534, 570, 596, 605 *n* 1, 609 and *n* 5, 610.

Bābar, Erskine's *Memoirs* of, 421 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6.

Bābarī script, or the Khaṭṭ-i-Bābarī, invented by Bābar, 450.

Bābar-nāmah, the,—the Memoirs of Bābar, 325 *n* 3.

Bāber. See under Bābar.

Bābernāmah. See under *Bābar-nāmah*.

Bābtigīn, for Bārtagīn, the Ḥājib Buzurg of Sulṭān Mandūd Ghaznawī, 48 *n* 4.

Bābū Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419

Babūl, the *Acacia Arabica*, 335 *n* 10, 550 *n* 1.

Babūlī, a place, 335 and *n* 10.

Babylon, 169 *n* 1.

Bachgotīs, a tribe of Rājpūts, 414 and *n* 13.

Badagh Khān, of the Amīrs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, King of Persia, 456.

Badakhshān, 27 *n* 2, 443, 448, 576, 580, 581, 582, 585, 605, 608 and *n* 5.

Bādalgarh, fortress of, in Gwāliar, 432 and *n* 7.

Bādalgarh,—or

Badal Gaṛh, original name of the citadel of Āgra, 432 *n* 7, 551 and *n* 7.

Badāon, district and town of, 71 and **n 2**, 88, 89, 90, 97, 99 and *n* 2, 119, 123, 124, 130, 131, 185, 231, 233, 234, 236, 244, 251, 260, 266 *n* 1, 297, 305, 335, 375, 377, 379, 380, 386 and *n* 4, 396 and *n* 2, 398, 399, 401, 402 and *n* 1, 405, 409, 413 and *n* 13, 427, 535, 545, 546, 557, 558, 597, 598, 600. Written also Badāūn, Budāon and Budāūn.

Badāonī, 'Abdu-l-Qādir bin Mulūk Shāh, author of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 1 and *n* 1, 8 and **n 2**, 9 *n* 2, 11 *n* 1, 31 *n*, 54 *n* 2, 62 *n* 4, 65 *n* 2, 84 *n*, 90 *n* 2, 133 *n*, 176 *n* 2, 300 *n* 3, 304 *n* 1, 306 *n* 1, 320 *n* 5, 326 *n*, 328 *n* 6, 330 *n* 6, 332, 334 *n* 2, 349 *n* 12, 356 *n* 3, 357 *n* 4, 358 *n* 3, 363 *n*, 366 *n* 4, 368 *n* 1, 388 *n* 2, 400 *n*, 402 *n* 1, 404 *n* 2, 414 *nn* 1 and 6, 466 *n* 7, 473, 497, 508 *n* 3, 511 *n* 2, 543 *n* 4, 545, 557 *n* 2, 579, 584 *n* 3, 592 *n* 9, 609 *n* 3, 610.

Badāūn. See under Badāon.

Badāūnī. See under Badāonī.

Badger's *Imāms and Saiyyids of Omān*, 157 *n* 2.

Bādghīs, town of, 71.

Badr, battle of,—the principal of the Prophet's military exploits, 74 *n* 2, 216 *n*.

Badr Shā'ir Shāshī, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 296 and **n 6**, 321 and *n* 6.

Known also as Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, of Turkestān.

Badra-i-Sakūn, a place, 283 and *n* 5.

Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, the poet, 296 *n* 6. See under Badr Shā'ir Shāshī.

Badru-d-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaikh, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 322 and *n* 5, 323.

Badru-d-Dīn Sankar, or Sangar, Rūmī, Amīr Ḥājib, of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 121 *n* 7, 123.

Badru-d-Dīn Ẓafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and *n* 2.

Badshāpūr, town, 129 *n* 2.

Badward, a name of the town of Bāward or Abīward in Khurāsān, 30 *n*.

Bāgh-i-Jūd, the, 396 and *n* 3.

Bāgh-i-Sabz, on the banks of the Lāhor river, 188 and *n* 3, 190 *n* 1.

Bāgh-i-Sard, 188 *n* 3. For the Bāgh-i-Sabz (*q. v.*).

Bāgh-i-Sarīr, 188 *n* 3. For the Bāgh-i-Sabz (*q. v.*).

Baghdād, 12 *n* 2 (read Damascus), 17, 32 *n* 1, 57, 59 *n* 1, 88 *n* 3, 94 *n* 2, 205 *n* 1, 286, 311 and *n* 4, 322, 394 and *n* 5, 397, 432 *n* 10, 571 *n* 2.

Baghdād gate, at Dihlī, 432 *n* 10.

Bagore, town, 379 *n* 1.

Bagrām, old name of Peshāwar, 66 *n* 6.

Bahā, Qāẓī, one of the boon-companions of Sulṭān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252, 253 and *n* 2.

Bahādur Gurshasp, Malik, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and n 1.

Bahādur, Sulṭān, ruler of Gujrāt,—contemporary of Humāyūn, 452, 453, 454 and *n* 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.

Bahādur Khān, a prince of the family of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

Bahādur Khān, son of Daryā Khān Lūhānī, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī,—takes possession of Bihār, assuming the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad, 435. Elsewhere he is called Bihār Khān (*q. v.*).

Bahādur Khān, Governor of Narnūl under Sulṭan Maḥmūd, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 365 *n* 7.

Bahādur Khān Sīstānī (Shaibānī?), Governor of Qandahār,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 590, 591, 594.

Bahādur Shāh, otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda), independent Governor of Sunār Gānw,—contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyūṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 300.

Bahādur, Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria,—contemporary of 'Adlī, 556 and *n* 3.

Bahādur Nāhir, Khān Zāda of Mīwāt, 343, 344 and n 7, 345, 347, 351 and *n* 6, 354, 358 and *n* 4, 366 n, 375. Founder of the Khān Zāda race, the rulers of Mīwāt.

Bahankar, fortress of, 80 and *nn* 4 and 5.

Bahāpūr, town, 227 and *n* 7, 229.

Bahār Khān, A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, 521. See under Bihār Khān.

Bahārī, town, 232.

Bahāristān, one of the works of Maulānī Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.

Bahārpūr, town, 227 *n* 7.

Bahāu-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 530.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Gurshasp, Malik, Governor of Sāgur, under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 *n* 1.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangī, Malik, of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh Fīroz Shāhī, 344.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ūshī Farghānī, 78 *n* 2. See Bahāu-d-Dīn Ūshī.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshbandī of Bukhārā, Khwājā, a renowned saint, the founder of the Naqshbandī School, 588 *n* 4.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, Malik, 77 *n* 1. Probably Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Muḥammad is meant.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Tughral, Malik, one of the generals and slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 80, 81.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Ūshī, a famous preacher and learned divine of the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 78 and n 2.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī the Multānī, Ghauṣu-l-'Ālam Ḥaẓrat Shaikh, a famous Muḥammadan Saint, 133 and *n* and n 2, 248 *n* 2.

Bahdā, a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān, 588 and *n* 5. Called also Bahdāyan.

Bahdāyan, village of, 588 *n* 5. See the above.

Al-Baḥḥāṣ, or the controversialist, a name of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā of Budāon (*q. v.*), 71 *n* 2.

Bahīra, town, 465.

Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderī under Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, transfers Chanderī to Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 424 and n 4.

Bahlol, Sulṭān, 377 *n* 4. See under *Sulṭān* Buhlūl Lodī.

Bahman, an ancient King of Irān, 35 *n* 2.

Bahman, eleventh month of the Persian year, 627 and *n* 1.

Bahmān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 517.

Bahmān Khān, a Niyāzī Afghān, 498.

Bahmanwā, ancient name of the town of al-Manṣūrah in Sindh, 36 *n* 10.

Baḥr-i-'Ajam, the,—a lexicographical work, 114 *n* 2.

Baḥr-i-Jurjān, the Caspian, 153 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Khwārazm, the Lake Aral, 153 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Nīṭas, the Black Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Qulzum, the Red Sea, 169 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Ṭabarīya, the Dead Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Bahrah, town of, 128 *n* 3. Probably same as Bhera (*q. v.*).

Bahraich, district, 349, 409, 411 *n* 2. See also the next.

Bahrāij, district, 125, 126, 131. See also the above and under Bharāij.

Bahrām, ancient King of Persia, 157 *n* 1, 436.

Bahrām Iba, Kishlū Khān, governor of Multān and Uchh, adopted brother of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 292 and *n* 4, 293, 297 and *n* 6, 304.

Bahrām Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Bahrām Khān, governor of Sunargānw under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.

Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 362, 365.

Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, King of Persia, 569.

Bahrām Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55, **56**, 57, 58, 60.

Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qubāchah (*q. v*), 90.

Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish. See under Mu'izzu d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.

Bahrām Ullah, 297 *n* 6. For Bahrām Iba (*q. v.*).

Baḥrī, Malik, of the Maliks of Abū Bakr Shāh, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 344.

Bahrsūr, a halting-place opposite to Baiāna, 518.

Baḥru-l-Jawāhir, a work on medicine, 5 *n* 3, 30 *n* 2, 42 *n*, 49 *n* 2, 101 *n* 1, 117 *n* 2, 118 *n*, 146 *n* 6, 148 *n* 4, 161 *n* 3, 167 *n* 2, 226 *n* 5, 319 *n* 4.

Bahwa Lūhānī, Mīyān, Governor of Baiāna, one of the Maliks of Islem Shāh, 518, 519.

Baiāna, district and town, 359, 360, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 392, 395 and *n* 3, 400, 405, 414, 418, 419, 424, 443, 445, 452, 487, 488, 497, 507, 509, 512, 513, 518, 519, 520, 526, 541, 549, 551 and *n* 8, 553, 597, 598. See also under Bhiāna and Bīāna.

Baiāna, fortress of, 549, 551.

Baihaqī, the Historian, 32 *n*, 36 *nn* 8 and 9, 37 *n* 2, 46 *n* 2.

Bairām Dev, Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 28 and *n* 4. See under Brahma Dev.

Bairām Dev, son of Rāi Harsingh of Itāwa, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 361.

Bairām Dev, the Rājā of Kola, contemporary of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231.

Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 447, 567, 568, 569, 573, 578, 588, 589, 590 and *n* 5, 591, 594, 595, 597, 622.

Bairām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān of Dihlī, 365, 378.

Baitālī, township of,—on the banks of the Ganges, 360 and *n* 3, 375, 377, 379, 407 *n* 1. See also Betālī.

Baitarānī river, the,—in Orissa, 125 *n* 3.

Bāitigīn, 48 *n* 4, for Bārtagīn, the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg (*q. v.*).

Baiẓā, a village of Shīrāz in Persia, 6 *n* 4.

Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī, author of the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl*, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān, and of the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 6 and **n 4**, 10 *n* 3, 34 and **n 8**, 45 and *n* 2, 52, 56 *n* 1, 62 and *nn* 3 and 4, 63, 64 *n* 1.

Bajj, fort of,—in Majbaristān, 34 and *n* 6.

Bajlāna, a place on the Ganges, 379.

Bajwāra, town, 380 and *n* 2, 391 and **n 5**, 497, 520.

Bakhtyār Khiljī, Malik, 85 *n* 1. See under Muḥammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī or Khiljī.

Bakkar, town, 559 and **n 5**, 560, 561 and *n* 11, 562, 566 and *n* 13, 567, 574, 580. See also under Bukkur and Bhakkar.

Baksar, country of, 408 and **n 5**.

Baktūzūn, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and *n* 2.

Balārām, town, 346.

Balarwān, fortress of, in Gharjistān, 63 *n* 1.

Balban, the elder, 124. See Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.

Balban, Sulṭān. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

Balban, the younger, Malik and afterwards Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn (*q. v*), 121 and *n* 7, 122.

Balbanī Amīrs, known also as the Ghiyāṣī Amīrs, the partisans of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 232, 233.

Balfour, 162 *n* 3.

Balkātigīn, the slave of Alptigīn, Governor of Ghaznī, 14 *n* 1.

Balkh, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27 and *n* 1, 30, 35, 37 and *n* 7, 38, 44, 46 *n* 1, 47, 445, 581, 582 and *n* 7, 585, 597 *n* 5.

Balkh, the river of,—the Jaiḥūn, 27 *n* 1, 582 *n* 7.

Bālnāt, hill country of, 474. See also the next.

Bālnāth, mountains of, 22 and *n* 5. See also the above.

Bāmiān, district and town of,—in Afghānistān, 46 and **n 1**, 56.

Banāras, 416, 520. Banārasī, 339 *n* 6. See Bārānasī.

Banas, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 *n* 3.

Banātu-n-Na'sh, the constellation Ursa Major, 198 and **n 2**.

Banbhar, town, 530 and **n 3**.

Banda, town, 417 *n* 7.

Bāndhū, fortress of, 417 *n* 7.

Bāndhūgarh, fortress, 417 and *n* 7.

Bangāla, 79, 82, 86, 135, 222, 325, 417, 457, 458, 460, 461, 470, 472, 507, 552, 554, 573. See also under Bengal.

Bangālīs, the, 470.

Bāngarmau, township of, 434.

Bang-Matī river, 84 *n*. Called also the Beg-Matī (*q. v.*).

Banhar, town, 530 *n* 3.

Bānhbana, Rāi, brother's son of the Jām of Thatha, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 332 *n* 6, 333 *n* 4.

Baniān, town, 95 *n* 8, 128 *n* 1.

Banjāras, grain sellers, 477.

Bānswāla, town, 495.

Banū Tamīm Anṣārī, early Muḥammadan sovereigns of Sind, 13 *n*.

Bapāk, 415 *n* 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.

Baqā'ī, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.

Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb, one of the learned poets of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Barādarān-i-akhyāfī, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 *n* 7.

Barādarān-i-a'yānī, uterine brothers, 466 *n* 7.

Baran, district and town, 89 and *n* 4, 121 *n* 5, 226, 227, 230 *n* 1, 250, 357, 359, 364, 396. See also the next.

Baran, fortress of, 24 *n* 1. See Barnah.

Bārānasī, town, 329 and n 6. See under Banāras.

Barāngẖār, right wing of a Turkish army, 439 *n* 4.

Baranī, the Historian. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Barāwar bacha. See under Ḥasan, Barāwar bacha.

Barāwar tribe, a family of servile position in Gujrāt, 274, 285, 288. See also the next.

Barāwas, the, 289. Same as the Barāwar family (*q. v.*).

Bārbak, chief attendant of a *darbār*, 501 and *n* 6.

Bārbak Bektars Sulṭānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 *n* 5.

Bārbak Shāh, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409 and *n* 8, 411 *n* 2, 412 *n* 2, 413 and *n* 13, 414 *n* 1, 415.

Barchha, a small spear, 479 and *n* 2.

Bardār, hills of, 130 *n* 2.

Bardat, governor of the fortress of Bartah in Hindūstān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 *n* 1.

Bardhan, town, 83, 84 *n*.

Bardhan Koṭ, town of, 84 *n*.

Bareilly, 364 *n* 4. See also the next.

Baréli, town of, 71 *n* 2. See also Bareilly.

Baṛeṛī, *pargana* of, 424 *n* 3.

Bārī, township in the Sarkār of Āgra, 410, 425 and *n* 4.

Barmazīd Kor, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 490 and *n* 4.

Barnah, fortress of, 24 and *n* 1. Same as Baran (*q. v.*).

Barnī, the Historian. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Baroda, district, 313, 314.

Barqa'ī, Ḥājī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 315.

Barsine, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.

Bartagīn, the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48 and *n* 4. See also under Bāshtigīn.

Bartah, fortress of, 24 *n* 1.

Barūj (Broach), 311 and *n* 3.

Barūja, town, 358 *n* 6.

Barwat, Governor of the fortress of Barnah, in Hindūstān, a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 and *n* 1.

Bāsad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, of Dihlī, 364.

Basāwar, town, 349, 445, 475, 479, 512, 549.

Bashīr, the Sirdar, an adherent of the house of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273.

Bāshtigīn Ḥājib, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznavides, 48 *n* 4, 50 *n* 1. See under Bartagīn.

Baṣra, town of,—in Arabian 'Irāq, 12 *n* 1, 458 n 3.

Basudev (Vasudeva), one of the Hindū gods, 24 and *n* 6.

Basūlī, a place, 335 *n* 10.

Bathindah, town of, 69 *n* 2. See also under Batindah.

Batīl, 618 *n* 2.

Batindah, called also Tabarhindah, the capital of Jaipāl,—the ruler of Hindūstān at the time of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 1. See also Bathindah.

Bāṭinī sect, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 22 and n 3.

Al-Bāṭinīah, 22 *n* 3. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Batlāhī, town, 334 and *n* 5.

Batūl, the offset of a palm-tree, 622 *n* 4.

Al-Batūl, a name of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet, 622 *n* 4.

Bāward, a city of Khurāsān, 29 and n 6, 30, 42, 43. Called also Abīward (*q. v.*).

Bayāk, 415 *n* 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.

Bāyazīd Anṣārī, also called Pīr Roshan, founder of a Ṣūfī sect, called the Roshāniyyah or enlightened, 58 and *n* 5.

Bāyazīd A'ẓam Humāyūn, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409, 410 and *n* 1.

Bāyazīd, Khwājā, eldest son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 401 *n* 4, 410 *n* 1, 414.

Bāyazīd, Shaikh, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs who joined Humāyūn, 444.

Bāyazīd, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 471 and *n* 4, 472.

Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, 17 *n* 4, 71 *n* 3, 264 *n* 6, 313 *n* 5, 357 *n* 3, 452 *n* 6, 454 *nn* 1 and 7, 455 *n* 1, 458 *n* 6.

Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, ruler of Mālwa, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554, 557.

Bazāna, town of, 27 *n* 4.

Bazghand, fortress of, 44 and *n* 4.

Beale's *Dictionary of Oriental Biography*, 32 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 38 *n* 4, 53 *n*, 54 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 58 *n* 5, 99 *n* 3, 133 *n* 2, 134 *n* 4, 158 *n* 3, 187 *n* 2, 233 *n* 4, 236 *n* 2, 272 *n* 1, 279 *n* 3, 297 *n*, 298 *nn* 2 and 4, 332 *n* 2, 339 *n* 4, 449 *nn* 2 and 3, 450 *n* 5, 507 *n* 2, 533 *nn* 1 and 6, 571 *n* 9, 584 *n* and *n* 3, 624 *n* 6, 633 *n* 1.

Baiāna, [Beāna.

Beāna, town of, 80 *n* 5. See under Baiāna.

Bedar, a town of the Deccan, 299 *n* 3. See also under Bīdar.

Bedr, battle of,—the Prophet's principal military exploit, 74 *n* 2, 216 *n*. More correctly *Badr*.

Beerbhoom, the Rājā of, 329 *n* 9.

Beg Tughdī, one of the generals of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43. See under Tughdī Beg.

Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn, mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568 and *n* 7. See Ḥamīda Bānū.

Beghū, the Turkomān, chief of the Turkomāns, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 38 and *n* 3, 39.

Beghū Malik Shāh. See the above.

Beg-Matī river, the, 84 *n* 1. Called also the Bang-Matī (*q. v.*).

Behār, capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh, 82 and *n* 1. See under Bihār.

Behāristān, of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.

Behāt, the,—old name of the Jhilam, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 44 n 6, 128 *n* 3, 500, 503. Spelt also the Behat.

Behubur, town, 530 *n* 3.

Behzād, Malik, Governor of Multān under Sūltān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.

Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe, Nöldeke's, 99 *n* 6.

Bejī Rāi, Rājū of Bhātia, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 19.

Bekasī, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 and *n* 7.

Belnāt mountains, 22 *n* 5. See under Balnāt and Balnāth.

Bengal, 81 *n* 2, 82 *nn* 3 and 4, 135 *n* 1, 299, 300, 303 *n*, 345 *n* 2, 466 *n* 6, 540. See also under Bangāla and Bengāla.

Bengāla, 79, 82, 86. See also under Bangāla and Bengal.

Ber, fruit of the *'Unnāb* tree in Hindustānī, 117 *n* 2.

Beraisen, a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain, *i.e.*, the two Rāses (*q. v.*), 326 *n*.

Berenice, an ancient port of the Red Sea, 169 *n* 1.

Betālī, on the Ganges, 185 *n* 1. See under Patiālī and Baitālī.

Betel-leaf, note on, 302 *n* 6.

Betle-chewer's cancer, 303 *n*.

Betwā river, the, 95 *n* 3.

Beveridge's *the Emperor Akbar*, 58 *n* 5.

Bezoar stone, 118 *n*.

Bhadāulī, one of the dependencies of Sakīt, 410 *n* 4.

Bhadauriahs, the, 408 *n* 1. See the Bhadaurīs.

Bhadaurīs, the,—the inhabitants of the Bhadāwar district, 408 and *n* 1.

Bhadāwar, a district S. E. of Āgra, 408 *n* 1.

Bhadāwah, town, 410 *n* 4.

Bhagat, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 and n 9.

Bhagatiya, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 *n* 9.

Bhāgīrathī, the 82 *n* 4.

Bhaka, a servant of Shīr Khān, *afterwards* Shīr Shāh Sūr, 468.

Bhakārī, Shaikh, son of Shaikhu-l-Hadīyah, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 429 and *n* 5.

Bhakkar, town, 464. See under Bakkar and Bukkur.

Bhangar, fortress of, 71 and n 2. See also under Bhankar and Bahankar.

Bhankar, fortress of, 90. See also under Bhangar and Bahankar.

Bharāij, district, 132. See under Bahraich and Bahrāij.

Bhartpūr, district, 134 *n* 1, 366 *n*.

Bhasiyāna, country of, 80 and *n* 5.

Bhaṭ, fort of, 355 and n 3. See Bhatnīr.

Bhāta or Bhāṭa, a place, 19 *n* 4. See under Bhātia.

Bhâti, a town situated between the arms of the Mihrān (Indus), 36 *n* 10.

Bhatī tribe of Hindūs, the, 66 and *n* 2.

Bhātia, a place in the vicinity of Multān, 19 and n 4, 66 *n* 2.

Bhatnīr, town, 355 *nn* 1 and 3.

Bhatpar, 355 *n* 3, for Bhatnīr (*q. v.*).

Bhatta, town, 408 *n* 7, 485 and *n* 9, 489, 542, 544, 553.

Bhatta, Kingdom of, 544.

Bhatta, Amīrs of, 485.

Bhatwāra, a place, 405.

Bhawan, a place, 20 *n* 5.

Bhayāna, country of, 80 *n* 5. See under Bhiāna, Bīāna and Baiāna.

Bhera, a place on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, 19 *n* 4. See under Bahrah.

Bhiāna, territory of, 80 *n* 5. See under Bhayāna, Bīāna and Baiāna.

Bhīlsā, a town on the Betwā in Mālwā, 95 and *n* 3, 236 and *n* 3.

Bhīm, a hero of Indian mythology, 20 *n* 5, 21.

Bhīm, town of, 20 *n* 5.

Bhīm Dev, Rāi, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 66, 71. [Dev.

Bhīm Rāi Dev, 71. See under Bhīm

Bhīm, Rāi, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 383 and *n* 3.

Bhīm Sen, Rājā, founder of the town of Bhongāon, 386 *n* 3.

Bhīmnagar, fortress of, 20 and n 5.

Bhodal, township of, 547 *n* 4.

Bhojpūr, fortress of, 185 and n 1.

Bhongāon, a town in the Mainpūrī district, 386 *nn* 3 and 4. See also under Bhūngānw.

Bhūgāon, 386 *n* 3. See the above and also Bhūngānw.

Bhūhar, town, 360.

Bhūkānūr, town, 386 *n* 3.

Bhūngānw,—or

Bhūngāon, in the Mainpūrī district, 386 and *n* 3, 403, 431.

Bhurayee, town, 414 *n* 3.

Biāh, the, 23 *n* 3, 126, 130, 251, 353, 381, 389, 391, 392, 412 *n* 2. Called the Kālī Pānī (*q. v.*), and the Bīās.

Bīās, the, 325 *n* 3. Same as the river Biāh (*q. v.*).

Bībī Bā'ī, daughter of Niẓām Khān Sūr and wife of Islem Shāh, 535.

Bībī Khūnza, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, 409 and *n* 2.

Bībī Rāchī, mother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 403 *n* 8.

Bible, the, 394 *n* 5.

Bibliotheca Indica, the, 127 *n* 2, 142 *n* 1, 315 *n* 7, 329 *n* 3.

Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572 and *nn* 7 and 8, 575 and *n* 3, 578.

Bīdar, town,—in Haidarābād, Deccan, 299 and n 3, 311, 312, 314. Called also Bedar.

Bidaspes, the, = the Jhelam river, the Vitastā of Sanskrit writers, 23 *n* 3.

Bihand or Waihind, a place on the western bank of the Indus, 20 *n* 1.

Bihār, 185, 328, 329, 338, 348, 416 and *nn* 12 and 13, 417, 434, 435, 436, 444, 446, 456, 457, 467, 469, 470, 471 and *n* 1, 521.

Bihār Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 443.

Bihār Khān, A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Governor of Handīya under Islem Shāh Sūr, 517, 521, 541. See Bahār Khān.

Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khān Lūḥānī, Sulṭān of Bihār, 467. See

Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bihār. Elsewhere called Bahādur Khān (*q. v.*).
Bihishtī, author of a commentary on the *Ṣaḥāif*, 427 *n* 1.
Bijlāna, a place on the Ganges, 231.
Bijnor, hills of, 130 and *n* 2.
Bikanīr, town of, 69 *n* 2.
Bilāl, the Abyssinian mu'azzin of Muḥammad, 601 *n*.
Al-Bilāẓurī, author of the *Futūḥu-l-Buldān*, 11 *n* 3.
Bilūchistān, 48 *n* 4, 420 *n* 9.
Bin, township of, 526. See also Bin Bāū.
Bīnā Pānīpatī, Shaikh, a famous surgeon, 366 *n* 3.
Bināyek Deo, Rājā of Dholpūr,—contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 *n* 4, 420 and *n* 2.
Bināyik Deo, same as the above (*q. v.*).
Bin Bāū, in the Panjāb, 523, 525. See also Bin.
Bīṛā, note on, 303 *n*.
Birjīs, the planet Jupiter, 630 and *n* 2.
Birnī Kheṛa, town, 327 and *n* 3.
Bīrūnī. See under Albīrūnī.
Bīsal, fortress, 383 *n* 3.
Bīsh, aconite, 172 *n* 2.
Bismi-llāh, in the name of God, used at the beginning of all works, 428 and n 4.
Bitter Lakes, the, 169 *n* 1.
Bīzhan, son of Geo and nephew of Rustam, in the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausī, 116 *n* 5, 180 and *n* 2, 181 *n* 1.
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Daryā Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty, 398.

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Daryā-i-Chīn, the Sea of China, *i.e.*, the Indian Ocean, 153 *n* 1.

Daryā-i-Maghrib, the Atlantic Ocean, 153 *n* 1.

Daryā-i-Rūm, the Mediterranean Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Dās, a bill-hook or reaping hook, 102 *n* 5.

Datura, note on, 535 *n* 2.

Dā'ūd Afghān, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 *nn* 8 and 9.

Dā'ūd Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439.

Dā'ūd, Maulānā, author of a Maṣnawī in Hindī, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333.

Dā'ūd, son of Naṣr, son of Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī, the renegade ruler of Multān, contemporary of Sulṭān *Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn*, 19 and *n* and *n* 5, 21.

Dā'ūd, the Turkoman, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 37 *n* 7, 38, 47, 61 *n* 5.

Dā'ūd Za'i Afghāns, the, 501.

Daulatābād, in the Deccan, 270 *n* 6, 271 and **n 6**, 272 and *n*, 274 and *n* 6, **303**, 304, 305, 309, 310, 313, 314, 316, 318. Originally called Deogīr (*q. v.*), or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava kingdom.

Daulat Khān, the new Muslim, a protégé of the Lūhānī faction, one of the Amīrs of 'Adl 537. See Daulat Khān Lūhānī.

Daulat Khān Ajyāra, son of Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and *n* 2.

Daulat Khān, son of Budhū, one of the Chief Commanders of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 467 **n 6**.

Daulat Khān Lodī, Governor of Sāmāna, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 364, 365, **367 n**, 375, 380.

Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Maliks of the Lodī dynasty, 435, 436, 437, **438** and *n* 5.

Daulat Khān Lūḥānī, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 539 and *n* 11. See Daulat Khān, the new Muslim.

Daulat Khān, Shāhzāda, Governor of the fortress of Rantanbhūr under Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa and Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 425.

Daulat Yār of Kanpila, Malik, 363.

Darveshpūr, town, 417.

David of Scripture, 5.

Da'wah, invocation of the attributes of God, 445 *n* 6, 459 *n* 2. See the next.

Da'watu-l-asmā, a system of incantation, 445 and **n 6**, 459 *n* 2. See the above.

Daz, the Brazen fortress of, in the story of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh Nāmah*, 321 *n* 1.

Debal, the modern Tattah, 67 **n 1**. Called also Dīwal (*q. v.*).

Debālpūr, district and town of, 229, 392, 393, 399. See also under Depālpūr, Dībālpūr and Dīpālpūr.

Debī Chandan, the Red sandal, 484 *n* 1.

Deccan, the, 237, 256, 270 *n* 6, 271 and *n* 6, 309, 327. See also under the Dakhan and the Dakkan.

De Goeje, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 *n* 2.

Dehli. See under Dihlī.

Deipāl, the Hindū commander of the fortress of Sonpat at the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 4.

Deipūr or Dīpūr, town of, 46 and *n* 2.

Delhi. See under Dihlī.

Denarius, a silver coin of the Romans, origin of the word *dīnār*, 18 *n* 1.

Denarius aureus, a Roman gold coin, 18 *n* 1.

Deogarh, 422 *n* 2, for the fortress of Ūntgaṛh (*q. v.*).

Deogarh. See under Deogiri.

Deoghar. See under Deogīr.

Deogīr, district and town of, 237, 239, 240, 247 *n*, 251 *n* 7, 255, 256, 274, 283 and *n* 3, 284, 286 and *n* 1, 297, 302, **303**, 309. Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh gives it the name of Daulatābād (*q. v.*), making it his capital.

Deo Gīr, a rebel during the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237. See Ram Deo.

Deogiri or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava Kingdom, 271 *n* 6, 272 *n*. See under Deogīr.

Deo Kot, town of, 85.

Deorīmal, son of Silhadī, one of the chiefs of Rāī Sen, a contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 476 *n* 3.

Depālpūr, district and town of, 249, 251, 363 *n*, 383 *n* 11, 389. See also under Debālpūr, Dībālpūr and Dīpālpūr.

Dewal Rānī, one of the ladies of the harem of Rāi Karan of Gujerāt, heroine of the *'Ashīqa* of Mīr Khusrū, **256**, marries Khiẓr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, **266**, 275, 276, 281.

Dhankob, town, 493 *n* 5, 498 *n* 1, See Dhankoṭ.

Dhankoṭ, town, 493 and *n* 5, 498 and *n* 1, 500.

Dhār district and town of, 294, 361, 364 and **n 2**, 384 and *n* 5, 385 and *n* 3, 422 *n* 3.

Dhārānagar, fortress of,—the citadel of Daulatābād (*q. v.*), 314.

Dhatūrā, note on, 535 *n* 2.

Dhanūj or Danūj, Rāi of Sunārgānw, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 and **n 6**.

Dhāwa, a runner, from the Sanskrit, 302 and **n 3**.

D'Herbelot, 14 *n* 1, 16 *n* 2, 21 *n* 1, 40 *n* 1, 46 *n* 5, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 56 *n* 1, 61 *n* 5, 73 *n* 1, 91 *n* 2, 143 *n* 4, 147 *n* 1, 148 *n* 1, 149 *n*, 158 *n* 3, 167 *n* 3, 191 *n* 2, 303 *n* 4, 310 *n* 2.

Dholpūr, a Native state in Rājputāna and Capital of the state, 385 *n* 3, 410, 419 and **n 3**, 420, 423, **437**, 444, 445.

Dholpūr State, in Rājputāna, 419 *n* 3.

Dhopāmaū', a place, 407.

Dhor Samund,—or

Dhor Samundar, a place in the south of India, 265 and *n* 6.

Diārbakr, town of,—in Armenia, 61 *n* 5.

Dībālpūr, district and town of, 187, 349, 401. See also under Debālpūr, Depālpūr and Dīpālpūr.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Smith's, 19 *n*, 29 *n* 5, 76 *n*, 367 *n* 3.

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Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Smith's, 23 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 35 *n* 2, 394 *n* 5.

Dictionary of Hindū Mythology, Dowson's, 163 *n* 2.
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Dictionary of Oriental Biography, Beale's 32 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 233 *n* 4, 272 *n* 1, 279 *n* 3, 624 *n* 6. See also under Beale and the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*.
Dictionnaire de la Perse, Meynard's, 30 *n*, 35 *n* 2, 42 *n* 1, 43 *nn* 1 and 2, 46 *n* 1, 573 *n* 3.
Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental, Pavet de Courteille's, 91 *n* 1, 145 *n* 2, 215 *n* 1, 325 *n* 2, 353 *n* 1, 439 *n* 4, 440 *n*.
Diglito, name of the Tigris in the upper part of its course, 394 *n* 5.
Dihlī, 14, 21 *n* 4, 25 *n* 5, 37 *n* 3, 64, 69, 70, 72, 77, 78, 81 *n* 2, 87, 88 and *nn* 1 and 3, 89, 90, 91, 92 and *n* 2, 93, 95 and *n* 7, 96, 98 *n* 3, 99 and *n* 2, 121 and *n* 8, 123 and *n* 5, 124, 125, 126 and *n* 3, 129 and *n* 2, 130, 131, 132, 133 *n* 2, 134 and *nn* 1 and 4, 135 *n*, 185, 188, 196, 218 *n* 3, 219, 220, 221 *n* 3, 222, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233, 237, 238, 239, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 4, 248, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257 and *n* 7, 260 and *n* 7, 261, 266 *n* 1, 267, 268, 269 *n* 5, 271 and *n* 6, 272 *n*, 273, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 292, 293, 294 and *n* 4, 295, 297 *n*, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 313, 315, 316, 318, 322, 323, 324, 325 and *n* 3, 328, 330, 333 and *n* 1, 334, 335, 337 *n* 7, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347 and *n* 3, 349, 350 and *n* 3, 351 and *n* 10, 352, 354, 356 and *n* 1, 357 and *nn* 2 and 3, 358 *n* 6, 359, 361 and *n* 1, 362, 363, 364 and *n* 5, 365 and *n* 8, 366 and *nn* 1 and 3, 375, 377 *n* 4, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384 and *n* 5, 385 and *n* 3, 386 and *n* 1, 387, 388, 390, 391, 396, 398, 399 and *n* 3, 400, 401 and *n* 4, 402 and *n* 1, 403, 404 *n* 2, 405, 406, 407, 410 and *n* 4, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 413, 418, 426, 427, 432 *n* 10, 433, 437, 438, 442, 455, 458, 462, 472, 492, 504, 505, 506, 521, 525, 526, 529, 542, 543, 548, 549, 557, 577 *n*, 594, 595, 596, 600, 609 *n* 5, 610 *n* 4. The name is also written Dehlī, Delhī and Dillī.
Dijla. See under the Dajla.
Dik, district, 129 *n* 2.
Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī, one of the adherents of Bābar, 437.
Dillī, 464 and *n* 2, 466. See under Dihlī.
Dimishqī, Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 *n* 9.
Dīn, town, 458 *n* 6.
Dīnār, a gold and silver coin, 18 *n* 1, 19 *n*.
Dīnār, value of the silver coin, 24 *n* 2.
Dīnār *Ḥaramī*, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259. Sulṭān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khiljī

gives him the title of Ẓafar Khān and appoints him Governor of Gujrāt.

Dīdārī, a beverage, 31 *n*.

Dīnpanāh, fortress of,—in Dihlī, 472, 600.

Dīnūr, name of a place, 46 *n* 2, 47 *n* 2.

Dīp, port of,—in Gujarāt, 454 and n 7. Called also Diu.

Dīpūr, town of, 46 and n 2. Also written Deipūr.

Diqq, note on the fever so called, 316 and n 4.

Dirham, a silver coin, 18 *n* 1, 19 *n* and *n* 6, 24 *n* 2.

Dissertations, Gladwin's, 608 *n* 3.

Diu, port of, 454 *n* 7. See under Dīp.

Dīwal, town of, the modern Tatta, 66.

Dīwān of the Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, 54 and *n* 1.

Dīwāna, 599 and *n* 1. See under Qambar Dīwāna.

Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ, 121 *n* 3, 487 *n* 6.

Dīwānkhāna, the Hall of audience, 455.

Dīwānkhāna-i-'Ālī, the royal camp, 568 and *n* 8.

Dīwāns of Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī, the famous poet, 197 *n* 1.

Dīwāns of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, the Poet (*q. v.*), 55.

Djat, same as the Jats, 129 *n* 2.

Djenguiz Khān. See under the Chingīz Khān.

Djépour, 93 *n* 1, 129 *n* 2. See under Jaipūr.

Doāb, the, 81 and *n* 2, 122 *n* 1, 129, 185, 305, 316, 343, 346, 351, 354, 355, 359, 364, 365, 377 *n* 6, 378 *n* 1, 386 *n* 5, 395, 407, 437, 444.

Dobil, same as the town of Dīwal or Debal, 67 *n* 1.

Dow's *History of India*, 326 *n*.

Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindū Mythology*, 163 *n* 2.

Dowson's *History of India*, 6 *n* 4, 8 *n* 2, 10 *n* and *n* 3, 11 *nn* 1 and 3, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 19 *nn* 2 and 4, 20 *nn* 4 and 5, 21 *n* 1, 136 *n* 6, 215 *n* 4, 219 *n* 3, 222 *n* 1, 264 *n* 1, 265 *n* 5, 266 *n* 3, 267 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 450 *nn* 8 and 9, 457 *nn* 5 and 6, 459 *n* 5, 460 *n* 5, 461 *n* 9, 466 *nn* 5 and 7, 467 *n* 6, 504 *n* 2, 569 *n* 4, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.

Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 44 *n* 5, 543 *n* 3.

Drachma, a silver coin of the Greeks, origin of the word *dirham*, 18 *n* 1.

Drury, *Useful plants of India*, 173 *n* 2, 303 *n*, 550 *n* 1, 627 *n* 2.

Duff, Mr. Grant, 265 *n* 4.

Dughlāt Kashmīrī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463 and *n* 6.

Duhal, a kind of drums, 143 *n* 2.

Dūl Chain, Rāo, Governor of Bhat, contemporary of Tīmūr the Great, 355 *n* 4.

Dūn, hill of, 438 and *n* 7.

Dūnkar, a Brahman poet of the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426 and *n* 5.

Durgāwatī, Rānī, ruler of the country of Kara Katanka, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554.

E.

Eagle, the constellation—, 630 and *n* 1.

Eastern Bengal, 345 *n* 2.

Eastern Rohtās, fortress,—Rohtāsgaṛh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 and n 6. See also under Rohtās-i-Sharqī.

Ebony wood, notes on, 167 *n* 2.

Ecbatana, the ancient name of Hamadān, the old capital of Persia, 30 *n* 1.

Egypt, 22, 94, 310, 311, 321 *n* 3, 327, 328.

Egyptian Khalīfahs of the House of 'Abbās, 310 *n* 2, 315, 327 n 6.

Egyptians, the, 302 *n* 2.

Elath, a port of the Red Sea, 169 *n* 1.

Elements, the Four—, called *al-Arkān*, 102 *n* 1.

Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody, Ranking's, 607 *n*.

Elias and Ross, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 69 *n* 5, 103 *n* 3, 145 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5, 236 *n* 1, 305 *n* 3, 353 *n* 1, 464 *n* 8, 572 *n* 8, 574 *n* 6, 575 *n* 1.

Elixir of life, *al-Iksīr*, 340 *n* 2.

Elk, notes on the, 171 *n* 2.

Elliott, Dr., of Colombo, 303 *n*.

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Elliott's *Races of the N.-W. Provinces of India*, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 415 *n*.

Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, 6 *n* 4, 8 *n* 2, 10 *n* and *n* 3, 11 *nn* 1 and 3, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 19 *nn* 2 and 4, 20 *nn* 4 and 5, 21 *n* 1, 136 *n* 6, 215 *n* 4, 219 *n* 3, 222 *n* 1, 264 *n* 1, 265 *n* 5, 266 *n* 3, 267 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 450 *nn* 8 and 9, 457 *nn* 5 and 6, 459 *n* 5, 460 *n* 5, 461 *n* 9, 466 *nn* 5 and 7, 467 *n* 6, 504 *n* 2, 569 *n* 4, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.

Elphinstone's *History of India*, 20 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 2, 29 *n* and *nn* 1 and 5.

Emperor Akbar, Beveridge's, 58 *n* 5.

Enteric fever, notes on, 320 *n*.

Ephesus, the seven sleepers of, 207 *n* 1.

Epiphanius, the Greek Geographer, 169 *n* 1.
Erdmann, Dr., 353 *n* 1.
Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābar*, 421 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 n 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6, 609 *n* 5.
Esoterics, or *Bāṭiniyyah*, a sect of Shī'a Muslims, 22 *n* 3.
Essays, Colebrooke, 332 *n* 4.
Etah, district and town of, 185 *n* 1, 218 *n* 3, 377 *n* 4, 410 *n* 4.
Etawah, district and town of, 325 *n* 3, 378, 385 *n* 3. See also under Itāwa.
Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Skeat's, 159 *n* 2, 543 *n* 3.
Euphrates, the, 205 *n* 1.
Europus, an ancient name of the town of Rai in Persia, 30 *n* 1.
Eve, the Mother of mankind, 200 *n*, 320 *n* 4.
Evil-eye, the, 192 and *nn* 2 and 3.
Exodus, Book of, 108 *n* 4.
Ezekiel, Book of, 104 *n* 2.

F.

Fadak, an estate north of Medina which had belonged to Muḥammad, 156 and n 5, 157 *n*, 631 and n 1.
Fāiq, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and *n* 2.
Faiẓī, a poet of Basāwar, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 479 and *n* 5.
Fakhr, chief of the Bāzār at Dihlī, in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 184. [Humāyūn, 462.
Fakhr 'Alī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of
Fakhrī-nāmah, popular name of the *Ḥadīqatu-l-Ḥaqīqat*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 *n* 1, 56 *n* 2.
Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī, the poet of Gīlān, 138. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād, Malik, Governor of Baran under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, Malik, son of Ghāzī Malik, one of the Maliks of the Khiljī Sulṭāns, 274, 290, 291, 292, 293,—receives the title of Ulugh Khān, 297 and *n* 4,—succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh (*q. v.*). See also under Ulugh Khān.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl, the Maliku-l-Umarā or Amīru-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 *n* 2.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūchī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 243.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūjī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 120 *n* 2.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Rāzī, Imām, a doctor

of the Shāfi'ite sect, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 73 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309.

Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Lūmakī, Maliku-l-Kalām, 99 and *n* 4. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.

Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwājā 'Amīd-u-Dīn, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1. Same as the above.

Fa'l, a good omen, 412 *n* 1.

Fallon's *Hindustānī Dictionary*, 528 *n* 1.

Fals, a coin of small value, from the Latin *follis*, 18 *n* 1.

Fanak, weasel or stoat, 158 *n* 4.

Fanākatī, the Historian, 16 *n* 1.

Faqār, vertebræ of the back, 74 *n* 2.

Faqāra, a vertebra of the back, 74 *n* 2.

Faqāra, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or else a notch on its edge, 75 *n*.

Faqīrs, various religious orders of, 510 *n* 4.

Far', one of the two chief divisions of *'Ilmu-l-Fiqh*, 5 *n* 4. [and *n* 9.

Farah, town of,—in Biluchistan, 420

Farah, a town at a distance of ten *krohs* from Agra, 542.

Farakhābād district, N.-W. P., 185 *n* 1. See also under Farukhābād.

Fara'ūn (Fir'aun), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.

Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 286, 287 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Farhād, the lover of Shīrīn, in the romance of *Khusru-o-Shīrīn*, 279 and *n* 3.

Farhang-i-Anandrāj, a Persian dictionary, 596 *n* 6.

Farḥatu-l-Mulk, Malik Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī, Governor of Gujrāt, under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and *n* 3.

Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 233, 460. See under Farīdu-d-Dīn.

Farīd Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr, original name of Shīr Shāh, 461 and n 5, 466, 467 and *n* 5.

Farīd Khān, infant son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.

Farīd Khān ibn-i-Masnad-i-'Alī Khiẓr Khān (*q. v.*), 395, 400 *n* 1.

Farīd Tāran, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 497.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh, grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muḥammadan saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, *133 n, 135 n, 355 n 1, 362 n 2. See* also under Farīd.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 *n* 6. Same as the above.

Farīdūn, an ancient King of Persia, 166 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2, 595.

Fārighī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616, 617. See under Abu-l-Wāḥid.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl and also of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 414, 418.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434.

Farrukhī, Ḥakīm, a famous Persian

poet, contemporary of 'Asjadī, Anṣurī and Firdausī, 17 *n* 3.

Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, grandfather of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 *n* 6.

Farrukh Zād, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 51.

Farshūr, old name of Peshāwar, 66 *n* 6.

Farukhābād district, N.-W. P., 377 *n* 3. See also under Farakhābād.

Fārūq, *or the Discerner*, a name of 'Umar, the second Khalīfah, 59 and *n* 3.

Fāryāb a town of Māwarāu-n-Nahr (Transoxiana), 339 *n* 4.

Farẓ, prayers enjoined in the Qur'ān, 488 *n* 7. ['Alī, 557 *n*.

Fāsiq, immoral man, one who opposes

Fatehgarh, town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P., 377 *n* 3, 384 *n* 4.

Fatehpūr, 325 *n* 3. See under Fatḥpūr.

Fatepour, 80 *n* 5, for Fatḥpūr (*q. v.*).

Fatḥ Khān, son of A'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433.

Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 418.

Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 and *n* 2, 328, **334.**

Fatḥ Khān Harawī, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 403 and *nn* 2, 3 and 4. See also the next.

Fatḥ Khān, of Herāt, Shāhzāda, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Fatḥābād, founded by Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47 and *n* 1.

Fatḥābād, founded by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 365.

Fatḥpūr, otherwise known as Sīkrī, one of the dependencies of Multān, 80 *n* 5, 97, 325 *n* 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 445, 446, 486, 508, 535, 600.

Fatḥpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 486 *n* 6.

Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī, 151 *n* 5, 156 *n* 5, 303 *n* 4, 622 *nn* 3 and 4, 631 *n* 1.

Fatwas, legal decisions by a Muftī (*q. v.*), 317 *n* 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and *n* 7.

Faẓīḥat, Qāẓī, *or Qāẓī Ignominy*, 474 and *n* 6. See under *Qāẓī* Faẓīlat.

Faẓīlat, Qāẓī, the Qāẓī of the army of Shīr Shāh, popularly known as Qāẓī Faẓīḥat (*q. v.*), 474 and *n* 4.

Faẓlu-llāh Balkhī, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 351 and *n* 2.

Faẓlu-llah Khān's *Turkish Persian Dictionary*, 482 *n* 2, 483 *n* 2, 497 *n* 1, 575 *n* 1, 580 *n* 5, 592 *n* 5, 596 *n* 6.

Faẓẓ, the first arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Ferishta. See under Firishta.

Fidāis, the,—disciples of the chief of the Mulāḥidah heretics, 73 and **n 2,** 122 and **n 3.**

Fīlband, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 *n* 2.

Fiqār, vertebræ of the back, 74 *n* 2.
Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 *n* 4.
Firangīs, the, 458 and *n* 6. See also under the Franks.
Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abu-l-Barakāt (*q. v.*), 633, 634.
Firāqnāmah, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwajī, 571 *n* 9.
Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and *nn* 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 *n* 2, 461 *n* 6.
Firdūsī, Ḥakīm, 17 *n* 3. See under Firdausī.
Firishta, 10 *n*, 13 *n* 1, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 19 *n* and *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 20 *nn* 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 *n* 3, 22 *n* 7, 23 *nn* 2 and 4, 24 *nn* 1, 2 and 5, 25 *nn* 2 and 4, 26 *n* and *n* 1, 27 *nn* 3 and 4, 28 *nn* 2 and 4, 29 *nn* 1 and 5, 33 *n* and *n* 2, 31 *n* and *n* 1, 33 *nn* 2 and 3, 34 *nn* 1 and 7, 36 *nn* 1 and 9, 37 *nn* 5 and 6, 43 *nn* 2, 5 and 7, 44 *nn* 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 *nn* 3 and 7, 48 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 *n* 1, 50 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 51 *nn* 1 and 3, 52 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 55 *n* 2, 56 *n* 1, 63 *n* 1, 66 *nn* 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 *n*, 69 *n* 1, 72 *n* 2, 77 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 95 *n* 8, 122 *nn* 2 and 3, 123 *n* 2, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 184 *n* 4, 185 *nn* 2 and 3, 186 *n* 3, 188 *nn* 1 and 5, 190 *n* 2, 205 *n* 2, 228 *n* 3, 230 *n* 1, 247 *n* and *n* 4, 248 *n* 2, 249 *nn* 5 and 7, 250 *nn* 1 and 10, 251 *n* 7, 257 *n* 7, 258 *nn* 4, 5 and 7, 259 *n* 5, 260 *n* 7, 261 *n* 5, 264 *n* 4, 265 *nn* 3, 4 and 6, 266 *n* 1, 273 *n* 4, 274 *n* 1, 298 *n* 8, 300 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 304 *n* 1, 306 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 307 *n* and *n* 2, 308 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n* 2, 327 *nn* 1 and 3, 329 *nn* 5 and 9, 330 *nn* 6 and 7, 331 *nn* 8 and 9, 332 *n*, 333 *n* 11, 334 *nn* 3, 4, 5 and 7, 335 *nn* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 336 *n* 7, 337 *nn* 2 and 3, 338 *n* 1, 339 *n* 2, 342 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 343 *n* 3, 344 *nn* 1, 2 and 7, 345 *n* 2, 346 *n* 5, 347 *n* 2, 348 *nn* 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 349 *nn* 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12, 350 *nn* 3 and 4, 351 *nn* 2, 6 and 7, 352 *nn* 6, 7 and 10, 353 *nn* 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9, 354 *nn* 1, 5 and 8, 355 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 356 *n* 5, 357 *n* 2, 359 *nn* 2 and 3, 360 *nn* 3 and 5, 361 *n* 2, 363 *n* 2, 364 *n* 6, 365 *nn* 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 366 *nn* 4 and 5, 375 *n* 2, 379 *nn* 1 and 2, 380 *nn* 2, 3, 4 and 5, 381 *nn* 3 and 5, 382 *nn* 1, 2, 5 and 6, 383 *nn* 3, 6, 10 and 11, 384 *nn* 2 and 5, 385 *nn* 1 and 3, 386 *nn* 1, 3, 5 and 7, 387 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 388 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 389 *nn* 3, 4 and 8, 390 *n* 4, 391 *n* 2, 392 *n* 5, 393 *nn* 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 395 *n* 3, 396 *nn* 1 and 2, 398 *n*, 399 *nn* 1, 3, 4 and 6, 400 *n*, 401 *nn* 2 and 4, 402 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 403 *nn* 4, 5 and 8, 404 *nn* 2 and 5, 405 *nn* 1 and 4, 406 *nn* 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 13, 407 *nn* 1 and 4, 408 *nn* 2, 4, 6 and 7, 409 *nn* 2, 5, 7 and 8, 410 *nn* 1, 3, 4 and 6, 411 *nn* 2 and 3, 412 *n* 2, 413 *nn* 8, 13 and 15, 414 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 11, 415 *nn* 2, 3, 7 and 9, 416 *nn* 3, 9 and 12, 417 *nn* 4, 5 and 9, 418 *nn* 9 and 11, 419 *nn* 4, 6 and 11, 420 *nn* 4 and 6, 421 *nn* 3 and 4, 422 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, 423 *nn* 2, 5, 6 and 11, 42

nn 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 425 *nn* 2, 3 and 6, 431 *n* 4, 432 *nn* 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10, 433 *nn* 3 and 6, 434 *nn* 5 and 8, 435 *nn* 6, 7 and 9, 438 *nn* 3 and 5, 461 *n* 3, 466 *n* 5, 471 *nn* 1 and 4, 478 *nn* 7 and 8, 484 *n* 4, 488 *n* 5, 490 *n* 4, 537 *n* 2, 544 *n* 1, 559 *nn* 6 and 8, 560 *nn* 2 and 8, 561 *n* 2, 564 *nn* 6, 7, 8 and 9, 565 *nn* 1 and 5, 566 *n* 13, 567 *nn* 2 and 9, 573 *n* 3, 579 *n* 8, 583 *n* 3, 598 *n* 10, 601 *nn* 2 and 5, 609 *n* 5, 624 *n* 6, 625 *n* 3.

Fīrozābād, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihlī, built by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, **325** and **n 3**, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366. Written also Fīrūzābād.

Fīrozābād, a fortress at the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Fīroz Shāh, 327 and *n* 5.

Fīrozābād, later name of the town of Panḍūah, 325 *n* 3.

Fīroz 'Alī, Malik, son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh, called also Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr, 342 and *n* 2.

Fīroz Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs under Bābar, 444.

Fīroz Khān, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, succeeds his father under the title of Fīroz Shāh, **535**, 537.

Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash, the Khiljī, styled Shāyista Khān (*q. v.*), eventually becomes Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī (*q. v.*), 226, **230.**

Fīroz Koh, capital of Ghūr. See under Firūz-Koh.

Fīroz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab, same person as Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty (*q. v.*), 302, 315, 322.

Fīroz Nāib Barbak, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 312.

Fīroz, Rāi, a contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390. [**535**, 537.

Fīroz Shāh, son of Islem Shāh Sūr,

Fīroz Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 301, 302, **321**, 322 and *n* 9, 323 and *n* 3, 324 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327, 328 *n* 6, 329 *n* 2, 331, 332, **338**, 339 and *n* 1, 341 *n* 1, 344 and **n 7**, 347 *n* 3, **366**, 376, 411, 412 *n* 2. Written also Fīrūz Shāh.

Fīroz Shāh, canal of, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*.

Fīrozshāhī. See under the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī.*

Fīrūza, fortress of, 364 *n* 6, 375, 378. See under Ḥissār Fīrūzah.

Fīrūzābād, on the Jamna. See under Fīrozābād.

Fīrūzī Amīrs, the,—partisans of the House of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh (*q. v.*), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352.

Fīrūz-Koh, capital of the country of Ghūr, 60 *n* 2, 63 and *n* 1, 68, 78.

Fīrūzpūr, fortress of, built by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh in Sihrind, **331**, 334, 378, 489. Written also Fīrozpūr.

Fīrūzpūr, town of, 336. Called also Ākhirīnpūr as the *Last* city built by Fīroz Shāh.

Fīrūz Shāh, Sulṭān. See under Fīroz Shāh.

Fisq, immorality, does not exclude *Imān* (faith), 577 *n*.

Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the word *fals*, 18 *n* 1.

Forty Slaves of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 184.

Franks, the, 543. See also under the Firangīs.

Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 *n* 5.

Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 *n* 1, 458 *n* 3, 507 *n* 3, 580 *n* 1.

Freytag, *Ḥamāsah*, 287 *n* 1.

Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 *n* 1. See also under *Arabum Proverbia*.

Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, 393.

Fu-mā, in Chinese, equivalent to the Mongol *Gurgān*, which means "Son-in-law," when applied to princes, 353 *n* 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218 *n* 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

Furū', one of the two chief divisions of *'Ilm-i-Fiqh*, 5 *n* 4.

Futūḥu-l-Buldān of al-Bilāzurī, 11 *n* 3.

Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn, an historical work, 314 and *n* 9.

G.

Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and *n* 2, 93, 106 *n* 5, 111 *n*, 151 *n* 6, 374 *n* 5, 614.

Gajpatis, or "the Lords of Elephants," title of the Lion Dynasty of Jājnagar, 125 *n* 3.

Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, probably the same tribe as the Khūkhars, 67 and *n* 3.

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 n 4, 29 *n*. Called also Kandama.

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakhpūr District, 409 *n* 5.

Ganes, Rāi,—or

Ganesh, Rāi, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 and *n* 8, 419.

Ganges, the, 70 *n* 1, 71 *n* 2, 81, 82 *n* 1, 84 and *n*, 125 *n* 1, 130, 132 *n* 3, 185, 218 and *n* 3, 221 *n* 3, 231, 241, 312, 343, 356, 358 *n* 3, 360 and *n* 3, 363, 364, 377, 379, 380, 384 and *n* 2, 396, 402, 404, 406 and *n* 10, 408 and *n* 5, 415 *n* 7, 416 and *n* 3, 459, 463, 464, 472, 541, 546.

Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, contemporary of *Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī*, 357 *n* 3.

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, a famous Muḥammadan Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 233, 362 n 2, 416 *n* 13.

Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman*, 428 *n* 2, 605 *nn* 8 and 9, 606 *n* 2, 607 *n* 4, 608 *n* 3.

Gardaiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 *n* 1. Called also Kardīz.

Garha-Katanka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 *n* 3.

Garhī, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, 457 and *n* 5.

Garmsīr, a province of Khurāsān, 48, 65 and *n* 1, 81, 86, 573.

Garshasp, Shāh, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and *n* 2, 85.

Gaster's translation of the "*Sword of Moses*," 141 *n* 4.

Gate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar at Pākpattan, 362 *n* 2.

Gatilā, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 *n*.

Gaṭwārās, the,—a tribe of the Jāts, 122 *n* 1.

Gaur, old capital of Bengal, 82 *nn* 3 and 4, 88 and *n* 2, 458. Name changed to Jannatābād by Humāyūn.

Gauria. See under Muḥammad Khān Gauria and also Khiẓr Khān Gauria.

Gaus Aḥmad, of Guzarate, 357 *n* 4. Same as Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh, the ruler of Gujarāt.

Gawārs, the,—a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7.

Gāwīn, village of,—on the banks of the Jumnā, 327 *n* 5.

Gayômarth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 *n* 3. [of, 330 *n* 8.

Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds

Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 *n* 5.

Gazetteer of the Countries on the North-West of India, Thornton's, 567 *nn* 1 and 9.

Gelaleddīn, 91 *n* 2, for Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (*q. v.*).

Gemini, the, 39.

Genesis, Book of, 144 *n* 2, 154 *n* 2, 182 *n* 1, 302 *n* 2, 394 *n* 5.

Geo, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 116 *n* 5.

Geography of Ancient India, Cunningham's. See under *Ancient Geography of India*.

Gersiwāz, one of the attendants of Afrāsiyāb, in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, 180 *n* 2.

Gesenius, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language*, 104 *n* 2, 394 *n* 5.

Ghaggar river, the, 326 *n*. See also the next.

Ghaghar river, called also the Gogra and Ghāgra (*q. v.*), 222 *n* 3, 327, 438. See also the Ghaggar.

Ghāgra river, the, 135 *n*, 223 *n*. See under the Ghaghar.

Ghakkars, the,—a Hindū tribe, 491, 498, 499, 500.

Ghālib Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 338, 352, 360. [465 *n* 6.

Ghalla-i-jawārī, the smaller millet,

Ghānim ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād, 262 *n*.

Gharī Jū, village of, 503 *n* 5. Called also Gharī Khū (*q. v.*).

Gharī Khū, village of, on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and *n* 5.

Gharjistān, a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghaznīn, 13 *n* 1, 22 n 2, 63 *n* 1. Called also Gharshistān.

Gharshistān, 22 *n* 2. See under Gharjistān.

Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 *n* 5. Called also Badra-i-Sakūn.

Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and *n* 4. See also under Ghūr and Ghor.

Ghauṣu-l-'Ālam Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī, the Multānī, 133 and **n 2.** See under Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī. [6 *n* 4.

Al-Ghāyatu fi-l-Fiqh of Qāẓī Baiẓāwī,

Ghazal, ode, 612 and *n* 2.

Ghāzī Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 435 *n* 9, 436, 437, 438 and *n* 5.

Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558. 597, 598.

Ghāzī Maḥallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.

Ghāzī Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and *n* 4, 295, **296** and *n* 3. See Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.

Ghāzī, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 **n 4.**

Ghāzīs, the, 18. See under *Ghāzī*.

Ghāzīu-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and *n* 1, **398.**

Ghazna. See under Ghaznīn.

Ghaznavide dynasty, the. See under the Ghaznivide dynasty.

Ghaznī, House of, 13 *n* 1. See under the Ghaznivide dynasty.

Ghaznī, town of, 13 *n* 1. See under Ghaznīn.

Ghaznīn, 14 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 15 and *n* and *nn* 1 and 2, 16 and *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 17, 19, 21, 22 and *n* 2, 23, 25 and *n* 4, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and *nn* 4 and 5, 35 and *n* 1, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45 and *n* 2, 46 and *n* 1, 47, 48, 49, 50 and *n* 1, 51, 52, 53 *n*, 56, 60 and *n* 2, 61, 62 and *n* 3, 63, 64, 65, 66 and *n* 1, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and *n* 2, 74 *n* 1, 77 *n* 1, 78 and *n* 3, 79, 80, 81, 88 *n* 1, 89, 90, 167 *n* 3, 187, 256, 280, 312, 328, 464 and *n* 5, 567, 579, 580, 587. See Ghaznī and Ghazna.

Ghaznivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 *n* 1, **14, 62** and **n 4,** 63, 64 and **n 1.**

Gheias-ood-Deen, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338 *n* 1. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Ghibṭa, unusual use of the word by Badāonī, 508 *n* 3, 543 *n* 4.

Ghilz'ai Afghāns, the, 542, 544, 546.

Ghīās Vazīr, Khwāja,—Salmān Sāwajī's *Qaṣīdah* in his honour, 605.

Ghiyāṣī Amīrs, the,—of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mughulpūr, 236.

Ghiyāṣpūr, commonly known as

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Sām Ghorī, Sulṭān of Ghor and Ghaznīn, 62, 63 and *n* 1, 64 and *nn* 2 and 3, 65, 68, **71,** 73 and *n* 1, 77 and *n* 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, Sulṭān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 97, 121 and *n* 7, 124 and *n* 4, 126, 127, 135, **183**, 184 and *nn* 1 and 4, 186, 187, 189 *n* 1, **219**, 220 *n* 2, 221 and *n* 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, **228**, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulugh Khān (*q. v.*).

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, father of the famous saint Khwājā Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī, 70 *n* 2.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz, the Khalj, Sulṭān of Lakhnautī and the last of the Mu'izzī Sulṭāns (*q. v.*), 86, 87 and *n* 4. See also the next and under Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Sulṭān, 91. Same as the above.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, Sulṭān of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, 77 and *n* 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā, 399.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 324.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Ghorī, Sulṭān. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fatḥ.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, the Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalīfs of Baghdād, 311 and **n 4**.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, **296**, 298, 299, **300**, 301, 304, 321. Before his accession he was called Ghāzī Malik (*q. v.*).

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II, ibn Fatḥ Khān ibn Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, 338 *n* 1, **341**.

Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt, a lexicographical work, 60 *n* 3, 108 *n* 4, 142 *n* 1, 145 *n* 1, 152 *n* 2, 163 *n* 1, 321 *n* 2, 617 *n* 1, 621 *n* 5, 628 *n* 1, 635 *n* 5.

Ghor, country of, 13 *n* 1, 22 *n* 2, 60, 61 *n* 4, 63, 64 and *n* 2, 65 *n* 2, 68, 71, 77 *n* 1, 81 and *n* 2. The name is also written Ghūr and Ghaur.

Ghor, Kings of, 60, 61 *n* 4, 63. See also under the Ghorī dynasty.

Ghorī, fortress of,—in Ghaznīn, 21 and *n* 3.

Ghorī dynasty of Dihlī, **64**, 68, **228**. See under Kings of Ghor.

Ghūl, centre of a Turkish army, 439 *n* 4. Also called Qūl.

Ghūr. See under Ghor.

Ghurjistān, same as Gharjistān (*q. v.*), 22 and **n 2**, 63 *n* 1, 68.

Ghurratu-l-Kamāl of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 134, 197 and **n 1**, 216.

Ghuzz, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and *n* 5, 65, 167 *n* 3, 291.

Gīlān, a province of Persia, 99 *n* 4.

Gilauṛī, note on, 303 *n*.

Gilī, town, 250 and *n* 4. Called also Kilī.

Gīr, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Khalīfatī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 315.

Girāī, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 266.

Gīrat Singh, Rāi, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.

Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausī, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2.

Gīsī, a place, 548 *n* 3.

Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 *n* 3.

Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, Yule and Burnett's, 495 *n*, 543 *n* 3.

Glossary on Muqaddasī, De Goeje's, 217 *n* 2.

Gobind Chand, Rājā,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 25.

Godī river, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Gumtī and the Kowah (*q. v.*).

Goeje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 *n* 2.

Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 *n* 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.

Gogra, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Ghāghar and Ghāgra.

Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 *n* 1.

Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Golius, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 509 *n* 5.

Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and n 4.

Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 *n* 4.

Gorakhpūr District, 409 *n* 5.

Gorgang, the capital of Khwārazm, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 *n* 1. See under Gurgān.

Gour, country of, 456. Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.

Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāi Māldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and *n* 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.

Grand Trunk Road, the, 386 *n* 3.

Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 *n* 4.

Great Larās, town, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 1. Called Rās by Badāonī.

Grecian Emperor, the, 18 *n* 1.

Greece, 119 *n* 5.

Greeks, the, 18 *n* 1, 41 *n* 2, 75 *n* 2, 76 *n* 1, 104 *n* 2, 182 *n* 1.

Greenhill, Dr., 30 *n* 1.

Griffith's *Yūsuf and Zuleikha*, 272 *n* 1.

Gūgird-i-Aḥmar or Sulphur, notes on, 340 and *n* 2.

Gujarāt. See under Gujrāt.

Gujerāt. See under Gujrāt.

Gujrāt, 9 *n* 2, 12, 17 n 4, 27 *n* 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 *n* 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 346, 354, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 559 and *n* 8, 567, 597, 635. The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt.

Gulangabīn, confection of rose and honey, 148 and *n* 4.

Gulbarga, town, 311 and *n* 6.

Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2, 467.

Gulistāna Saiyyids, the,—a family of Saiyyids, 584 *n* 3.

Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1.

Gulnār tree, called also *Nārwan*, 172 *n* 3.

Gulqand, confection of roses, 452 and *n* 2.

Gulrukh, the pseudonym of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426.

Gumtī, the, 222 *n* 3, 329 n 2. Called also the Godī and the Kowah.

Gungūna, fortress of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 and *n* 7.

Gurdāspūr, town, 383 *n* 8.

Gurgān, town of,—the Jurjān of the Arabs, 37 *n* 7, 38, 117. See under Gorgang.

Gūrgān, a surname of the great Tīmūr and a title applied to the sons-in-law of a Mughul Emperor, 103 *n* 3, 353 and *n* 1.

Gurgāon, a district of Mīwāt, 134 *n* 1, 366 *n*.

Gurgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2.

Gurīz-gāh, a term of Prosody, 627 and n 4.

Gurjistān, 43 *n* 4, for Gharjistān (*q. v.*).

Gurkān, a Mongol title, 103 *n* 3. See under Gūrgān.

Gūrkhān, or universal king, hereditary title of the Kings of Kara Khiṭāī, 103 *n* 3.

Gūrkhān of Qarā Khiṭā, the contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, 71 *n* 7.

Gushtāsp, an ancient King of Irān, 35 *n* 2.

Gūshwāra, a term of Prosody, 609 and *n* 1.

Guzarate. See under Gujrāt.

Guzerāt, town of, 28 *n* 2, 71 *n* 3.

Guzerāt, province of. See under Gujrāt.

Guzerāt, peninsula of, 27 *n* 4.

Guzīda. See under the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*.

Guzr-i-Ganjīna, a ford on the Jamna, 406 *n* 6.

Gwāliār, 26, 81, 89, 94, 129, 238, 239, 246, 248, 268, 272, 273, 275, 277, 283, 349, 361, 362, 377 and *n* 4, 378, 379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387 and *n* 3, 391, 398, 408, 410, 414 and *n* 5, 419 and *nn* 3 and 6, 422 *nn* 2 and 3, 423 *n* 5, 427, 432, 433, 443, 445, 459, 474, 489, 490, 491, 493, 498, 499, 512, 529, 530, 538, 540 542. The fortress of Gwāliār is called also Kālewar.

H.

Ḥabīb Badāonī, Shaikh, one of the notable men of Badāon at the time of Humāyūn, 600.

Ḥabīb Khān Ṭughūjī or Ṭaghūchī, one of the Afghān Amīrs under Sikandar Khān Sūr (*q.v.*), 542, 593.

Ḥabību-llah, Mīr, grandson of Mīr Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, 589.

Ḥabshī, original name of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 *n* 2.

Habūlī, Rāi, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 *n* 3.

Hadah, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 *n* 4.

Ḥadāyan, a *Maṣnawī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chandā, 333 *n* 6.

Hādī, son of al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah of Baghdād, 75 *n*.

Hādī Sabzwārī, Ḥājī Mullā, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Manẓūma*, 181 *n* 2.

Ḥadīqatu-l-Ḥaqīqat wa Sharī'atu-ṭ-Ṭarīqat, otherwise known as *Fakhrī-nāmah*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 *n* 1, 56 *n* 2, 57 and *n* 1, 60.

Ḥāfiẓ, the famous Persian poet, 100 *n* 5, 101 *n* 1, 121 *n* 3, 151 *n* 6, 412 *n* 1, 487 *n* 6.

Ḥāfiẓ Niẓām of Badāon, *Imām* of Islem Shāh, 535.

Haft andām, the seven members of the body, 165 *n* 2.

Haft Aurang, a series of seven poems by Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Haft Jūsh, seven metals melted together, 321 and *n* 2.

Haft Khwān, the seven great labours of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh-nāmāh* of Firdausī, 116 *n* 3, 321 and *n* 1.

Haft Paikar, a poem of Shaikh Niẓāmī Ganjawī, 298 *n* 4.

Haft rang, a variety of the Khīrī flower, 173 *n* 3.

Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān, a work on natural history, 108 *n* 1, 157 *n* 1, 171 *n* 2, 178 *n* 4, 191 *n* 3, 352 *n* 1.

Ḥaiātu-l-Qulūb of Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, 110 *nn* 3 and 4, 149 *n*.

Haibat Khān A'ẓam Humāyūn of Lāhor, 490. See under A'ẓam Humāyūn Haibat Khān.

Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sulṭān Sharq of Baiāna, 414.

Ḥaidarābād, town,—capital of Ḥaidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 *n* 3.

Ḥaidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 *n* 3.

Ḥaidar 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.

Ḥaidar-i-Karrār, a name of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, 93 *n* 4, 207.

Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta, 553. Same as Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (*q. v.*).

Ḥaidar Khān the Amīr of Oudh, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 184 *n* 4.

Ḥaidar, Mīrzā, the Mughūl, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463, 465.

Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī, an old servant of Humāyūn, 597 and n 5, 598. See under Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta.

Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, 592 *n* 9.

Ḥaidar Tūnī,—or

Ḥaidar Tūniā'ī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 622, 623, 624.

Haimūe Baqqāl, 500 *n* 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.

Haimūn Baqqāl, 500 *n* 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.

Haiyāra, 532 *n* 2, for Daulat Khān Ajyāra (*q. v.*).

Ḥaiyātu-l-Ḥaiwānāt. See under the *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān.*

Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah, the Bezoar stone, 117 *n* 4, 118 *n.*

Ḥājī Barqa'ī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dihlī, 311, 315.

Ḥājī Ilyās, ruler of Lakhnautī, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, 309, 324, 327.

Ḥājī Khalfa,—or

Ḥājī Khalīfa, author of the *Kashfu-ẓ-Ẓunūn fī Asmā'i-l-Kutubi wa-l-Funūn,* 5 *n* 4, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 9, 35 *n* 1, 49 *n* 3, 56 *n* 2, 73 *n* 1, 181 *n* 2, 197 *n* 1, 221 *n* 2, 222 *n* 1, 270 *nn* 1 and 4, 272 *n* 1, 427 *n* 1, 428 *nn* 2, 3, 5 and 6, 467 *n* 2, 521 *n* 5, 533 *n* 1, 571 *n* 9, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.

Ḥājī Khān Alwarī, 553. Same as Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar (*q. v.*).

Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh and his successors, 475, 542, 543, 546, 547. See under Ḥājī Khān Alwarī.

Ḥājī, Khwāja, a general of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 *n* 6.

Ḥājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl (*q. v.*), 260 and *n* 2, 261.

Ḥājī Mullā Hādī Sabzwārī, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Manẓūma,* 181 *n* 2.

Ḥājī Nāib, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286.

Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, the envoy of the Egyptian Khalīfah to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dihlī, 310 and *n* 1.

Ḥājib-i-Buzurg, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 and *n* 5.

Ḥājib Shaibānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 *n* 5.

Ḥājipūr, a district of Bangāla, 469.

Ḥajj, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, 175, 176 *n,* 480 *n* 5, 623 and *n* 5.

Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣaqafī, Governor of 'Irāq and Khurāsān under the Umayyad Khalīfahs, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 490 and *n* 6.

Ḥakīm Abū Naẓar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr, the celebrated poet 'Asjadī, 17 *n* 3.

Ḥakīm Ansurī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Firdausī, 17 *n* 3.

Ḥakīm Farrukhī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Firdausī, 17 *n* 3.

Ḥakīm Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāma,* 17 *n* 3. See under Firdausī.

Ḥakīm Khāqānī Shīrwānī, the famous Persian poet, 339 *n* 4.

Ḥakīm Sanāī, a celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 *n* 1, 56, 57.

Ḥākim bi-amri-llāh, Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibnu-l-Mustakfī billāh, Egyptian Khalīfah of the House of 'Abbās, 310 and *n* 2. See the next.

Ḥākim bi-amri-llāh, Abu-l-Fatḥ Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabī' Suleimān, sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs of the House of 'Abbās, 327 and n 6. See the above.

Halājun, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

Halākū Khān, grandson of the Chingīz Khān, 145 and *n* 2, 236.

Haldī, township of, 409 and *n* 7.

Halghāt, a place, 387 *n* 3.

Halīn, the,—a river of the Panjāb, 356 *n* 1.

Ḥalka of elephants, or a hundred elephants, 541.

Halkhāyat, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hamadān, a city of Persian 'Irāq, anciently called Ecbatana, 30 *n* 1, 533 *n* 1.

Hamadān, a district of Persian 'Irāq, 30 *n* 1.

Ḥamal, the sign Aries, 195 *n* 3, 626 and *n* 7.

Ḥamāsah, Freytag's, 287 *n* 1.

Ḥāmī Tambān, or Jāhī Yatmām of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 5.

Ḥamīd ibn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, a Traditionist, 139 *n* 5.

Ḥamīd of Balkh, Qāẓī, a celebrated writer and poet, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 76 and n 1.

Ḥamīd Khān, the *Khāṣṣ-i-Khail* of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439.

Ḥamīd Khān, *Vazīr-i-Mamlakat* of Dihlī, under the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 and *nn* 2 and 4, 402 and *n* 4.

Ḥamīd Lawīkī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.

Ḥamīd Lodī, Shaikh, first ruler of Multān, 19 *n* 5.

Ḥamīd of Sanbal, Shaikh, the commentator, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.

Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568.

Ḥamīdu-d-Dīn, the Amīr of Koh, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 261.

Ḥamīdu-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd Balkhī, 76 *n* 1. See *Qāẓī* Ḥamīd of Balkh.

Ḥamīn, Malik, Governor of Badāon under the Saiyyid dynasty, 396 *n* 1.

Hamīr Dev, Rāi of Rantanbhor, grandson of Rāi Pithora and contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 257 and *nn* 3 and 7, 263.

Ḥamra, Malik, Governor of Rāparī under Masnad-i-'Alī Khiẓr Khān (*q. v.*), 377.

Hamza of iẓāfat, remarks on, 545 and *n* 10, 546 *n*.

Ḥamza, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.

Ḥamzah, son of 'Abdu-llah ibnu-z-Zubair, 287 *n* 2.

Ḥandā, a Hindū *Masnawī*, 333 *n* 6. See Chandāban.

Handāl, Mīrzā. See under Hindāl.

Handīya, a town on the Narbadā in the Central Provinces, 517 and n 9, 521. Called also Hindīya.

Ḥanīfite sect of Sunnī Muslims, founded by Abū Ḥanīfah, 57 *n* 1, 514.

Hankāyat, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hānsī, district and town of, 37 and n 2, 70 and *n* 1, 98 and *n* 2, 248, 322, 323, 324, 326, 364 *n* 5, fortress of, 431, 433.

Hansū Bhatī, Rāī, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *n* 3.

Hanwantgaṛh, fortress of, 422 *n* 6, 424 *n* 2.

Ḥaqāiqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of the poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Ḥaramain-i-Sharīfain, the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, 585 *n* 6.

Haran ibn Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shīrāzī, author of a *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 11 *n* 1.

Ḥarand, a country of Hindūstān, 445 and *n* 10.

Harawī, a native of Harāt, 35 *n* 2.

Harcaran, a Hindū Prince, founder of Banghar, 71 *n* 2.

Hardat, Governor of the fortress of Mīrath at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī's invasion, 24 *n* 1.

Hardwār, city of, 88, 344 *n* 7.

Harī, another name of the city of Harāt or Herāt in Khurāsān, 35 and *n* 2.

Ḥarīd, a country of Hindūstān, 445 *n* 10.

Ḥarīrī, the celebrated author of the *Maqāmāt*, 348.

Harpāl Deo, Rāi of Deogīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 286 *n* 1.

Harsana, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 129 *n* 2.

Har Singh Dev,—or

Harsingh Rāi, Rājā of Itāwa and Kaithar, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 346 and *n* 4, 359 and *n* 4, 361 and *nn* 2 and 3, 377, 379.

Harumān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt, 321 and *n* 4.

Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, 74 *n* 2, 75 *n*, 286.

Ḥasan, son of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, second of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 151 *n* 5.

Ḥasan 'Alī Kharās, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587.

Ḥasan of Bangāla, Shaikh, father of Shaikh 'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna, 507.

Ḥasan Barāwar-bacha, favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī who gives him the title of Khusrū Khān, 274, 290. See under Khusrū Khān.

Ḥasan Barwabacha, 290. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Ḥasan Dihlavī, Mīr, a famous poet of Dihlī, contemporary of Mīr Khusrū, 115 *n*, 187, 188, 245, **269**, 270 and **n 6.**

Ḥasan Ghaznavī, Saiyyid, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 and **n 3.**

Ḥasan Jalāyer, Shaikh, King of Khurāsān, 633 *n* 1.

Ḥasan Kaithalī, Saiyyid, generally known as Ḥasan Kāngū, afterwards 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh, Sulṭān of the Deccan, 309. See under Ḥasan Kāngū.

Ḥasan Kāngū, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 310, **314**, 327. See under Ḥasan Kaithalī.

Ḥasan Kānkū, 310. Same as Ḥasan Kāngū (*q. v.*).

Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī, of the Khānzādas of Mīwāt, one of the Amīrs

of the Lodī dynasty, 398, 443, 444, **447**, 470.

Ḥasan Khān, an impostor of Mīwāt who pretended to be the Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī mentioned above, 447.

Ḥasan Khān, Governor of Rāpṛī under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān (*q. v.*), 377, 387.

Ḥasan Khān Sūr, father of Shīr Shāh, 461 and *n* 5, **466** and *n* 7, 467.

Ḥasan, Kotwāl of Ghaznīn under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48. See also under Abū 'Alī Ḥasan.

Ḥasan Maimandī, Vazīr of the Ghaznavides, 35, 47 *n* 6.

Ḥasan, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.

Ḥasan, Mīr, son-in-law of Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq Shāh, 338.

Ḥasan, Shaikh, a famous surgeon of Pānīpat, 366 *n* 3.

Ḥasan Zinjānī, Shaikh, Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh, a famous Saint of Lāhor, 383 and *n* 6.

Ḥashf, the last and most severe stage of the fever called Diqq, 320 *n*.

Hasht Bihisht of Mīr Khusrū Dehlavī, the famous poet, the first poem in his *Khamsa*, 134 and *n* 3, 142 *n* 3, 269 *n* 5.

Ḥashw, a term of Prosody, 606 **n 4.**

Hastināwar, town, 266 *n* 4.

Ḥatānpūr, district, 267 *n* 1.

Ḥātim Khān, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, **291.**

Ḥātim Sanbalī or Sambhalī, Miyān, a learned Doctor, 428, 506, 545.

Ḥātim of Ṭaiy, the type of Arab generosity, 127.

Hatkān, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hatkānt,—or

Hatkānth, chief town of the Bhadāwar district, 408 *n* 1, 423 and *n* 6.

Hatkānt, tribes of, a clan of the Bhadaurīs, 408 and **n 1.**

Hatnāpūr, town, 266 and *n* 4, 267 and *n* 1.

Hatnāwar, town, 266 *n* 4, 267 *n* 1.

Ḥauẓ-i-'Alāī, an artificial lake at Dihlī, constructed by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 294 *n* 3.

Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ, a reservoir at Dihlī constructed by Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughlaq Shāh, 294, 339, 344, 347 and *nn* 2 and **3**, 348 *n* 1, 356 and *n* 5.

Hazaj-i-Muṣamman, a kind of metre, 606 *nn* 4 and 5.

Hazār Dīnārī, a name of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and *nn* **3** and 7, 256. Called also Kāfūr Nāib.

Hazār Sutūn palace, at Dihlī, 273, 285, 288, 289, 290.

Ḥaẓīra, Mausoleum, 397 and *n* 4.

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Jawāngūl, left wing of a Turkish army, 439 *n* 4.
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Kairwān or Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 *n* 4.

Kaithal or Katīhal, a village in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 121 *n* 8, 131 and *n* 5, 294 *n* 5.

Kaithal, the country of Kaithar (*q. v.*), 335 and *n* 9.

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Kālewar, fortress of, 95, 268 *n* 4. Same as the fortress of Gwāliār.

Kālī, the goddess, 484 *n* 1.

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Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Shāhik Bārbak, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Kaiqubād Balbanī, 221.

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Khān-i-Jahān, the Wazīr,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 342 and *n* 2.

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Khān-i-Khānān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, 435 and *n* 9, 436, 437.

Khān-i-Khānān-i-Dihlī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 *n* 7.

Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 414, 416.

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Khān-i-Khānān Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Barāwar, brother of Khusrū Khān Barāwarbacha, 290, 293, 296.

Khān-i-Khānān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 232, 233.

Khān-i-Khānān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

Khān-i-Khānān, Malik Buhlūl Lodī, afterwards Sulṭān Buhlūl, 402.

Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn, 562.

Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, 475.

Khān-i-Shahīd, Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 188 and n 2, 199 *n* 3, 205 *n* 2, 219, 220 and *n* 2.

Khān-i-Zamān 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592 and *n* 9. See under 'Alī Qulī Khān.

Khanpal, a township in the Doāb, 407 *n* 1.

Khans, a Chinese Emperor, 353 *n* 1.

Khānwah, a township in the vicinity of Baiāna, 549.

Khānzāda race, the rulers of Mīwāt, 366 *n*, 398, 447.

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Khāqān Manūchihr, Shirwān Shāh, patron of the poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Khāqānī, the famous Persian poet, 137, 339 *n* 4, 583 and n 4, 584 *n*.

Khāqānī Shirwānī, Ḥakīm, 339 *n* 4. See the above.

Khārā, brackish water, 345 *n* 2.

Kharābābād, City of Ruin, 393.

Kharās, Maulāna Ḥasan 'Alī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 587.

Kharazat, shell for polishing, 620 *n* 1.

Khārī, brackish water, 345 *n* 2.

Khār-i-'Aqrab, a name of the planet Mars, 195 *n* 1.

Khārijīs, a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 and *n* 2.

Khār-i-Mughailān, a thorny tree, 624 *n* 1.

Kharisur, country of, 468 *n* 2.

Kharkū, the chief of Kaithar at the time of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 *nn* 5 and 7.

Khartang, a villege near Samarqand, 6 *n* 3.

Khas, a fragrant grass, 411 *n* 1.

Khas Khas tatties, 411 *n* 1.

Khāṣṣ-i-Khail, Chief of Cavalry, 439.

Khātampūr. See under the township of Kūra Khātampūr.

Khaṭā. See under Khiṭā.

Khatanī musk, 426.

Khathai, the country of Khiṭā (Cathay), 143 *n* 4, 147 *n* 1.

Khaṭīb, Al-,—the Historian of Baghdād, 17 *n* 2.

Khaṭībpūr, town of, 389 *n* 3.

Khaṭīru-d-Dīn, Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Kaiqubād Balbanī, 220, 222.

Khatra, country of, 408 *n* 4.

Khatrī family, the,—protégés of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and *n* 3, 397.

Khaṭṭ, meanings of the word, 615 *n* 5.

Khaṭṭ-i-Bābarī (the Bābarī script), invented by Emperor Bābar, 450.

Khaṭṭu, a village near Nāgor, 357 *n* 3.

Khaulah, wife of 'Abdu-llah ibnu-z-Zubair, the Khalīfah of al-Hijāz, 287 *n* 2.

Khawāf, a district and town in Khurāsān, 609 *n* 5.

Khawāfī, Zainu-d-Dīn. See under Khāfī.

Khawārij, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 *n* 2.

Khawāriqu-l-'Ādat, meaning of the expression, 424 *n* 9.

Khawāṣpūr, a dependency of Rohtās, 466, 468, 512.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418, 419.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, servant of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 457, 468, 474, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 495, 512, 525, 537.

Khāwind Naqshbandī, Khwāja, contemporary of Bābar, 446.

Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, 252 and *n* 1, 266.

Khilī, the betel in the form it is offered for sale, 303 *n*.

Khilj, the,—a Turkish tribe of Ghūr, 81 *n* 2, 86, 88 *n* 1, 191, 230 *n* 1, 231.

Khiljī, son of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 69.

Khiljī, Rāo, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 *n* 4

Khiljī Sulṭāns, the, 475.

Khiljīs, the. See under the tribe of Khilj.

Khing bud, or the white idol, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 *n* 1.

Khirad Nāma, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Khirī, a flower, 173 and *n* 3.

Khiṭā (Cathay), country of, 125, 143 and *n* 4, 170, 172 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5.

Khiṭāb, the Afghān, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.

Khiṭāī Kings of Turkistān, 71 and *n* 7.

Khiẓr, the Prophet, 92 *n* 2, 267, 282, 372 and *n* 3, 373 *n*, 485 and n 1.

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Khiẓr Khān, Saiyyid, son of Malik Mubārak,—one of the Amīrs of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378.

Khiẓr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Ganria, Governor of Kor, assumes the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Bahādur, 556.

Khiẓr Khān Sarak, one of the commanders of Shīr Shāh, 474.

Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 591.

Khiẓrābād, a name of Chitor, 258.

Khocares, the, 129 *n* 1. See the Khūkhars.

Khondī, Shāh Ṭāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 626 *n* 6. See under Shāh Ṭāhir.

Khoozdār, town of, 48 *n* 4. See under Kusdar.

Khor, otherwise known as Shamsābād, 384 and *n* 4.

Khorāsān. See under Khurāsān.

Khudādād, name of an elephant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 25 and *n* 3.

Khudādād, brother of Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 490.

Khudāwanda-i-Jahān, title of Shāh Turkān, mother of Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 *n* 1.

Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Khūkhar Rāi, Chief of Kaithar, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 and *n* 5.

Khūkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 67 and n 3, 72, 89, 121, 129 and n 1, 335.

Khulafā-e-Rāshidīn, *the rightly-guided Khalīfahs*, 3 and *n* 6.

Khul Gānw, one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, 416.

Khulāf, signification of the word, 176 *n* 1.

Khumak, meaning of, 155 *n* 3.

Khūnzā, Bībī, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 409 and *n* 2.

Khūran, Shaikh, one of the Hindūstānī Amīrs of Bābar, 444, 445.

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Khurram, Malik, the Vakīldar,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 242.

Khurram, Malik, *Ẓahīru-l-Juyūsh*, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.

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Khushkhabr, Malik, the slave of Malik Sikandar, the Governor of Lāhor under the Saiyyids, 390 and *n* 3.

Khusrau Ghāzī, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 75.

Khusrau Malik, son of Khusrau Shāh, the last of the Ghaznevide dynasty, 14, 62 and *n* 3, 63 and *n* and *n* 1, 64 *n* 1, 66, 67.

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Khusrū Dehlavī, Mīr, the poet. See the above.

Khusrū Khān, Ḥasan Barūwar bacha, the favorite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 269, 297.

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Khusrūābād, town of, 389.

Khusrū-i-Shā'irān, *Prince of Poets*, title of Mīr Khusrū the famous poet of Dihlī, 269.

Khusrū-o-Shirīn of Shaikh Niẓāmī, the poet, being one of his *Khamsah*, 298 *n* 4.

Khusūf, an eclipse of the moon, 163 *n* 1.

Khuṭbah, public prayer in the name of the sovereign, 3 *n* 3, 15 and *n* 3, 83 and *n* 3.

Khūṭpūr fown, 389 and *n* 3, 390 and *n* 5.

Khūtrā, Bībī, chief wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 409 *n* 2.

Khuzā'a, a tribe of the Arabs, 28 *n* 1.
Khuzdār, the capital of Jhālawān in Bilūchistān, 48 *n* 4.
Khwāja Amīr, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
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Khwāndī, Shāh Ṭāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 6. See under Shāh Ṭāhir.
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Khyrābād, or Khairābād, in the Province of Multān, 389 *n* 4, 402, 546.
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Kicha, fort of, in the vicinity of Dihlī, 364. See the next.
Kīchā, a ford on the banks of the Jamna, 396, 406 and *n* 6. See the above.
Kīkar, the *Acacia Arabica*, 335 *n* 10, 550 *n* 1.
Kilan Rāī, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 *n* 8.
Kilī, town of, 250 *nn* 4 and 5, 311 and *n* 5.
Kīlūgharī or Kīlūkharī, a suburb of Dehlī, 98 and *n* 3.
Kīlūgharī, Palace of, on the banks of the Jumna, called also the Mu'izzī palace, 220, 227, 228, 229, 231.
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Kīmiyā, Alchemy, 244 and *n* 6.
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Kinja, a huge elephant, 364 *n* 1.

Kinkuteh, fort of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 *n* 7.

Kīnū, 411 *n* 9. See under Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū.

Kiran, Rāī, ruler of Bhūnganw, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 408 and *n* 5, 404 *n* 2.

Kirī, fortress of, 44 and *n* 8.

Kirmān, province of, 78 and *n* 3, 91.

Kisā'ī, Al-,—the celebrated Grammarian and Reader of the Qur'ān, 30 *n* 1.

Kishan, son of Basudev,—worshipped by the Hindūs as a divinity, 24, 28.

Kishan Rāi, the Rājā of Patīālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 *n* 8.

Kishlī Khān, title of Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 227, 229, 230, 231. See also under Chhajū.

Kishlū Khān, title of Bahrām Iba (*q. v.*), the adopted brother of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 323 *n* 3.

Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām, one of the servants at the Court of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 323 *n* 3.

Kisrā, the Chosroes, title of the Kings of Persia, 145 and *n* 2.

Kistī, ford of, 548 and *n* 3.

Kitābu-l-Milal wa-n-Niḥal, Cureton's 22 *n* 3.

Kittah Beg, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 438.

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Koela, called also Kola, country of, 231.

Koh, town of, 261.

Koh-i-Jehoud,—or

Koh-i-Jūd, the mountainous region between Ghazna and Lahore, 15 and *n* 1, 128 n 3. See also under the Jūd hills.

Koh-i-Qāf, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.

Kohpāya-i-Sanbūz, the Kumāon hills, 186 *n* 1.

Kōkā, the Rānī of Mālwā, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 and *n* 4.

Koka, the Rāja of Mālwa, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 *n* 4.

Kol, fort of, in the province of Agra, 70 and n 4, 98, 231, 363, 379.

Kol, *pargana* of, better known as Mawās (*q. v.*), 431 *n* 4.

Kola, called also Koela, country of, 231.

Koonbha, or Kanhaiyā (*q.v.*), minister of Rāi Māldeo, 478 *n* 7.

Koorban festival, the, 488 *n* 5. See under 'Idu-l-Qurbān.

Kor, country of, 556.

Kora, town in Fatḥpūr district, N.-W. P, called also Kūra Khātampūr (*q. v.*), 486 *n* 6.

Koram, for the country of Kuhrām (*q. v.*), 80 *n* 1.

Korān. See under the Qur'ān.

Korān, Sale's, 499 *n* 5.

Kornish, a mode of salutation, 501 and *n* 7.

Koe, a measure of length, 132 *n* 3.

Kota, town of, 387 and *n* 1. Called also Mālikota.

Kotila of Mīwāt, 344 and *n* 7, 345, 347, 352, 381, 384 *n* 1. Called also Kotla and Kūtila (*q.v.*).

Kot Karor, fort of, 133 *n* 2.

Kotla, village of, 352. See also Kotila of Mīwāt.

Koṭlā, a Hindī word meaning 'a small fortress,' 344 *n* 7.

Kotwāl of Dihlī, Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Qaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 *n* 2.

Kowah, the 329 *n* 2. Same as the Gumtī, which is also called the Godī (*q.v.*)

Krishna, the god of the Hindūs, 24 *n* 6, 478 *n* 7.

Kroh, from the Sanskrit *krosh*, a measure of length, 69 *n* 5, 132 n 3.

Krosa, an ancient measure of length, 132 *n* 3.

Kroṧ, 69 *n* 5. See under *Kroh*.

Kuch, province of, 91.

Kudāhna, for the town of Lūdhiāna, 382 *n* 2.

Kūfah, in Arabian 'Irāq, 12 *n* 1, 207 *n* 6.

Kufr, infidelity, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Kuhanbāyat, a well-known port of Gujrāt, 256 and *n* 4. See under Cambay.

Kuḥl, used as a collyrium, 153 and *n* 8.

Kuhrām, a country of Hindūstān, 70, 80, 131, 395.

Kūkā, a *Zamīndār* of Miwāt, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 337 and *n* 3. See the next.

Kūkā Chūhān,—or.

Kūkāe Chauhān, a *Zamīndār* of Mīwāt, 337 and *n* 3. See under Kūkā.

Kūkī, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 586.

Kū Kū, the song of the dove, 144 and *n* 1.

Kul Chand, governor of the fortress of Mahāwun, 24 *n* 5. See Kal Chandar.

Kul Chander Khākhar, one of the servants of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

Kulindrine of Ptolemy, same as Jālandhar, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch, 382 *n* 4.

Kullāh, a hat worn by men, 120 and *n* 7.

Kulliyāt of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2.

Kumāon hills, the, 186 *n* 1, 335, 379, 385, 489, 490, 495.

Kūnch, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnautī, 83 *n* 4, 84 *n*.

Kun fakāna, meaning in the technical language of Ṣūfī philosophy, 105 *n* 1.

Kuntīl, town of, 81 *n* 4. See Kuntilah.

Kuntilah, town of, the Kuntīl of the *Indian Atlas*, 81 *n* 4.

Kūnwar Rāi,—or

Kūrah, the ruler of Qanauj at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 23 and *n* 4.

Kūra Khātampūr, township of, 486 and n 6, 489. See under Kora.

Kurkān, or Gurgān, a title applied to a prince who is allied by marriage with some mighty monarch, 353 *n* 1.

Kusdar, a town to the south of Bust, the present Khuzdār, 48 *n* 4.

Kushk Sabzī, a palace in the Suburbs of Dihlī, 295 and *n* 10.

Kūshk-i-Sīrī, a palace outside Dihlī, 295 *n* 10.

Kusūf, an eclipse of the sun, 163 *n* 1.

Kūtila, town of, 358 *n* 4. See under Kotila of Mīwāt.

Kūlam (Cavalum), in the country of Ma'bar or Coromandel, 265 *n* 5.

Kuzil Bāsh. See under the Qizil Bāsh.

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Lādan, resinous balsamic juice, 182 and *n* 1.

Ladar Mahādeo, Rāi, ruler of Tilang, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṯu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 299.

Laddar Dev, the Rāi of Arangal, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 *n* 4.

Ladhar Mahādev, Rāi of Tilang. See under Ladar Mahādeo.

Lahār,—or

Lahāyar, a town in the vicinity of Gwāliūr, 423 and *n* 5.

Lāhor. See under Lahore.

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Lahore, Kings of, 13 *n* 1.

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Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, the captor of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet, 196.

Lāhorīs, the, 592.

Lailī, the mistress of Majnūn, 620.

Lailī-o-Majnūn of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Lailī-o-Majnūn of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 269 *n* 5.

Lailī-o-Majnūn of Shaikh Niẓāmī, 298 *n* 4.

Lak-Bakhsh, *the bestower of lakhs*, surname of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and *n* 4, 78.

Lakhmia, Rāi,—or

Lakminia, Rāi, the ruler of Nadīyā, contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and *n* 5, 83 *n* 1.

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Lakshmanāwatī, original name of Lakhnautī (*q. v.*), 82 *n* 3.

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Lamāī, Maḥmūd bin Asmān, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 *n* 1.

Lamghān, a town in the mountains of Ghaznah, 15 *n* 2.

Lamghānāt, the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah, 15 and *n* 2.

La'n, cursing, an element of faith with the Shī'ah, 636.

Lane's *Arabian Nights*, 148 *n* 1.

Lane's *Lexicon of the Arabic Language*, 2 *n* 1, 7 *n* 1, 8 *n* 4, 10 *n* 1, 142 *n* 3, 145 *n* 1, 147 *n* 3, 151 *n* 6, 162 *n* 4, 163 *n* 1, 176 *n* 1, 190 *n* 5, 194 *n* 5, 195 *n* 4, 198 *n* 2, 278 *n* 4, 371 *n* 5, 372 *n* 2, 412 *n* 1, 424 *n* 9, 426 *n* 9, 429 *n* 1, 441 *n* 2, 457 *n* 7, 516 *n* 2, 527 *n* 3, 548 *n* 14, 614 *n* 2, 622 *n* 4, 630 *n* 6.

Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 177 *n* 4, 192 *n* 3, 503 *n* 2.

Langāhs, the tribe of, in Multān, 398.

Langana, a town at the junction of the Chināb and Rāvī, 355 *n* 1.

Laqwa or facial paralysis, notes on, 226 *n* 5.

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Lārī Bandar, an ancient port of Sind, 67 *n* 1.

Lārjal, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 *n* 4.

Lāt, idol worshipped by the Arabs, 12 *n* 1, 110 *n* 3.

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Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary, 198 *n* 2.

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Leyden, Dr., translator of the commentaries of Bābar, 421 *n* 8.

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Life of Khwāja 'Alī Shaṭranjī, Auḥadī's, 114 *n* 2.

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Lion Dynasty of Orissa, called the Gajpatī or Lords of Elephants, 125 *n* 3.

Līq, *ligh*, *lūq* or *lūgh*, a Turkī termination, 569 *n* 5.

Lisānu-l-Mulk, author of the *Nāsikhu-t-Tawārīkh*, 154 *n* 8.

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Lodī Awe, 301 *n* 3.
Lodī, Shaikh Ḥamīd, first ruler of Multān, 19 *n* 5.
Lodī family of Afghāns in Dihlī, 402, 411, 430, 443, 470.
Lodī party in Hindūstān, the, 407, 409, 412 *n* 2. See the above.
Logos, the, 374 *n* 5.
Lohar Kot,—or
Lohkot, name of a fortress in Kashmīr, 22 and *n* 7, 26.
Lohrī, township of, near to Bakkar, now called Rohrī, 559 and *n* 6, 560.
Lōmasā, a Sanskrīt name of the Indian Spikenard or *narā*, 374 *n*.
Lonā, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān, first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 375.
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Luhrāsp, an ancient King of Persia, 35 *n* 2.
Luhrī, a township near Bakkar, now called Rohrī, 559 *n* 6.
Lū'ī, one of the fords of the Rāvī, 383 *n* 10.
Lūnī, a town near Dihlī, on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn, 356 and *n* 1.
Lūq, a Turkī termination, 569 *n* 5.
Lūrak, the hero of a *Maẓnawī* in Hindī, lover of Chāndā, 333. See under Chandāban.
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Māchīwāra, an ancient city on the banks of the Sutlej, in the Lūdhīāna District of the Panjāb, 380 **n 2,** 418 *n* 9, 590 and **n 5.**
Madā, one of the servants of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 530.
Madad-i-ma'āsh, rent-free land, 424 and **n 3,** 496 and **n 1,** 509 and *n* 8, 529.
Madāin, the capital of the Sassanide dynasty of Persia, near Baghdād, 572 *n* 1.
Madan Khān, or Qadr Khān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī, of Mālwa, 399 *n* 1.
Madārān, name of a place, 99 *n* 2.
Madārik, the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law, 429 and *n* 1.
Madda, the cross line over the *Alif mamdūhah*, 634 and *n* 1.
Mādhūgaṛh, for the fortress of Bāndhūgaṛh, 417 *n* 7.
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Magadh, an ancient kingdom of Hindūstān, 82 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3.
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Mahdawīyah, the—a sect of Muslim heretics, 626 and **n 3.**
Mahd-i-'Irāq, sister of Sulṭān Sinjar, and wife of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 n 4.
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Maḥdūda, Amīr, for Amīr Majdūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 *n* 1.

Mah-dum, a kind of bird and a pigeon, 152 and *n* 3.

Maḥfil-shikan, *or the assembly router*, a title of the famous controversialist Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, 71 *n* 2.

Maḥjaulī, a village in the Gorakhpūr District on the banks of the Gandak, 409 and *n* 5.

Maḥlīgarh, township in Jaunpūr, 417 and *n* 4.

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Maḥmūd, one of the servants of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 530.

Maḥmūd ibn Aṣmān Lamāī, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Aẓrā, 40 *n* 1.

Maḥmūd of Badāon, Saiyyid,—brother of Saiyyid Muḥammad, governor of Badāon under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 *n* 6.

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Maḥmūd Ghaznawī,—or

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Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, Sulṭān, contemporary of Islem Shāh of the Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 533, 534.

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Maḥmūd Khān, gaandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, 424 *n* 6.

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Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, the ruler of Patna, 470, 471 and *n* 1.

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Maḥmūd Tarmatī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Maḥmūd Shāh of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 368.

Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh, for Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 135 *n*.

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Majnūn, the hero of the romance of *Laili-o-Majnūn*, lover of Lailī, 620.

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Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qaranqal, the ruler of Jaunpūr, 360, **361.**

Maliku-sh-Sharq Suleimān, son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh, 335 and *n* 4, 352, 375.

Mallī, the,—a people of the Panjāb, 389 *n* 2.

Malloo Khān, brother of Sārang Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 349 and *n* 10, 350 and *n* 3, 351, **354.** See under Iqbāl Khān Malloo.

Mallū Khān, Governor of Mālwā, one of the slaves of the Khiljī Sulṭāns, 475.

Malot, in the Jhīlam District of the Panjāb, 437 and **n 8,** 438 and *n* 7.

Malūta, district, 349.

Mālwā, or Mālwah, 95 and *n* 4, 129, 264 and *n* 4, 274, 292, 313, 379 *n* 2, 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 3, 398, 399, 422 *n* 3, 423, 424 and *n* 4, 425, 432, 433, 454, 474, 475, 492, 495, 554.

Ma'mūn, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 157 *n* 1.

Man, a weight, 72 *n* 4.

Mān, Rājā, the Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl and Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 410, 414 and *n* 5, 432 and *n* 7.

Manāt, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 28 and *n* 1.

Manḍāgar,—or

Manḍāgarh, a town in the district of Āgra, 552 and *n* 12.

Mandākar, 552 *n* 12. See the above.
Mandalayer, a fortress on the western bank of the Chambal, 420 *n* 5.
Mandāwar, fortress of, 93 *n* 1, 233, 236.
Mandawī, name of a place, 326 *n* 2.
Mandilī, town of, 326 and *n* and *n* 2.
Mandir, town of, 455.
Mandlāer, town of, 420 *n* 5.
Mandla Gaṛh, one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bāndhū, 417 *n* 7.
Mandler, town of, 420 *n* 5, 422 *n* 2.
Mandrāyal, fortress of, 420 and *n* 5.
Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwā, 454.
Mandū, town of, 93 *n* 1, 472 and *n* 5. Called also Mandawar.
Mandūī (Mandilī), town of, 326 and *n* and *n* 2.
Mandūr, fort of, 93 and *n* 1.
Mandwar, town of, 93 *n* 1.
Manér, or Munér, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 82 and *n* 1.
Mangalāī, a Turkī word signifying advance-guard of an army, 592 *n* 5.
Māngaṛh, fortress of, 500 and *n* 8, 527 and *n* 2.
Mangburnī, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh,—the last of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, 91 and *n* 1.
Manghalāī, advance-guard of an army, 592 *n* 5.
Mangsāl, fort of, variously called Walaj and Bajj, 84 *n* 7.
Mangū Khān, nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.
Mangū Khān, infant son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
Mangūtah, the Mughūl, one of the Generals of Chingīz Khān, 126 *n* 1.
Mānī, Mīrzā, or Mīrzā Amānī (*q. v.*), a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and *n* 3.
Mānī Mālā, a treatise on gems, 631 *n*.
Manīḥ, one of the blank arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.
Manījeh,—or
Manīzha, daughter of Afrāsiyāb, one of the heroines of the *Shāh-nāma*, 116 *n* 5, 180 and *n* 2.
Mānik, Malik, a slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251.
Manik Deo, Rāi, the Rājā of Dholpūr, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 4.
Manikganj, pass of,—in Gujrāt, 313.
Mānikpūr, district and town on the Ganges, 221, 241, 243, 247 *n*, 325, 411 *n* 2, 415, 468.
Manikpūr, ford of, on the Ganges, 325.
Mankbarnin, for Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (*q. v.*), 91 *n* 1.
Māṅkoṭ, a fort in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.
Manoarpūr, town of, 93 *n* 1.
Manqabat, use of the word, 627 *n* 3.
Manqalāī, in Turkī the advance-guard of an army, 592 *n* 5.
Mān Singh, Governor of Gwāliār, 414 *n* 5, 432 and *n* 7. See under Rājā Mān.
Manṣūr, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 74 *n* 2.
Manṣūr, Saiyyid, one of the Generals of Amīr Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 46.
Manṣūr, son of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48,

Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ, of the dynasty of the Sāmānīs, the Kings of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 13 *n* 1, 14 and n 1, 16 and *n* 2.

Manṣūr ibn Sa'īd, Khwāja, 94.

Manṣūrah, or Al-Manṣūrah, old capital of Sindh, 36 and *n* 10.

Manṣūrpūr, town, 98, 330.

Manūchihr Shirwān Shāh, King of Khurāsān, patron of the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Manūchihrī Dāmaghānī, Ḥakīm Abu-n-Najm Aḥmad, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 46 and *n* 4.

Maqāmāt of 'Amīd Abū Naṣr, Al-Baihaqī's, 32 *n*.

Maqāmāt of Qāẓī Ḥamīd of Balkh, 76 *n* 1.

Maqāmāt of Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, surnamed Ganjbakhsh, 358.

Maqāmāt-i-Ḥarīrī, 348.

Maqbūl, Malik, 337 *n* 7. Same as Khān-i-Jahān Malik Qubūl the Vazīr, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

Mardhan Koṭ, or Bardhan Koṭ, a city of Tibet, 84 *n*.

Margan, a Turkī word signifying 'an archer,' 250 and *n* 6.

Marghūb, a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 444.

Marḥabā, Malik, slave of Iqbāl Khān Malloo of the Maliks of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 364.

Mārhara, township of, in the Doāb, 407 *n* 1. See also Mārhira.

Marhaṭ or Maharashtra, country of the Marhattas, 265 and *n* 4, 283.

Marhattas, the, 283.

Marhira,—or

Mārhira, town of, 123 and *n* 2. See under Mārhara.

Maria, sister of Martha and Lazarus, 198 *n* 2.

Mariam, the Mother of Jesus, 372 and *n* 1.

Mārī galah, fortress of, 46. Called also Mārīkala (*q. v.*).

Mārīkala, a frontier fort on the Jhilam river, 44 and *n* 6. Called also Mārkala and Mārī galah (*q. v.*).

Mārīkala, a pass between Rāwal Pindī and Attock, 44 *n* 6.

Mārkala, on the Jhilam, 44 *n* 6. See under the Mārīkala fort.

Markanda river, the, 330 *n* 7.

Mār Muhra, a mineral of an emerald colour, 117 *n* 4.

Mars, notes on the planet, 217 *n* 5.

Martha, sister of Maria and Lazarus, 198 *n* 2.

Martyr Prince, the, 188 *n* 2, 199 *n* 3. See the Khān-i-Shahīd Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-u-d-Dīn Balban.

Ma'rūf Farmalī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444.

Marv, a city of Khurāsān, 35. See under Merv.

Marwān, Malik, 335, 352. See under Marwān-i-Daulat.

Marwān ibnu-l-Ḥakam, a Khalīfah of the Umaiyyad dynasty, 59.

Marwān Daulat,—or

Marwān-i-Daulat, Maliku-sh-Sharq, Nāṣiru-l-Mulk Fīrūz Shāhī, Governor of Multān under Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.

Marwānī, Walīd ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik, the Umaiyyad Khalīfah, 12 and *n* 2.
Mārwār, the country of, 384 *n* 3, 465, 476, 562, 563.
Mashhad (Meshed), the holy city of, in Persia, 569, 573 and **n 3.**
Mashk, goat-skin bag for carrying water, 331 *n* 10.
Masīḥ, Christ, 267.
Masīḥu-d-Dajjāl, Antichrist, 490 *n* 5. See also the next.
Masīḥu-l-Kazzāb, Antichrist, 278 *n* 4. See also the above.
Māsik, constant as applied to the pulse, 532 *n* 7.
Masnad-i-'Ālī Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 352, **375**, 376. See under Khiẓr Khān Masnad-i-'Ālī.
Massagetæ, an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 *n* 1.
Mas'ūd Beg, metre of,—a kind of prosodical metre, 426.
Mas'ūd Khān Ghilzāī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Sher Shāh Sūr, 542, 544.
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, called by the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, 55 and *nn* 2 and 4.
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36 and *n* 9, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44 and *nn* 1 and 2, 45 and *nn* 2 and 3, 46, 47 *n* 2, 50, 53 and *n*, 54, 61 *n* 5.
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Maudūd ibn Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 49, **50** and **n 1.**
Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Jurjānī, known sometimes as Hamadānī, a famous poet of Jurjān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 52 and **n 5**, 54 and *n* 1, 60.
Mas'ūdī, the celebrated Arab Geographer and Historian, 157 *n* 1.
Matar Sen Kahtarīya, Rājā, the ruler of Sambhal at the time of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 545.
Mathew's *Miṣḥkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, 150 *n* 2, 200 *n*, 293 *n*, 302 *n* 2, 412 *n* 1, 509 *n* 3.
Mathī Khān,—or
Mathīn Khān, one of the courtiers of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 2.
Mathra, a sacred city of the Hindūs, 24 and **n 6.**
Maṭla'u-l-Anwār, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 270 and *n* 1.
Maudūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37, 43, 45 *n* 3, **46**, 47 and *n* 2, 48, 49, 50 and *n* 1.
Maulānā Baqā'ī, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.
Maulānā Ḥasan, one of the contemporaries of Shāh Bābar, 449.
Maulānā 'Imādu-d-Dīn, translator of the *Rājā-taranginī* into Persian, 8 *n* 3.
Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, one of the learned men of the time of Bābar, 449.
Ma'ūnat, a miracle performed by the ordinary believer, 626 *n*.
Māwarā an-Nahr,—or
Māwarāu-n-Nahr (Transoxiana), *the region beyond the river*, 15 and *n* 5, 20 and *n* 3, 27 *nn* 1 and **2**, 29 *n* 6, 37 *n* 7, 167 *n* 3, 250, 353, 448, 570 *n* 7, 632.

Mawās, a district in the Doāb, 386 *n* 5, 431 and *n* 4.

Mawās,—or

Mawāsāī, a place at seven *kroh*s from Badāon, 336 and *n* 1.

Mazār, signification of the word, 271 and *n* 3.

Mazdakīah, Al-, another name of the heretical Bāṭinī sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22 and *n* 3.

Maẓhar Karra, Maulānā, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and *n* 1.

Maẓharī, the poet, 341 *n* 1. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Maẓhar-i-Hindī, Qāẓī of Agra (? Karra), panegyrist of Fīrūz Shāh, 341 *n* 1. See the two above.

Māzindarān,—or

Māzinderān, a province of Persia, 32 *n* 1, 36 *n* 3.

McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 364 *n* 4.

Mecca. See under Makkah.

Medakī river, the, 419 *n* 6. Otherwise known as the Mendakī or the Asī.

Medes, the, 394 *n* 5.

Medical and Surgical Reporter, the, 586 *n*.

Medina, the City of the Prophet, 12 *n* 1, 75 *n*, 106 *n* 1, 149 *n*, 156 *n* 5, 158 *n* 1, 215 *n* 7, 279 *n*, 443, 480 *n* 1, 585 *n* 6, 600 *n* 9.

Medina and Mecca, Burton's *Pilgrimage to*, 97 *n* 4.

Mediterranean, the, 167 *n* 4.

Mehrān, the,—the river Indus, 36 *n* 10, 67 *n* 1.

Mehrgān, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and *n* 1.

Melancholia, *Mālīkhūliā*, definition of, 5 and *n* 3.

Memoir, Rennell's, 129 *n* 2, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3.

Memoirs of Bāber, Erskine's, 421 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6, 609 *n* 5.

Mendakī river, the,—in Gwāliār, 419 and *n* 6. Otherwise known as the Medakī or the Asī.

Mengbūrūn, origin of the name of Sulṭānī Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (*q. v.*), 91 *n* 1.

Meos, the, a tribe of the Rājpūts inhabiting the province of Mīwāt, 365 *n* 8.

Mercury, the planet, held to rule over intelligence, 630 *n* 3.

Merv, a city and province of Khurāsān, 16 *n* 2, 17 *n* 3, 22 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 3, 35, 38, 43 and *nn* 1 and 3, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 167 *n* 3.

Meshed (Mashhad), in Persia, 569, 573 and *n* 3.

Methora of Pliny, same as the town of Mathra (*q. v.*), 24 *n* 6.

Methoras of Arrian, same as the town of Mathra (*q. v.*), 24 *n* 6.

Mēvāt, district of, 129 *n* 2. See under Mīwāt.

Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 30 *n*, 35 *n* 2, 43 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 146 *n* 1, 50 *n* 2, 573 *n* 3.

Mhow, a town of Central India, 385 *n* 3.

Miāpūr, a ford on the Ganges, 131 and *n* 1.

Mich, 83. See under Mij.

Michael, the Archangel, 58 and *n* 3

Miftāḥ, the,—or

Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm, of Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkākī, 428 and n 2.
Miḥaffa, a kind of litter, 457 n 7.
Mihir, town of, 123 n 2. Called also Mārhira (*q. v.*).
Mihr, name of the sun, 166 n 1.
Mihr, an ancient king of the Persians, 166 n 1.
Mihrajān, Day of, 166 n 1. See under Mihrgān.
Mihrān, the, the river Indus, 36 n 10, 67 n 1.
Mihrgān, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and n 1.
Mihrgān, a great feast of the Persians, 166 n 1.
Mihrgān-i-'āmm, 166 n 1.
Mihrgān-i-khāṣṣ, 166 n 1.
Mij, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnautī, 83 and n 4, 84 n.
Mīl, the bodkin or style used for applying *kuḥl*, 153 n 8.
Milal wa-n-Niḥal, of ash-Shahrastānī, Cureton's edition, 22 n 3, 157 n 2.
Milwat, town of, 438 n 7. Called also Malot (*q. v.*).
Mīnas, a tribe of the Hindūs, 365 n 8.
Minhāju-s-Sirāj, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 88 n 1, 98 n 5, 122 n 3, 127 nn 1 and 2.
Mīr Abu-l-Baqā, one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 573.
Mīr 'Adl, an officer of justice under the *Ṣadr*, 546 n 7, 610 n.
Mīr Akhor, Master of the horse, 274 and n 5.
Mīr Ḥasan, son-in-law of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 398.
Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, a famous poet of Dihlī, contemporary of Mīr Khusrū, 115 n, 187, 189, 245, 269, 270 and n 6.
Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, contemporary of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, 449.
Mīr Khond, the Historian, contemporary of Humāyūn, 27 n 3, 450.
Mīr Khusrū, son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 and n 2, 99 and n 3, 184 and n 4. See under Khusrū.
Mīr Saiyyid Khān of Jaunpūr, 420 n 8.
Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, son of Mīr Saiyyid Khān, one of the great *walīs*, 420 and n 8, 508 and n 8.
Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, 546.
Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh Rusūlī, the poet, contemporary of Islām Shāh, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
Mīr Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.
Mīr Saiyyid Sharīf, a distinguished author, 560.
Mi'rāj, *or the Ascent*, nocturnal journey of Muḥammad to heaven, 105 n
Mīrak ibn Ḥasan, the Vakīl, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48, 49.
Mīrak, town of, 406 n 9.
Mīran, Amīr, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333 n 2.

Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arẓ-i-Mamālik, a *protégé* of the Mubāruk Shāhī family, 393, 394, 395, 397.

Mīrān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427.

Mīrat,—or

Mīrath, fortress of, 24 *n* 1, 345, 358 *n* 3, 359, 406, 597.

Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā, an historical work, 66 *n* 2.

Mīr-i-Kūs, Superintendent of Roads, 401.

Mīrzā Handāl,—or

Mirzā Hindāl, 453, 458, 459, 462, 464, 465, 559, 560, 567 and *n* 10, 574, 578, 579, 580, 586, 587.

Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574

Mīrzā Kāmrān, brother of Humāyūn, 453, 456, 462, 464, 465, 494, 500, 501, 502, 503, 567, 574, 578, 579, 580, 581 and *n* 3, 582 and *n* 7, 583 and n 3, 584 and *n* 3, 585, 586, 588, 606 *n* 3.

Mīrzā Murād, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, 576.

Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson of the great Amīr Timūr, King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355.

Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 560, 561, 562.

Mishk, or Musk, notes on, 172 *n* 2.

Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ, Mathew's, 58 *n* 3, 150 *n* 2, 191 *n* 5, 199 *n* 3, 200 *n*, 279 *n*, 292 *n* 6, 293 *n*, 302 *n* 2, 356 *n* 4, 412 *n* 1, 449 *n* 8, 509 *n* 3, 571 *n* 1, 585 *n* 10, 601 *n*, 603 *n* and *n* 5, 613 *n*, 625 *n* 5.

Miṣqāl, a weight for gold and silver and also a coin, 19 *n*, 25 and n 1.

Miṣqal,—or

Miṣqalat, shell for polishing, 620 and *n* 1.

Miṣrā', hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 *n* 4.

Mīwāt, district and town of, 129 and n 2, 134 and *n* 1, 135, 337, 346, 344 and *n* 7, 345, 350, 358, 359, 365 and n 8, 366 *n*, 375, 381, 385, 391, 398, 419, 447, 488, 489, 537.

Mīwātīs, the, 447.

Miyān 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, a Niyāzī Afghān who adopted the manners of a Mahdī, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.

Miyān Abu-l-Fatḥ of Thanesar,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.

Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī, Governor of Baiāna, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 518 and *n* 4, 519.

Miyān Bhoh, the Vazīr and chief of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 432, 435.

Miyān Ḥātim Sambalī or Sambhalī, a learned Doctor of Hindūstān, 428, 506, 545.

Miyān Ḥusain Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 435.

Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, one of the Chief 'Ulamā of the time of Islem Shāh, 506.

Miyān Kālī or Kāhī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 *n* 3. See under Kāhī.

Miyān Lādan, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427.

Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār, a learned doctor, 427.

Mīyān Shaikh Abu-l-Fatḥ, son of Shaikh-allahdīyah of Khairābād, contemporary of Badāonī, 546.

Miyān Tāusīn, the well-known musician, contemporary of 'Adlī, 557.

Mīyān Yaḥya Paran, one of the generals of Sikandar Sūr (*q. v*), 547.

Miyān Yaḥya Tūran, governor of Sambhal, one of the generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sūr (*q. v*), 545, 546.

Miyānī Afghāns, the, 554.

Mīzān, the constellation Libra, 142 *n* 2.

Modern Egyptians, Lane's, 177 *n* 4, 192 *n* 3, 412 *n* 1, 503 *n* 2.

Moghuls, the, 80, 103 *n* 3. See under the Mughūls.

Mongīr, town of, 458.

Mongol dynasty of China, the, 353 *n* 1.

Mongols, the. See under the Mughūls.

Monorpour, fortress of, 93 *n* 1.

Moon, Splitting of the, miracle performed by Muḥammad, 110 *n* 4.

Morādābād, in Rohilkund, 364 *n* 4.

Moradabad District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 *n* 5.

Moro, a peacock, 502 and *n* 3.

Mosambique, 454 *n* 7.

Moses of the Scriptures, 372 and *n* 3, 373 *n*.

Mosul, capital of Mesopotamia, 61 *n* 5, 394 *n* 5, 624 *n* 8.

Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarī, Khwāja,—one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 74 and n 1, 77 *n* 1, 80.

Mu'nllṭ, name of the seventh arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Mu'allaqāt, the,—seven well-known poems of the Jāhiliyat, 99 *n* 6, 109 *n* 4.

Mu'ammā, enigma, 456 *n* 7, 605 and n 8.

Mu'āwiyah, first Khalīfah of the House of Umaiyyah, 157 *n* 2, 158 *n*.

Mu'azzam, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 568.

Mu'azzin, the crier of the hour of prayer, 472 and n 6, 600 and n 9, 601 *n*.

Mubaiyyin, a book on the Ḥanīfite Theology, 450 and *n* 7.

Mubārak, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233.

Mubārakābād, a city on the Jamna, 393 and *n* 7.

Mubārak Kabīr, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 342 and *n* 1.

Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī 272, 273. See Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.

Mubārak Khān Auḥadī, of the Auḥadī family of Baiāna, 385.

Mubārak Khān, son of Bahādur Nāhir, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and *n* 5.

Mubārak Khān Lūhānī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409, 413 and *n* 12.

Mubārak Khān, son of Malik Rājū, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349.

Mubārak Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406 *n* 3.

Mubārak Kotwāl, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 398.

Mubārak of Nāgor, Shaikh, father of Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, 421, 516.

Mubārakpūr, 398.

Mubārak Qaranqal, Malik, assumes the title of Mubārak Shāh as ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and *n* 1.

Mubārak Shāh, son of Sulṭan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī. See under Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

Mubārak Shāh, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409.

Mubārak Shāh, son of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 10 *n* 2, 307, **381** and *n* 3, 382, 383, 384, 385 and *n* 3, 386, 387, 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, **394**, 395, 396, 398, 400 and *n*, 403.

Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, Qaranqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and *n* 1, 361, 363.

Mubārak Shāhī, an historical work by Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad Sirhindī, 10 *n* 2, **67** and **n 2**. See under *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Mubāriz Khān, one of the great Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 375.

Mubāriz, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 384.

Mubāriz Khān, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr, ascends the throne with the title of Muḥammad 'Ādil or more commonly 'Adlī, 495 and *n* 4, 535 and *nn* 6 and 7, **536**. See under 'Adlī.

Mubashir Chap, Islām Khān, the Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 344, **345**. See also under Islām Khān.

Mubashshir, one of the Sirdars of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273.

Mubīn, a commentary by Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn on the *Mubaiyyin* (*q. v.*), 450 and *n* 7.

Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī, Malik, governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and *n* 3, 337, **346**. See under Farḥatu-l-Mulk.

Mufīẓ, Al-,—the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, **369** *n* 1.

Muftī, a law officer who gives *fatwās* or legal decisions, 317 and *n* 6.

Mughailān, for *Ummu-ghailān*, a thorny tree, 550 and **n 1**, 624 *n* 1.

Mughaiyyir, variable as applied to the pulse, 533 *n*.

Mughals, the. See under the Mughūls.

Mughīrah ibn al-Aḥnaf Yezdibah or Yezdezbah, ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 *n* 3.

Mughīṣ of Hānsī, Qāẓī, one of the most learned men of the time of Sulṭān Jalāla-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Mughnī fī sharḥi-l-Mūjaz, Sadīdī's commentary on the *Mūjaz* in Medicine, 31 *n*, 320 *n*.

Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad, 486 *n* 6.

Mughulpūr, popular name of the town of Ghiyāṣpūr, 236.

Mughūls, the, 125 and *n* 3, 126 and *n* 1, 129 *n* 2, 132, 145 *n* 2, 186, **187**, 188, 190 *n* 2, 192, 196 and *n* 1, 205 *n* 2, 207, 220, 222, 236, 249, 250 and *n* 5, 251, 252, 254, 256, 258, 261, 264, 292, 293, 305 **n 3**, 323, 328, 335, 359, 365 *n* 8, 441, 454, 463, 464, 469, 471, 474, 486 *n* 6, 503, 543, 552,

556, 575 *n* 1, 592, 593 and *n* 9, 618 *n* 1.

Muhājirīn, the,—Meccan Muslims who emigrated with Muḥammad, 215, 216 *n*.

Muḥammad, the Prophet, 2 n 5, 3 *nn* 4 and 6, 4, 12 *n* 1, 18 *n* 1, 46 n 5, 57, 59 and *nn* 2 and 4, 74 *n* 2, 97 *n* 4, 105 and n 2, 106 *nn* 1 and 5, 110 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 111 *n*, 139 *n* 5, 147 *n* 3, 149 *n*, 156 *n* 5, 158 *n* 1, 194, 201 *n* 2, 207, 216 *n*, 254, 292 *n* 6, 303 *n* 4, 368 *n* 1, 369 *n* 3, 376, 412 *n* 1, 420 *n* 8, 446 *n* 5, 473, 474, 480, 488 *n* 5, 490 *n* 5, 505 *n* 6, 519 and *n* 4, 572, 577 *n*, 585 *n* 10, 589, 596, 602 *n* 7, 622 and *n* 3, 626 *n* 1, 627 and *n* 3, 631 *n* 1, 633, 636.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-llah ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 74 *n* 2.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 44.

Muḥammad 'Ādil, commonly known as 'Adlī, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 495, 536. See under Mubāriz Khān, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr and also under 'Adlī.

Muḥammad 'Ādil, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 274. See under Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh and also under *Malik* Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā.

Muḥammad 'Aufī, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and *Taẕkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*, 220. See Muḥammad Ūfī.

Muḥammad 'Azīz, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 and *n* 1.

Muḥammad of Badāon, Saiyyid, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 335 and *n* 6.

Muḥammad Bahādur, Sulṭān of Kor, 556 and *n* 3. See Khiẓr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria.

Muḥammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī, Malik, one of the Generals and slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 81 and *n* 2, 82, 83 and *nn* 2 and 3, 84 and *n*, 85 and *n* 1, 86. See the next.

Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khiljī, Malik, 81 *n* 2. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Muḥammad Bāqī Majlisī, author of the *Ḥayātu-l-Qulūb*, 110 *n* 3.

Muḥammad, son of Bihār Khān, Sulṭān of Qanauj and the eastern districts, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 443. Same as the next (*q v*).

Muḥammad, son of Daryā Khān Lūhānī, Sulṭān of Bihār, originally called Bihār Khān or Bahādur Khān, 435 and *n* 7, 436, 468, 469. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Muḥammad Farmalī, Shaikh, known as Kālā Bhār, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 411 *n* 2, 413 *n* 13, 414.

Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwāliār, Shaikh, contemporary of Bābar, 445, 459.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 190 n 2, 205 and *n* 2, 213. Called the Khān-i-Buzurg, the Khān-i-Ghāzī, the Khān-i-Shahīd and Qāān-i-Mulk.

Muḥammad Ghorī, popular name of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, who is also known as Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghorī, 65 *n* 2.

Muḥammad Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan, the famous jurisconsult, 30 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān, Mīrzā, —the poet known as Ẓarīf, 582 *n*.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā, son of Bābar, 439, 443, 444, 445. See under Humāyūn.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādishāh, Emperor of Hindūstān, 450, 451, 453, 454, 472, 500, 503, 529, 559, 596, 608 and *n* 5. See the above and also under Humāyūn.

Muḥammad, son of Ildighiz and his successor as Atābak of Āẕarbaijān, 158 *n* 3.

Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, ruler of Baiāna, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 386, 387 and *n* 4.

Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324, 336, 337. See Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, and also Muḥammad Shāh.

Muḥammad Khān Gauria, the ruler of Kor, contemporary of 'Adlī, 555, 556.

Muḥammad Khān Kūkī, Ḥājī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 586.

Muḥammad Khān of Nāgor, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 423 and *n* 11.

Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 423, 424 and *n* 6.

Muḥammad Khān Sēlū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 7, 619.

Muḥammad Khān Sharafu-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū, *Vazīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā of Khurāsān, 569 and *n* 6.

Muḥammad Khān Sūr, assumes the title of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn as governor of Bangāla, 552.

Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, 468, 469.

Muḥammad Khān Taklū, *Vazīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān, 569 and *n* 6.

Muḥammad Khān, son of Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under the Saiyyid dynasty, 397.

Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, Sulṭān, of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty of Khurāsān, 71 and *n* 7.

Muḥammad Lodī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 *n* 1. See also under Maḥmūd Lodī.

Muḥammad, younger son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33, 34, 44, 45 and *nn* 2 and 3, 46, 47 *n* 3.

Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd, the Khalj, feudatory of Kushmandī, uncle of Muḥammad Bakhtyār, 81 *n* 2.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 and *n* 1.

Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 351.

Muḥammad pur 'Azīz, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Qandahārī, Ḥājī, the Historian, 300 *n* 3.

Muḥammad ibn Qāsim aṣ-Ṣaqafī, the conqueror and first governor of Sind, 11 and *n* 3, 12 *n* 2, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 136 *n* 6.

Muḥammad ibnū-l-Qāsim ibnu-l-Munabbih, governor of Sindh, 36 *n* 10.

Muḥammad Sām, founder of the Ghorī dynasty of India, 10 *n* 2, 74, 75, 89. See Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām.

Muḥammad Shāh, Mīr, leader of a band of robbers in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 262, 263.

Muḥammad Shāh, of the Mughal dynasty of Dihlī, 25 *n* 5.

Muḥammad Shāh I., son of Aḥmad Shāh, Sulṭān of Gujarāt, 357 *n* 3.

Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Farīd Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 395, 397, 398, 399 and *n* 7.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 337, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345 and *nn* 2 and 3, 346. See under Muḥammad Khān.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Sharqī, Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, 403 and *n* 8, 404 and *n* and *n* 2.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 *n* 1. See also under Maḥmūd.

Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 437, 438, 440, 444, 458, 462, 463, 464, 574.

Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, 87 *n* 1, 269 *n* 5, 271 and *n* 6. See the next.

Muḥammad, son of Tughlaq Shāh, the second of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 290, 297 *n*, 301, 309, 315, 318, 321, 322, 323 and *n* 3, 327, 329 *n* 2, 331. See under Muḥammad 'Ādil and also under Ulugh Khān.

Muḥammad Turtāq, the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and n 10, 252 and *n* 2.

Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv, author of a *Tazkira*, 33 and *n* 1. See Muḥammad 'Aufī.

Muḥammad Yaḥya, 602.

Muḥammad Yamīn, Sulṭān, the ruler of Khurāsān, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Yarqharī, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afghān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 445.

Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, contemporary of Humāyūn, 451, 452, 456, 458, 461.

Muḥammadābād, the town of Nagarkoṭ, 331.

Muḥammadābād, a city built by Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, 346, 347.

Muḥammadans, the, 271 *n* 6, 302 *n* 2, 412 *n* 1, 415 *n*, 445 *n* 6, 488 *n* 5, 523 *n* 5, 635 *n* 6. See also under the Mahometans and the Muslims.

Muhamra, for Mutmara. *See* Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and *n* 2.

Muhar or *Muhur*, a coin, 306 and *n* 1.

Muḥarram, annual ceremonies of the, 623 and *n* 1.

Muhaẕẕab,—or

Muhaẕẕabu-d-Dīn Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, Khwājā, Wazīr of Sulṭān Raẓẓiyah, 120, 123 *n* 3, 124.

Muhra-i-Mār, the Bezoar stone called in Arabic *Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah*, 117 *n* 4.

Muhur or *Muhar*, a coin, 306 and *n* 1

Muīd Jājarmī, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Mu'īd of Tarkhān, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 *n* 1.

Mu'īn Wāiẓ, Maulānā, 590.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī, Khwājā, a famous saint, 70 and *n* 2. See under Mu'īnu-l-Ḥaqq.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, Khwājā, 70 *n* 2. See the above.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn, Shaikh, grandson of Maulānā Mu'īn Wāiẓ, Qāẓī of Lāhor under Humāyūn, 590.

Mu'īnu-l-Ḥaqq wa-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, Khwājā, 430. Same as Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī, (*q. v.*).

Mu'īnu-l-Mulk Mīrān Ṣadr, 395. See under Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arẓ-i-Mamālik.

Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, 97 *n* 4, 105 *n* 2, 149 *n*, 216 *n*.

Mu'izzī palace, the Kīlūgharī palace (*q. v.*), on the banks of the Jumna, 231.

Mu'izzī Sulṭāns, those of the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām who attained sovereignty, 87 *n* 5.

Mu'izziyeh Kings, the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 87, 90.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Ḥāriṣ Sinjar, 55 *n* 3. See under Sinjar.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, **121** and *n* 4, 122, 123 and *n* 2, **124**, 186.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, **220** and *n* 2, 221 and *n* 3, 222, 223 and *n* 1, 224, 226, 227, **228** and **n 4**, 229, 245. See also under Kaiqubād.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, well-known under the title of Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 10 *n* 2, 63, **64** and *n* 3, **65** and **n 2**, 66 *n* 2, 67 and *n*, 69, 71, **72**, 73 and **n 2**, 74, 75, 76, 77 and *nn* 1 and 3, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83 *n* 3, 85, 86, 89, 90.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Tughral, Governor of Lakhnautī, 186. See under Tughral.

Mujāhid Khān, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 557.

Mu'jamu-l-Buldān of Yāqūt, a Geographical Dictionary, 8 *n* 2, 263 *n*, 476 *n* 5.

Mujawwaf, hollow or weak, 301 and *n* 1.

Mūjaz, a work on medicine, 5 *n* 3, 31 *n*. See under *al-Mughnī*.

Mujīl, the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Mujīru-d-Dīn Abūrijā, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.

Mu'jizah, a miracle performed by a prophet, 626 *n*.

Mujtahid, highest title among Muslim divines, 636 *n* 2.

Mujtaṣ-i-muṣamman, a kind of metre, 607 *n*.

Mukābir, a stubborn disputant, 614 and *n* 6.

Mukhālafat, opposition, 576 *n* 5.

Mukhliṣ, a servant of Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār (*q. v.*), 308.

Mukhliṣ Khān, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 386 and *n* 7.

Mukhtaṣar, of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, 428 *n* 3.

Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 386 and *n* 7.

Mulāḥidah, the, a sect of Muslim heretics, 73 *n* 2. See the next.

Mulḥidah, the, another name of the Bāṭinī sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22 *n* 3. See the above.

Mullā Muḥammad 'Azīz, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 and *n* 1.

Mulmul, the bodkin or style for applying *kuḥl*, 153 *n* 8.

Multān, **12**, 19 and *n* 5, 20 and *n* 4, 21, 28, 29, 44, 60, 66 and *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 69, 79 *n* 3, 80 and *n* 1, 87, 90, 95, 98 and *n* 2, 120 and *n* 8, 128 and *n* 1, 129, 130, 132, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 187, 188, 189 *n* 1, 190 *n* 2, 197, 198, 199, 208, 213, 217, 219, 220 and *n* 2, 221, 222, 226, 229, 232, 233, 236, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 4, **248**, 249, 252, 284, 292, 293, 297, 298, 304, 328, 335, 343, 352, 353 and *n* 8, 355, 358, 362, 363, 376, 387, 388, 389 and *nn* 2 and 4, 390, 392, 398, 399, 402, 427, 464, 543.

Multān river, the, 29.

Multānīs, the, 304.

Mūminpūr, fort of, otherwise called Patiālī, on the Ganges, 218.

Munēr, town of, 82 and *n* 1. Also written Manēr.

Mun'im Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn, 562, 565, 567 and *n* 2, 591.

Munṣif, one of the high officers of the State, 497.

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Badāonī, 11 and *n* 1, 332, 442, 447, 473, 497, 545, 579, 610, 632.

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Haran ibn Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shīrāzī, 11 *n* 1.

Muqaddasa, a title of the town of Ij, 476.

Muqaddasī, the Arab Geographer, 217 *n* 2.

Muqaddamzāda, a slave born in the house, 334 and *n* 1.

Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul, 501.

Muqām-i-Salmān, in the desert of Arzhan between Bushire and Shīrāz, 572 *n* 1.

Muqarrab Khān, title of Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, **348** and *n* 7, 349, 350 and *n* 3, 351, 354.

Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, Malik, 346, **348**. See the above.

Muqbil, the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahān *nāib-i-Vazīr* of Gujrāt, 313 *n*.

Muqbil Khān, Malik, one of the retainers of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 386.

Muqīm Harawī, Khwāja, Dīvān of the household of Bābar, 9 *n*, 63 *n*.

Muqṭi', holder of a *qiṭ'*, 396 *n* 2.

Murād, Shāh, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, **576**.

Murajjab, Al-,—a title of the month of Rajab, 441 *n* 2.

Murṣad, son of Shaddād ibn 'Ād, a king of the ancient Arabs, 263 *n*.

Murtaẓā, *the chosen*, a title of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 74, 629 and *n* 5.

Mūsā al-Hādī, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 75 *n*.

Muṣ'ab, a traditionist, 18 *n* 1.

Musbal, name of the sixth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Muṣḥaf, meanings of the word, 615 *n* 5.

Mushtarik of Yāqūt, a Geographical work, 15 *n* 5.

Musk, notes on, 172 *n* 2.

Muṣla sākhtan, meaning of the expression, 296 *n* 2.

Muslim ibnu-l-Walīd, a poet of the Court of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 *n* 2.

Muslim theologians, 614 *n* 2.

Muslims, the, 83, 120, 143 *n* 3, 150 *n* 4, 176 *n*, 191 and *n* 3, 194 and *nn* 4 and 5, 204, 235, 256 *n* 4, 361, 368 *n* 1, 377, 385 *n* 3, 387, 393, 395, 428 *n* 4, 432, 477, 483, 509 *n* 5, 514, 522 and *n* 5, 550, 565 and *n* 1, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*, 600 *n* 9, 602 *n* 7, 603 *n* 6, 625 *n* 5, 626 and *n* 6, 636 *n* 2. See also under the Muḥammadans and the Mahometans.

Muṣṭafā, the Prophet Muḥammad, 59, 74, 475.

Muṣṭafā Farmalī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindūstān, 444.

Muṣṭafaābād, *pargana* of, 596.

Mustakfī bi-llāhi Abu-r-Rabī' Sulaimān, third of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 *n* 6.

Mustanṣir billāh, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah of Baghdād, 88 *n* 3, 94 *n* 2, 311 *n* 4.

Mustung, village in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Mutaraffiż-i-ghālī, a fanatical heretic, 626 and *n* 4.

Mu'taṣim billāh, eighth Khalīfah of the House of 'Abbās, 571 *n* 2.

Muṭawwal of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, 428 and *n* 3.

Mu'tażid bi-llāhi Abū Bakr ibnu-l-Mustakfī bi-llāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 *n* 6.

Muthra or Mâhurâ, a sacred town of the Hindūs, 24 *n* 6.

Mutmara. See Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the Poet.

Muttra, District of, 134 *n* 1, 366 *n*.

Muttra, town of, in the Doāb, 377 *n* 6.

Muwazzinī, Maulā Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 2.

Mu'yad Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574.

Muẓaffar, Malik, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Muẓaffar Khān, nephew of Shaikh 'Alī ruler of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.

Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 363 *n* 2.

Muẓaffarnagar District, 378 *n* 1.

Mu'zam, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 566.

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Nabadwīp, another name of Nadiya, old capital of Bengal, 82 *n* 4.

Nabīh, of the tribe of Quraish, killed at the battle of Badr, 74 *n* 2.

Nadar Dev, Rāi, Governor of Arankal under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 and *n* 4.

Nadīm, foster-brother of Humāyūn, 564 and *nn* 8 and 9.

Nādirī-i-Samarqandī, Maulānā, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 611, 612, 613, 616 and *n* 2.

Nadiya, once the capital of Bengal, 81 *n* 2, 82 *n* 4 Called also Nūdiyā.

Nafaḥātu-l-Uns of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 270 and *n* 4, 609 *n* 5

Nafā'isu-l-Ma'āṣir, Lives of the Poets, 616 *n* 4, 618 *n* 5.

Nāfis, name of the fourth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Nafs, the soul, 144 *n* 2, 145 *n* 1.

Nafsu-l-'Aql, the reason or discriminating faculty, 145 *n* 1.

Nafsu-l-Ḥayāt, the breath of life, 145 *n* 1.

Nafsu-n-Nāṭiqah, the reasoning faculty, 145 *n* 1.

Nagar Cott, fortress of, 20 *n* 5. See Nagar Koṭ.

Nagar Koṭ, fortress of, 20 n 5, 331, 341, 342, 495. Also called Bhīmnagar and Kot Kangra.

Nagaur,—or

Nāgor, city of, 124, 129, 130, 251, 357 *n* 3, 379 and *n* 1, 423, 425, 477, 563.

Nahar Pāl, nephew of Hīmūn Baqqāl, the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 553 *nn* 5 and 6.

Naharwālā, a city of Gujrāt, called also Patan or Pattan, 28 and *n* 2, 71 and n 3, 89, 256 and *n* 4. 282.

Nāhīd, name of the planet Venus in Persian, 138 and *n* 3.

Nāhir, a Hindū General in the service of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and *n* 9.

Naḥsān, Mars and Saturn as the two stars of ill omen, 217 *n* 5.

Naḥv (Tuḥfa) Tāju-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and *n* 2.

Nāi, fortress of, 53 *n*, 54 *nn* 1 and 3.

Nāib of the barīds, 286 *n* 1.

Nāib-i-Shāhzāda, Malik Sadhū Nādir (*q. v.*), 378.

Nāib Malik,—or

Nāibu-l-Mulk Kāfūr, title of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and *n* 7, 252, 256, 265 and *nn* 1 and 6, 267, 268, 271 *n* 6, 272, 273 and *n* 1. Called also Hazār Dīnārī.

Nails, Paring of, 139 *n* 5.

Narīmān, one of the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*, 35 *n* 2, 72.

Naisān or Nīsān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 *n* 4.

Najam-i-Ṣānī. See Najm-i-Ṣānī.

Najātu-r-Rashīd of Badāonī, 511 and n 2, 609 and n 3.

Najm, An-, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.

Najm Shāh, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570.

Najm-i-Awwal, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 and *n* 5.

Najm-i-Ṣānī Iṣfahānī, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 *n* 5.

Najmu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, regent of Malik Sikandar of Lāhor (*q. v.*), 390.

Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, the Ṣadru-l-Mulk, *Wazīr* of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 124.

Najmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, Shaikh, 270 *n* 6. Same as the famous poet Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī (*q. v.*)

Najmu-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, author of the *Shamsīyah*, 427 *n* 1.

Nakhshab, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 570. Otherwise called Kash.

Nāma-i-Khirad Afzā of Badāonī, 95 and *n* 6.

Na'mat Khātūn, wife of Quṭb Khān Lodī (*q. v.*), 423 and *n* 2.

Na'mat Rusūlī,—or

Na'matu-llāh Rusūlī, Mīr Saiyyid, one of the poets and learned men of the time of Islem Shāh Sūr, 533 and *n* 7, 534 and *n* 4.

Nāmī, son of Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 47 and *n* 3.

Nandā, the Rājā of Kālinjar, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 25, 26.

Nandana, a city on the mountains of Bālnāth, 22 and *n* 5, 128 and *n* 3.

Nandanpour, 128 *n* 3. Same as Nandana (*q. v.*).

Naqīr, the small groove on the date stone, 496 *n* 10.

Naqqāra, a kind of drums, 143 *n* 2.

Naqsh, ornamental figures, 588 *n* 4.

Naqshband, a weaver of *Kamkhāb* adorned with figures, 588 *n* 4.

Naqshband, Khwājā Bahāu-d-Dīn, of Bokhārā, a famous saint, 588 *n* 4.

Naqshbandī, Khwājā Khāwind, contemporary of Bābar, 446.

Naqshbandī School, the, 588 *n* 4.

Naqshbandī Shaikhs, the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā, 588 *n* 4.

Narain, town of, on the banks of the river Sarsutī, 69 and *n* 4.

Nāran-Koe, town of, 85 *n* 4.

Narbadā river, the, 517 *n* 9.

Narcissus, notes on, 373 and *n* 3.

Nārdīn, a perfume, 146 *n* 6.

Narela, a place in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 21 *n* 4.

Nargis or *Narjis*, the poet's narcissus, 373 *n* 3.

Nārkīla, town of, 186 and *n* 4.

Narma Shīrīn, the Mughal, brother of Qutlugh Khwāja (*q. v.*), 305.

Nārnālī, District of, 85 and *n* 4.

Narnaul, in the province of Mīwāt, 365 *n* 8. See the two next.

Narnol, capital city of the district of Mīwāt, 129 *n* 2, 365 and *n* 8, 395, 466.

Nārnūl, district and town of, 365, 466. See the two above.

Narsingh, Rāi, 361 *n* 2. See Rāi Harsingh.

Nārwan, the tree called *Gulnār*, 172 and n 3.

Narwar, fortress of, a dependency of Mālwa, 129 *n* 4, 130 and n 1, 422 and *nn* 3 and 5.

Narwar, Sarkār of, 130 *n* 1.

Nasaf, a town of Khurāsān, called also Nakhshab, 570 *n* 7.

Na'sh La'āzar, the Chariot or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear, 198 *n* 2.

Naṣīb Khān Ṭughūchī,—or

Naṣīb Khān Ṭughūjī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542, 593.

Naṣīb Shāh, Governor of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Shāh and Humāyūn, 457.

Naṣībīn, a town of Mesopotamia, 61 *n* 5.

Nāsikhu-t-Tawārikh of Lisānu-l-Mulk, 154 *n* 8.

Naṣīr Khān Afghān, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 592.

Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434, 444, 446 and *n* 1.

Naṣīrābād, in the Jodhpur State, Rājputānā, 379 *n* 1.

Nāṣirī, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 92.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Abu-l-Khair 'Abdu-llah Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī, 6 *n* 4. See under Baiẓāwī.

Naṣīru-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, Shaikh, surnamed Ganjbakhsh, 357 *n* 3.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 135 and *n* and **n 1, 186,** 187, 218, 219, 220 *n* 2, 221 *n* 3, 222, 223 and *n* 1, 224.

Naṣīru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, 219 *n* 1. See Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān.

Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, Shaikh, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 322, 323.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 74 *n* 1.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ismā'īl Fatḥ, Sulṭān, 314. See Ismā'īl Fatḥ.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān, the favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 290. See Khusrū Khān Ḥasan Barāwar bacha.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sulṭān, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd I., Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 91, 126 *n* 3.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd II., Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, of the Slave dynasty, 124, 125, **126** and **n 3,** 127 and **n 1, 134,** 135 *n* and *n* 1, 136, 139, 187.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh, of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 348, 350 *n* 3. See under Maḥmūd Shāh.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, Sulṭān, contemporary of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 423, 424.

Nāṣiru d-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī, 451, **559.** See under Humāyūn.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324, 337. See under Muḥammad Shāh.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shah, Sulṭān, 361. See Tātār Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Malik, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 87 and *n* 2.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchah, Sulṭān of Sind, one of the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 79 and *n* 3, 80, 88 and *n* 1, 90 and *n* 2.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94. See under Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Subuktigīn, ruler of Kābul and founder of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 13 and n 1, 14 and *n* 1, 15.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ṭūsī, Khwāja, a celebrated mathematician and Shī'ah divine, 577 *n*.

Nāṣiru-l-Ḥaqq, a title of kings, 161.

Naṣīru-l-Mulk 'Ādil Khān, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 354.

Nasr-i- Ṭā'ir, the constellation Eagle, 321 and *n* 3.

Nasrain-i-falak, the constellations Eagle and Lyre, 630 *n* 1.

Nuṣrat Khān, 129 *n* 2. See Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān and grandson of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh.

Naṣrat Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī.

Naṣru-llāh of Bangāla, Shaikh, uncle of Shaikh 'Alāī of Baiāna, 507.

Nāth, one of the Chiefs of Hind under Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 *n* 9.

Naubat, music played daily by a band at stated hours, 498 and n 3.

Nauroz, the greatest feast among the Persians, 166 *n* 1.

Naushahr, a name of the town of Jhāīn (*q. v.*), 257.

Naushahra, the town of Nowshera, 465 and *n* 2.

Naushirwān, Chosroes I., son of Kobad, King of Persia of the Sassanide dynasty, 46 and n 5, 162.

Nawāfil, voluntary prayers, 488 *n* 7.

Nawār wife of al-Farazdaq, the famous Arab poet, 287 *n* 2.

Nawāsa, a name of Sūkhpāl, the grandson of Jaipāl, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20 *n* 4.

Naẓar Shaikh Jūlī or Juma'ālī, one of the court officers of Humāyūn, 601 and *n* 3.

Nazarenes, the, 207.

Nāẓimu-d-Dīn, Maulānā, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shah, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 482 and *n* 3.

Nāzukī Marāghī, the Poet, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 75.

Nebula of the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.

Nehroāla, a city of Gujrāt, 28 *n* 2. Same as Naharwāla (*q. v.*).

Nellore (Nilāwar), town of, 265 *n* 5.

Nerimân le Pehlevân, 35 *n* 2. See under Narīmān.

Newa Kishore Press, 487 *n* 6.

Ney, Marshal, 157 *n* 2.

Ney Elias, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 305, 464 *n* 8. See under Elias and Ross.

Nijim Sani (Najm-i-Ṣānī) Iṣfahānī, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 *n* 5.

Nikāḥ, marriage contract, 522 and *n* 5.

Nilāwar (Nellore), town of, 265 *n* 5.

Nile, the, 210.

Nīm tree (*Melia azadirachta*), 129 *n* 2.

Nimak, meanings of the word, 493 *n* 2.

Ni'matu-llah of Baiāna, Saiyyid, one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 424.

Nimrod, 154 *n* 8, 207, 234. See also under Nimrūd.

Nīmroz, territory of, 13 *n* 1, 29.

Nimrūd, 155 *n*, 176. See also under Nimrod.

Nīsān or Naisān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 *n* 4.

Niẓārī Tūnī, a celebrated Persian poet, 622.

Nīsāpur,—or

Nīshāpūr, a town of Khurāsān, 16 *n* 2, 34, 36, 42 and *n* 1, 43 *n* 1, 50 *n* 2, 54 *n* 1, 633.

Nīshtar, a lancet, 504.

Nīṭas, Sea of,—the Black Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Niwār, 495 *n*.

Niyāl Tigīn Amīr Aḥmad, treasurer of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and *nn* 6, 8 and 9.

Niyāzī Afghāns, the, 492, 493, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 508, 518, 520, 525.

Niẓām, a governor, one who orders and directs, 612 *n* 1.

Niẓām, the water-carrier who rescued Humāyūn from drowning, 461 and *n* 3.

Niẓām, a youth mentioned in the poetry of Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandī (*q. v.*), 611.

Niẓām's dominions, the, 299 *n* 3.

Niẓām Astarābādī, a master in astronomical poetry, 621, 626.

Niẓām Khān of Baiāna, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī family, 443, 445.

Niẓām Khān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, afterwards Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411.

Niẓām Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr and full brother of Shīr Shāh, 467 *n* 5, 468, 495 and *n* 4.

Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 and *n* 3, 635, 636. See also under Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī.

Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of the Dakkan, 533 *n* 6.

Niẓāmī, *nom de plume* of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 10, 45 and *n* 1.

Niẓāmī,—or

Niẓāmī Ganjawī, Shaikh, the famous Persian poet, 96 *n* 1, 114 *n* 2, 174 *nn* 2 and 3, 269 *n* 5, 298 and n 4.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn, Malik, nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī (*q. v.*), 220 and *n* 3.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, father of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Khwāja Muqīm Harawī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 9 n 2, 10 *n*, 45 *n* 1, 62, 63 *n*, 569 *n* 6, 580 *n* 5, 585 *n* 7.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf al-Muṭarrazī, name of the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 298 *n* 4.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa, Malik, Wazīr of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220, 221, 222, 224. See also under Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, son of Aḥmad Dānyāl,—the Prince of Holy men, 71 *n* 2, 236 and **n 2**, 266 and **n 1**, 267, 269 *n* 5, 270 and *n* 6, 271 *nn* 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and *n* 4, 611 *n*.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Beghū Malik Shāh, the Turkomān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 39.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, 41. See under Malik Shāh Saljūqī.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn of Oudh, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.

Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, 236 and *n* 2. Same as Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā (*q. v.*).

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, Wazīr of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 222, 224, 226, 230 *n* 1. See also under Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī, King of the Dakkan, 533, 534, 625 and *n* 3. See also under Niẓām Shāh.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Ḥusain, son of Amīr Mīran, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333 and *n* 2.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Jandī (Junaidī), Wazīr of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 90, 98, 119, 120.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Jundī (Junaidī), 120. See the above.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk of Karra, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhaẓẓabu-d-Dīn, Wazīr of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 120, 122, 123 and *n* 3, 124.

Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Baiẓāwī, 10 *n* 3, 24 *n* 7, 51.

Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, more commonly known as the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 10 and *n* 3.

Noah of the Scriptures, 61 *n* 5, 154 *n* 2, 198 *n* 1.

Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe*, 99 *n* 6.

North-Western Provinces of India, 218 *n* 3, 377 *n* 3, 410 *n* 4, 486 *n* 6, 546 *nn* 3, 4 and 5.

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Noshāba or Nūshāba, image of, 331, 332 *n*.

Nowshera (Naushahra), town of, 465 and *n* 2.

Nūda Bahādur Shāh, Governor of Sunār Gānw, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 300.

Nūdiā,—or

Nūdiyā, old capital of Bengal, 82 and *n* 4. Called also Nadiya (*q. v.*).

Nūh and Patal, name of a place, 359. See also under Nūh Patal.

Nūḥ ibn Lamak, Noah of the Scriptures, 154 and *n* 2, 556. See also under Noah.

Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmānī, of the dynasty of the Sāmānīs, the kings of Khorāsān and Transoxiana, 14 **n 1**, 15 and *n* 4.

Nūh Patal, a ford on the river Jamna, 386. See also Nūh and Patal.

Nuh Sipihr, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 273 *n* 3, 274 *n* 1.

Nūhānī, for Lūhānī (*q. v.*), 413 *n* 3.

Nūhānī Afghāns of Baiāna, 549.

Nūkhānī, for Lūhānī (*q. v.*), 413 and *nn* 3 and 12.

Nukhbatu-d-Dahr of Dimashqī, 147 *n* 3.

Numbers, the Book of, 302 *n* 2.

Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, Mullā, 32 *n* 2, 272 n1. See under Jāmī.

Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv, 33 *n* 1. See under Muḥammad Ūfī.

Nūshāba or Noshāba, image of, 331, 332 *n*.

Nuṣrat Jalīsarī, Malik, 247. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī.

Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh.

Nuṣrat Khān, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 364 and *n* 1, 390, 391.

Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 248, 249, 254, 256, 258.

Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz, 364. See under Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz.

Nuṣrat Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 446 *n* 1. See under Naṣīr Khān.

Nuṣrat Khān Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 and *n* 1, 376.

Nuṣrat Khūkhar, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 358 *n* 6.

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Onyx, notes on, 147 *n* 3.

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Oxyartes, father of Roxana, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 *n* 10.

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Pābandh Khabrak,—or

Pābandh Khazak, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 495 and *n* 5.

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Padmāwatī, name of a place, 329.

Pādzahr, the Bezoar stone, called *Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah*, 118 *n*.

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Pāk Patan,—or

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Panj Bhaiya, *or the five brothers*, Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 544, 547.

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Panj Ganj, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 269 *n* 5.

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Parak, the star Canopus, 152 *n* 6.

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Parama Dev, one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 29 *n*.

Parbatī, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 *n* 3.

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Parshādar, for Parshāwar (*q. v.*), 591 n 4.

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Parshāwara, original name of the town of Peshāwar, 48 *n* 5.

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Patal, a mat, 618 *n* 2.

Patan or Pattan, a city of Gujerāt, anciently called Naharwāla, 28 and n 2, 71 and *n* 3.

Patan-i-Panjāb, the same as Pāk Patan or Ajūdhan, 133 *n*, 520.

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Pathūrā, Rāi, Governor of Ajmīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 69, 70, 257 and *n* 3.

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Patna, for the town of Thatta, 408 *n* 7.

Patta, name of a place, 416 *n* 6.

Pattan or Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 and n 2, 71 and *n* 3.

Pattan of the Panjāb, the same as Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan, 520 and *n* 2.

Pātur or *Pātar*, a dancing girl, 332 *n* 5, 496 and *n* 4.

Pātur bāzī, a kind of entertainment, 332 and *n* 5.

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Pindār Khiljī, Malik, called Qadr Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.

Pingal, the Science of Music, 332 and *n* 4.

Pingala,—or

Pingalanāga, the inventor of Hindū Prosody, 332 *n* 4.

Pīr Muḥammad, Mīrzā, grandson of the great Tīmūr, King of Khurāsan and Māwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355, 358 *n* 6.

Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581, 582.

Pīr Roshan, name of Bāyazīd Anṣārī, founder of a Ṣūfī sect, 58 *n* 5.

Pīrāhā, a ford on the river Ganges, 377 and *n* 1.

Pīrān, one of the companions of Afrāsyāb, in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausī, 180 *n* 2.

Pīrey, Governor of Ghaznīn, 14 *n* 1.

Pisæus, the Tyrrhenian, inventor of the *rostrum*, 29 *n* 5.

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Ponī, town of, 384 *n* 1.

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Pufak or *Tufak*, a long tube for throwing balls, 159 *n* 2.
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Pushkāl, the rainy season in Turkī, 325 *n* 2.
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Qāān, title originally given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 *n* 2.
Qāān-i-Mulk, title of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 189 and *n* 1, 217.
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Qabaq, a gourd in Turkī, 621 *n* 4, 622 and *n* 1.
Qabaq andāzī, the game of, 621 *n* 5. See the next.
Qabaq bāzī, a game of the ancient Turkomāns, who used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, 621 *n* 4. See also the above.
Qabūl, Malik, Governor of Badāon under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.
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Qabūlpūra, a quarter of Badāon, 335.
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Qādir Khān, the son of Maḥmūd Khān of Kālpī, one of the Amīrs of the Fīroz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 375, 386.
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Qadr Khān, Malik Pindār Khiljī, the ruler of Lakhnautī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.

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Qā'im, Al- —, the promised Mahdī, 571 *n* 2.

Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 and *n* 4.

Qaiṣar or Cæsar, 145 and *n* 2.

Qaizurān, probably al-Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 *n* 1.

Qalandars, a sect of derveshes, 234, 235.

Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, 230.

Qālīj, a sword in Turkī, 230 and *n* 4.

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Qamaru-d-Dīn Qirān-i-Tīmūr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah dynasty of Dihlī, 125 *n* 4.

Qambar Dīwāna, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 597, 598, 599, **600**.

Qamurgha, a hunting ground in Turkī, 258 *n* 5.

Qāmūs, the Arabic Dictionary of Fīrūzābādī, 176 *n* 1, 182 *n* 4.

Qanaj. Same as the town of Qanauj (*q. v.*).

Qanauj or Qanaj, the Hindū capital of Northern India, 23 and *nn* 2 and 4, 24, 25 *n* 4, 70, 114 *n* 2, 125, 312, 329 *n* 2, 346, 347, 348. 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 404 and *n* 5, 409, 413, 431 and *n* 4, 434, 443, 444, 452, 463, 472, 540, 568 *n* 6. See Qannauj.

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Qannauj. See under Qanauj.

Qānūn, a Geographical work, 14 *n* 3, 17 *n* 4.

Qānūn fi-ṭ-Ṭibb, a work on medicine by the celebrated Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), 533 and *n* 1.

Qarābeg, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 285, 290.

Qarācha Beg, the Governor of Qandahār, contemporary of Humāyūn, 560 and *n* 2. See also under Qurācha Khān and Qarrācha Khān.

Qarācha Khān, 560 *n* 2. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Qarāchal, another name of the mountain of Himāchal (*q. v.*), 307 and *n* 4. See also the next.

Qarājal, the mountain of, 307 *n* 3, 308 *n* 1. See the above.

Qarā Khiṭā (Cathay), 71 *n* 7, 103 *n* 3.

Qarāmiṭah, heretical sect of the, 22 *n* 3.

Qarāqash, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 123.

Qarā Qūrchī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Qarghan, Nāib of the King of Khurāsān, contemporay of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shah, 320.

Qarn, an uncertain period of time, 442 and *n* 1.

Qarrācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 586. See under Qarācha Beg and Qurācha Khān.

Qārūn, the Korah of the Scriptures, 249.

Qāshān, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 30 *n* 1.

Qaṣīdah, a form of poem, 608 and *n* 3.

Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Usbeg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463.

Qāsim Kāhī, Maulānā, otherwise known as Mīyān Kālī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 517, 584 and *nn* 1 and 3, 601.

Qāsim Sanbalī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 431 *n* 4, 443.

Qaṣr Bāgh, a palace in Dihlī, 126 *n* 3.

Qaṣr-i-Safed, a palace in Dihlī, 82 *n* 2, 183.

Qassī, called also Ṣaqīf, founder of the Arab tribe of Ṣaqīf, 12 *n* 1.

Qaṭarāt-i-Naisān, converted into pearls, 108 *n* 4.

Qazdār, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48 and *nn* 3 and 4.

Qāẓī, an officer of justice under the *Ṣadr*, 610 *n*.

Qāẓī-i-Gharkh, the planet Jupiter, 368 and *n* 3.

Qāẓī of the heavens, the planet Jupiter, 368 and *n* 3.

Qāẓī of Nīshāpūr satirised, 633.

Qāẓī 'Ābid, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and *n* 2.

Qāẓī Aṣīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217.

Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, author of the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl* and the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 6 and *n* 4, 34, 45, 52, 62, 63. See also under Baiẓāwī.

Qāẓī Ḥamīd of Balkh, a celebrated writer and poet, 76 and *n* 1.

Qāẓī Khān, Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, a court officer of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 288, 289, 290.

Qāẓī Mughīṣ of Hānsī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Qāẓī Urdū, of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 234.

Qazwīnī, author of the *Āṣāru-l-Bilād* and the *'Ajā'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt*, 27 *n* 4, 28 n, 79 *n* 2, 178 *n* 4.

Qiblah, the direction in which Muslims turn in prayer, 368 *n* 1, 613 *n*.

Qidāḥ, arrows used for gambling, 369 *n* 1.

Qidam, explanation of the term, 1 *n* 4, 153 *n* 7.

Qirān, Malik,—or

Qirān-i-Tīmūr Khān, otherwise called Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg, one of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 125 and *n* 4.

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain, a celebrated poem by Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 135 *n*, 221 and n 2, 222 and n 1, 223 and *n*.

Qiṣaṣu-l-Anbiyā, Lives of the Prophets, 205 *n* 3.

Qiṣṣa-i-Salāmān wa Absāl of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Qiṭ', a district, 396 *n* 2.

Qiṭ'ah, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 608 and *n* 3.

Qiṭmīr, the thin pellicle which covers the date-stone, 496 *n* 10.

Qiṭrān, exudation from species of mountain pines, 182 and *n* 4.

Qiwām, the stay or support of anything, 614 *n* 1.

Qiwām Khān, one of the Maliks of Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 364, 375, 380.

Qiwāmu-d-Dīn Khudāwandzāda, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315.

Qiyāmu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbanī, 220, 224.

Qizil Bāsh, the,—or

Qizilbāshes, *Red-caps*, 48 *n* 2, 480, 570, 572 and n 8, 573, 574, 575, 576, 578, 592 *n* 9, 627 *n* 7.

Qoraish, tribe of. See under Quraish.

Qubbatu-l-Islām, a title of the city of Multān, 133 *n* 2.

Qubūl Nāib Vazīr, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.

Qudsī, Mīr Ḥusain of Karbalā, the poet, 623 and *n* 6.

Queen-consort of Humāyūn, 568. See Ḥamīda Bānū Begam.

Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Quicksilver, called *Abu-l-Arwāḥ*, 340 *n* 2.

Qūl, centre of an army in Turkī, 439 *n* 4. Called also *Ghūl*.

Qūlinj or Colic, notes on, 49 *n* 2.

Qulzum, the Ocean, 167.

Qurācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581 and *n* 9. See also under Qarācha Beg and Qarrācha Khān.

Quraish or Qoraish, tribe of, 2 *n* 5, 110 *n* 4, 287 *n* 2.

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Qur'ān, seven *manzils* or divisions of the, 6 *n* 1.

Qūrchī, armed soldier in Turkī, 215 *n* 3.

Qurra Qumār, one of the Maliks of the Khiljī dynasty, 291, 293, 295.

Qurūna, an armed soldier, 215 and *n* 3.

Qurūnu-s-Sumbul, a poison, 172 *n* 2.

Quṭās, the Tibetan *yak*, 543 *n* 1.

Quṭb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 *n* 2.

Quṭb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Wālī of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q. v.*) 470.

Quṭb Khān of Itāwah, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī family, 443.

Quṭb Khān Lodī, cousin of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 403 *n* 7, 404 and *nn* 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407, **409** and *n* 7, 423 and *n* 2.

Quṭb Khān Nāib, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 476, 486, 488, 489, 490.

Quṭb Khān, son of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q. v.*), 457, 463, 472.

Quṭb Minār of Dehlī, called after Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ūshī (*q. v.*), 123 *n* 5.

Quṭbīyah Amīrs, the Maliks of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak (*q. v.*), 90.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak or Ibak, Sulṭān, slave and adopted son of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70, 72, **77** and *n* 3, 78 and *n* 3, 79 and *n* 3, 80, 81 and *n* 2, 82 and *n* 2, 86, 87, 88 *n* 1, 89, 90.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Ūshī, Khwāja-i-Khwājagān, a famous saint, known as Ka'kī, 92 and **n 2**, 123 and *n* 5.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 124.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥusain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, one of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 123 *n* 3.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ibak. See under Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Lak-bakhsh, *or bestower of laks,* a name of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and *n* 4.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Shamsīyah*, 427 *n* 1.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, of the Khiljī dynasty of Dihlī, **273**, 274 and *n* 1, 275, 282, 283, 284, **289**, **290**, 291, 296 and *n* 3, 297.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Shāh, the son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh I, son of Aḥmad Shāh, Sulṭān of Gujarāt, 357 *n* 3.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Shaikhu-l-Islām of Dihlī under the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 123 and *n* 5, 132.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn, eldest son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98.

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ūshī, Khwāja, the famous saint, 92 and **n 2**, 123 and *n* 5.

Quṭbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Ḥaqq Quraishī, Shaikhu-l-Islām under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and *n* 4.

Quṭbu-l-Mashāyikhi-l-'Iẓām, Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, a famous saint, 416 and *n* 13.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amīrs of the dynasty of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 131, 132 and *n* 4.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 311, 312, 313.

Qutlugh Khān, Malik Faẓlu-llah Balkhī, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 351 and *n* 2.

Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, Qāẓī Samā'u-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406, 407.

Qutlugh Khwāja, the Mughul King of Khurāsān, 305. See also under Qutluq Khwāja.

Qutluq Khān, brother's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā, the Mughul King of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and *n* 1, 258, 305.

R.

Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, Elliott's, 122 *n* 1, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 415 *n*.

Radah, for *Roh*, a name of Afghānistān, 466 *n* 5, 493 *n* 6.

Radhanpūr, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2, 71 *n* 3.

Radīf, in Persian prosody the name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme, 141 *n* 3.

Radīf, in Prosody a letter of prolongation before the *rawī*, 607 and *n* 4.

Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij, Mīr Saiyyid, *Haẓrat-i-Muqaddas*, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 445, 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.

Rāfiẓī, or heretic, a term applied to any of the Shī'ah sects, 156 *n* 1, 604 and n 5, 626 *n* 6.

Rafẓ, heresy, 626 and *n* 6.

Rahābe, a canal or aqueduct, 459 *n* 5.

Rahā'e, for *Rahābe*, a canal, 459 *n* 5.

Rahab river, the, 131 and n 2, 231, 251, 377, 379, 409.

Raḥīm Dād, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 445 and *n* 5.

Raḥmān, Sūratu-r—, a chapter of the Qur'ān, 218 *n* 2.

Raḥmatu-llāhi, a term applied to a weaver, 527, 528 *n* 1.

Raḥmatu-llāhi Iqbāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 527.

Rāhū, a kind of flower, 142 *n* 3.

Rāhu, a Hindū mythological monster and in Astronomy the ascending node, 163 *n* 2.

Rai, the ancient Rhages, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 30 and n 1, 35, 73 *n* 1.

Rāi-i-Rāiyān, title of Randhol, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwarbacha, 290.

Rāi of Bārānasī, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329.

Rāi of Dholpūr, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 410, 419.

Rāi of Gwāliār, the contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381, 384, 398.

Rāis of Jājnagar, the, 329 *n* 6.

Rāi of Satgaṛh, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 329 and *n* 5.

Rāi of Serinagar, for Rāi Sīr (*q. v.*), 360 *n* 3.

Rāi of Telinga, the contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286.

Rāi Bhīm, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and *n* 3.

Rāi Fīroz of Tilaundī, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382 and *nn* 1 and 2, 390.

Rāi Jai Chand, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70.

Rāi Jaljīn Bhatī, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 and *n* 4.

Rāi Karan of Gujerāt, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256.

Rāi Lakhmaniya, Lakhmia or Lakminia, the ruler of Nadīyā, contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and *n* 5, 83 *n* 1.

Rāi Pathūrā, Governor of Ajmīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 69, 70. See also Rāi Pithora.

Rāi Pertāb, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 *n* 2.

Rāi Piṭhora, 257 and *n* 8. See under Rāi Pathūrā.

Rāi Sanīr, 360 *n* 3. See Rāi Sīr.

Rāi Sar, the Governor of Chandāwar, *contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the* Saiyyid dynasty, 377.

Rāi Sen, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 475.

Rāi Sīr, the ruler of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and *n* 3.

Rāi Unar, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 332 *n* 6.

Rāi Vikramājīt of Ujain, 95.

Raiseen, for Rāsain or the two towns of Rās, 327 *n* 1.

Rājā of Bheerbhoom, 329 *n* 9.

Rājā of Dangaya (Bundelkhand), the contemporary of Muḥammad Shāh of the Mughul dynasty, 25 *n* 5.

Rājā of Gwāliār, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 419, 432.

Rājā of Jaisalmīr, the contemporary of Humāyūn, 562.

Rājās of Jamū, 19 *n* 2.

Rājā of Kadba (? Garha-Katanka), the contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433 *n* 3.

Rājā of Mandrāyal, the contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 420.

Rājā of Nagarkoṭ, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 331.

Rājā of Qanauj, the contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 26.

Rājā of Rohtās, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 457.

Rājā of Thatta, the contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.

Rājā Dāhir, contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, 12 *n* 2, 13 *n*.

Rājā Kansa, of Mathra, the enemy of Krishna, 24 *n* 6.

Rājā-Taranginī, an historical work in *Sanskrit*, 8 *n* 3, 18 *n* 1.

Rajab, Malik, the Governor of Depālpūr under the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 *n* 11.

Rajab Nādira, Malik, the Governor of Multān under the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.

Rāj Gaṛ, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 404.

Rajīwa, a canal leading from the Jumna to Hissār, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*.

Rājputāna, 69 *n* 2, 298 *n* 7, 379 *n* 1, 419 *n* 3.

Rājpūts, the, 13 *n*, 365 *n* 8, 382 *n* 4, 384 *n* 3, 397 *n* 1, 414 *n* 13.

Rājū, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349.

Rājūrī, town of, 500.

Rakat Chandan, the red Sandal, 484 *n* 1.

Rām, a Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37.

Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, contemporary of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 553, 554.

Rām Chandra, the Rājā of Deogarh, 271 *n* 6. Same as Rām Deo (*q. v.*).

Rām Deo, Rāi of Deogīr, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 247 *n*, 251 *n* 7, 256, 271 *n* 6, 283. See the above.

Ramal-i-muṣamman, a kind of prosodial metre, 607 *n*.

Rāmāyana, the, 8 *n* 2.

Ramghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 *n* 4.

Rana, village of, 364 *n* 7.

Rānā, the Governor of Amarkoṭ, contemporary of Humāyūn, 566.

Rānā Sānkā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.

Randhol, Rāi-i-Rāiyān, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwar, the favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289, 290.

Rang, a cluster of globular bells, 621 *n* 2.

Ranking's *Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody*, 607 *n*.

Rantanbhor,—or

Rantanbhūr, fortress of, in the province of Ajmīr, 92 and *n* 4, 120 and n 4, 129, 236, 257 and *nn* 1, 3 and 7, 258, 260, 261, 262, 410, 425, 475, 479, 486, 526, 597.

Ranthanbhūr, fortress of, 92 and *n* 4. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl (*q. v.*), 395.

Rāo Khiljī, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 and *n* 4.

Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the town of Rāparī, 377 *n* 5.

Rāpar Sen, 377 *n* 5. See the above.

Rāparī,—or

Rāprī, district and town of, 377 and *nn* 4 and 5, 387, 404, 407, 413, 430.

Raqīb, name of the third arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Raqqāṣ-i-falak, or the dancer of the sky, a name of the planet Venus, 138 *n* 3.

Rās, town of, 326 *n*, 327 and *n* 1.

Rāsain, the two towns of Rās, 326 *n* 327 *n* 1.

Rashīd *Vazīr*, Khwāja, minister of the King of Khurāsān, 605.

Rashīdkoṭ, fortress of, in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.

Rashīdu-d-Dīn, author of the *Jāmi-'u-t-Tawārīkh*, 307 *n* 4, 353 *n* 1.

Rata, village of, 364 and *n* 7.

Rāthor tribe of Rajpūts, the, 384 *nn* 2 and 3.

Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā, an historical work, 62 and *n* 3, 121 *n* 1.

Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 13 *n* 1, 14 *nn* 1 and 2, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 2, 23 *n* 1, 29 *n* 1, 31 *n* 1, 33 *n* 2, 35 *n* 1, 37 *n* 6, 38 *nn* 1 and 3, 42 *n* 3, 43 *n* 3, 44 *nn* 6 and 8, 45 *n* 3, 46 *n* 2, 47 *n* 1, 49 *n* 4, 50 *n* 1, 55 *nn* 2 and 4, 60 *nn* 1 and 2, 62 *n*

4, 65 *n* 2, 66 *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 67 *nn* 1 and 3, 69 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 70 *nn* 1 and 3, 71 *nn* 1, 5, 6 and 7, 72 *nn* 1 and 4, 73 *n* 2, 77 *n* 2, 78 *n* 3, 79 *n* 3, 80 *nn* 3 and 4, 81 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 82 *nn* 3 and 4, 83 *nn* 1 and 3, 84 *n* and *nn* 1 and 2, 85 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 86 *n* 2, 87 *nn* 1, 3 and 3, 90 *nn* 1 and 2, 91 *n* 1, 92 *n* 2, 94 *n* 2, 95 *n* 8, 98 *nn* 2 and 5, 120 *n* 6, 121 *nn* 5 and 7, 122 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 123 *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 124 *n* 3, 125 *nn* 3 and 4, 127 n 2, 128 *n* 1, 129 *n* 4, 130 *n* 1, 131 *n* 4, 132 *n* 1, 135 *n* 1.

Rāvī, the, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 *n* 3, 67 *n*, 128, 188, 190 and *n* 2, 355 *n* 1, 383, 384 *n*, 389 and *n* 2, 392.

Rāwal Pindi, 44 *n* 6.

Rāwar, Fort of, in Sind, 12 *n* 2.

Rawī, the essential letter in the *qāfiyah* or rhyme, 607 *nn* 3 and 4.

Rāyāt-i-A'lā, title of Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and *n* 1.

Rāzī, relative adjective from the town of Rai, 30 *n* 1.

Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīya, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1.

Rāzī, Imām, 73. See under Fakhru-d-Dīn Rāzī.

Raẓẓiyah Khātūn, Sulṭān, eldest daughter of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98, 119, 120 and *n* 8, 121 and *nn* 1 and 5, 122 and *nn* 1 and 2, 294 and n 5.

Red-caps, the, a name of the Turkomānas of Garm Sīr, 48 and *n* 2. See also under the Qizil Bāsh.

Red Palace of Sīrī, at Dihlī, 260 *n* 7, 261, 269 *n* 1.

Red Sea, the, 169 *n* 1.

Redhouse, Mr., 89 *n* 1.

Redhouse's *Turkish Dictionary*, 575 *n* 1.

Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, 27 *nn* 1 and 2, 30 *n* and *n* 1, 34 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 36 *n* 2, 67 *n* 1, 71 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 167 *n* 4, 265 *n* 5, 307 *n* 4.

Rennell, 22 *n* 5, 69 *n* 2, 80 *n* 1, 93 *n* and *n* 1, 128 *n* 3, 129 *n* 2, 186 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3, 344 *n* 7, 355 *n* 1, 362 *n* 3, 364 *n* 4, 380 *n* 2, 382 *n* 2, 415 *n* 7, 417 *n* 7, 419 *n* 6, 420 *n* 5, 423 *n* 5, 530 *n* 3.

Rewā, town of, 417 *n* 7.

Rewa State, 417 *n* 7.

Rewārī, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 366 *n*, 537.

Reyy, 30 *n* 1. Same town as Rai (*q. v.*).

Rhagæ, ancient name of the town of Rai (*q. v.*), 30 *n* 1.

Rhages, capital of the province of Rhagiana, 30 *n* 1.

Rhagiana, the province of Rai in Persian 'Irāq, 30 *n* 1.

Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1. See under Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīya.

Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulmān, Garcin de Tassy, 428 *n* 2, 605 *nn* 8 and 9, 606 *n* 2, 607 *n* 4, 608 *n* 3.

Riāsī, town of, 384 *n* 1.

Ribābah, the bag in which the arrows were put in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Ribāṭ, a fortified station on an enemy's frontier, 44 *n* 5, 106 n 2.

Ribāṭ Amīr, name of a place in Seistān, 48 and *n* 1.

Richardson's *Persian Dictionary*, 214 *n* 2, 215 *n* 6.

Ridf, a letter of prolongation before the *rawī* of a rhyme, 607 *n* 4.

Rig Veda, the, 293 *n* 5.

Rij'at, motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction, 374 *n* 7.

Ring of 'Alī, possessed of magical properties, 505 and *n* 6.

Ring of Solomon, 205 *n* 3, 505 *n* 6, 559 and *n* 2.

Rishwatī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llah (*q. v.*), 533 *n* 7, 534 *n* 4.

Riẓwān, the door-keeper of Paradise, 194 and n 3, 281, 601.

Rocky Citadel, the, or Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.

Roebuck's *Oriental Proverbs*, 57 *n* 2, 58 *n* 1, 218 *n* 2, 244 *n* 5, 301 *n* 3.

Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 466 and n 5, 493 and *n* 6.

Rohilkhand,—or

Rohilkhund, district of, known also as Kaithar, 185 *n* 2, 359 *n* 4, 364 *n* 4.

Rohrī, town of, 559 *n* 6.

Rohtak, town of, 72 *n* 2, 222, 351, 364, 365, 375.

Rohtās, fortress of,—in the Panjāb, 457, 466 *n* 6, 468, 472, 474, 493, 498, 501, 503, 592.

Rohtās Bihār, Sarkār of, 185 *n* 1.

Rohtās Sharqī, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 *n* 6.

Rohtāsgaṛh, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 *n* 6.

Romans, the, 18 *n* 1, 76 *n*, 104 *n* 2, 494 *n* 7.

Romans, Epistle to the, 474 *n* 1.

Rome, 119 *n* 5.

Rook, the castle at chess, 505 and *n* 2

Rookn Khān, for Akat Khān the nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259 *n* 5.

Rose, properties of the, 148 *n* 4.

Rosenweig-Schwannau's *Diwan Hafis*, 121 *n* 3.

Roshan, Pīr, founder of the Roshaniyyah Sect (*q. v.*), 58 *n* 5.

Roshan Beg Koka, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565.

Roshaniyyah, *or the Enlightened*, a Ṣūfī sect founded by Bāyazīd Anṣārī, also called Pīr Roshan, 58 *n* 5.

Ross. See under Elias and Ross.

Rostrum, an ancient instrument of war, 29 *n* 5.

Roxána, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 *n* 10.

Royal Asiatic Society, *Journal* of the, 16 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 47 *n* 2, 59 *n* 1, 87 *n* 1, 103 *n* 1, 109 *n* 4, 115 *n* and *n* 3, 141 *n* 4, 330 *n* 7, 479 *n* 7, 571 *n* 2.

Rubāb, a stringed instrument like a guitar, 367 *n* 5.

Ruby, Four kinds of, 25 *n* 2.

Ruby Palace, at Dihlī, 260.

Rue, its efficacy in exorcism, 617 *n* 1.

Rūḥ, the vital principle, 144 *n* 2, 145 *n*.

Rūh or Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 466 and *n* 5, 493 and *n* 6, 520.

Rūḥānī, a learned man of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and *n* 2.

Rūīn, a village of the dependencies of Lahore, 54 and *n* 2.

Rujū'-i-kaukab, an astronomical term, 374 *n* 7. See under *Rij'at*.

Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 *n* 2.

Rukn Khān Afghān, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty, 598.

Rukn-i-Yamānī, the south corner of the Ka'bah, 97 and *n* 4.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 341, 342.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish 97, 98, 99, 113.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 244, 247 and *n* and n 5. See also under Qadr Khān.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā, contemporary of the Sulṭāns 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 248 and *n* 2, 284, 304 and *n* 4.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljūqiyyah dynasty of Khorāsān, 42 *n* 3, 61 *n* 5.

Ruknu-l-Ḥaqq Quraishī, Shaikhu-l-Islām, 304 and *n* 4. Same as Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī (*q. v.*).

Rūm, country of, 585 *n* 7, 621.

Rūm, Sea of,—the Mediterranean, 153 *n* 1.

Rūm, Sulṭān of,-title of the Sulṭāns of Turkey, 480.

Rūmī Khān, the Artillerist of Humāyūn, 456 and *n* 7.

Rūn, a place near Lahore, 54 *n* 2.

Rūna, a village in Nīsāpūr of Khurāsān, 54 *n* 1.

Rūnī, Abu-l-Faraj, a celebrated poet of the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 *n*, 54 and n 1.

Rūpar, town of, 362 and *n* 1, 380 and *n* 2, 382 and n 3.

Ruqaiyyah, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Uṣmān ibn 'Affān, 59 *n* 4.

Rūshāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.

Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 *n* 3, 39, 114, 116 *n* 5, 117, 127, 180 *n* 2, 181 and *n* 1, 199, 207, 294, 548.

Rustam, one of the Generals of the Great Tīmūr, 358 *n* 6.

Rusūldār, Saiyyid, one of the court officers of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.

Rusūlī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, one of the poets of the reign of Islem Shāh, 533 and *n* 7, 534 and *n* 4.

Rusūlpūr, the fortress of Shamsābād, 472.

Ruswāī, *disgraced*, 499.

Ruttunpoor, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 *n* 3.

Rūzbih, Persian name of Salmān al-Fārsī, 572 *n* 1.

S.

Sa'ādat Khān, commonly known as 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sulṭānī, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349, 350 and *n* 3.

Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, 350 *n* 3. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Sabb, reviling on religious grounds, when justifiable, 577 *n*.

Sabotghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 *n* 4.

Ṣābit-bin-Jābir al-Fahmī, commonly known as Ta'abbaṭa Sharran, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 *n* 3.

Sab'u-l-Maṯhānī, the first chapter of the Qur'ān and also the seven *manzils* or divisions of this book, 6 *n* 1.

Sachau's *Albîrûnî*, 17 *n* 4, 22 *n* 5, 23 *n* 2, 76 *n*, 79 *n* 2, 95 *n* 5, 104 *n* 2, 108 *n* 4, 131 *n* 2.

Sacred Books of the East, 110 *n* 4.

Sacy, De, *Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*, 6 *n* 4.

Sa'd, an auspicious planet, 630 and *nn* 2 and 3.

Sa'd Falsafī, the poet,—one of the contemporaries of Mīr Khusrū, 298.

Sa'd ibn Salmān, Khwājā, father of the famous poet Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Jurjānī, 52 *n* 5, 55.

Sa'd-i-Akbar, name given to Jupiter by astrologers, 79 *n* 2.

Sa'd-i-Manṭiqī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245, 246.

Sa'dān, name of Jupiter and Venus as the two auspicious planets, 630 *n* 2.

Sadar Mahādeo, Rāi of Arankal, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Sadhū Nādir,—or

Sadhū Nādira, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān, first Sulṭān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378 and *n* 3, 379.

Sa'dī of Shīrāz, Shaikh, 187 and *n* 2.

Sadīdī, author of *al-Mughnī fī Sharḥi-l-Mūjaz* (*q. v*), 5 *n* 3, 31 *n*, 42 *n*, 49 *n* 2, 102 *n* 1, 148 *n* 4, 319 *n* 4, 320 *n*, 532 *n* 7, 533 *n*.

Sadpāl or Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kanjūī Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 *n* 3, 394, 395, 397.

Ṣadr, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 606 *n* 4.

Ṣadr, highest officer of justice, 609 *n* 6.

Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Chief Judge, 523 *n* 5.

Ṣadr Jahān Gujrātī, the Historian, 300 *n* 3.

Ṣadr-i-kull, Chief Judge, 523 *n* 5.

Ṣadr-i-mustaqill, Judge-plenipotentiary, 609 and *n* 6.

Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīyā, 133 *n* 2, 248 *n* 2.

Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, the *Shaikhu-l-Islām* under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.

Ṣadru-l-Mulk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, the Wazīr of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 124.

Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr, Chief Judge, 506, 523 and n 5.

Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, author of the *Muṭawwal*, 428 *n* 3.

Ṣadūq, Shaikh, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Akhbār*, 139 *n* 5.

Ṣafā, a hill in the vicinity of Makkah, 279 *n*.

Ṣafdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 344.

Ṣafdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 1.

Safedar or *Safīdar*, the white Poplar or Abele, 494 and *n* 6.

Saffron, notes on, 41 *n* 2.

Safidar, the white Poplar. See under *Safedar*.

Safīḥ, one of the blank arrows in the game of *Maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Sag-i-falak, the dog of the sky, 498, and *n* 5.

Sāgur, town of, 304 *n* 1.

Ṣaḥā'if fi-l-Kalām, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 *n* 1.

Sahār, Sarkār of, 410 *n* 4.

Sahāranpūr, hills of, 334 *n* 7.

Ṣāḥibu-z-Zanj, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, of the family of 'Alī, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 358 *n* 3.

Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī, the famous collection of authentic traditions by Imām Bukhārī, 6 *n* 3.

Sahsarām, a dependency of Rohtās, 466, 468, 471, 484, 533.

Saḥūr, or morning meal on a fast day, 177 *n* 4.

Sai, the,—one of the principal streams of Oudh, 222 *n* 3.

Sa'īd Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

Sa'īd Khān, brother of A'ẓam Humāyūn of Lāhor, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 491, 493, 498.

Sa'īd Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 434.

Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, Ḥājī, envoy of the Egyptian Khalīfah to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 310 and *n* 1.

Saïdes or Saiyyids, title of the descendants of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 80 *n* 5.

Saifī, author of a treatise on Prosody, 183 *n* 1.

Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī, feudatory of Hānsī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 98 and *n* 2, 120 *n* 2.

Saifu-d-Dīn, Malik, son of Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.

Saifu-d-Dīn Sūrī, brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan the king of Ghor, 60.

Sairu-l-'Ibād ila-l-Ma'ād, one of the works of Ḥakīm Sanāī, 56 *n* 2.

Saiyyid, application of the term, 80 *n* 5, 303 n 4.

Saiyyid Bukhārī, a Muḥammadan saint, 80 *n* 1.

Saiyyid Khān, Khān-i-A'ẓam, son of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah, 388, 396.

Saiyyid Manṣūr, one of the Generals of Amīr Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 46.

Saiyyid *Rusūldār*, one of the Court officers of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.

Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān of the

Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Saiyyid Zāda-i-'Alawī, Shāh Nabsa, grandson by his mother's side of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 260 and *n* 7, 261.

Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah, 388 *n* 1. See under Saiyyid Sālim.

Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ud ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 51, 52. See under Ibrāhīm.

Saiyyids, the descendants of 'Alī, 80 *n* 5.

Sajdah or *Sijdah*, a prostration in prayer, 612 *n* 3.

Sakbā, a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar, 298 *n* 5.

Saketh, a township in the Sarkār of Qanauj, 410 *n* 4.

Sakīb, for the township of Sakīṭ, 410 *n* 4.

Sakīna, town of, 377 and *n* 4.

Sakīṭ, a town in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, 377 *n* 4, 407 *n* 1, 410 and **n 4**.

Sakīṭ Singh, the Rāi of Itāwa, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 410 *n* 4.

Sakīta, town of, 377 *n* 4. See the town of Sakīṭ.

Sakkar, fortress of, 422.

Sakpat, for the town of Sakīṭ (*q. v.*), 410 *n* 4.

Saktī, *a female deity*, 20 *n* 5.

Sāl wood, 599 and *n* 13.

Sāl Mastān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Sāl Wahsanān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Salāmān and Absāl, Story of, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Salāṭīn-i-ḥaqīqī, true kings, *i.e.*, the prophets, 143 *n* 1.

Salāṭīn-i-majāzī, so-called kings, *i.e.*, the kings of the earth, 143 and *n* 1.

Sālbāhan, the Rājā of Patna, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 416.

Ṣaldī, a Mughul commander, attacks Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 and *n* 5.

Sale's *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, 21 *n* 1, 157 *n* 2, 499 *n* 5.

Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr, Shaikh, the famous saint, 488, 508, 535, 600.

Salīm Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 447, 490 and *n* 4, 494, 495, 497, 500, 502, 525, 526, 527, 588. See under Islem Shāh.

Sālim of Tabarhindah, Saiyyid, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Salīma, same as the Sarsutī, a tributary of the Sutlej, 330 and *nn.* 4 and **7**.

Sālimpūr, village of, on the south bank of the Gandak, 409 *n* 5.

Saljūqīyah dynasty of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 35 *nn* 1 and 3, 38 *n* 3, 42 *n* 3, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 61 **n 5**. See also the next.

Saljūqs, the, 33 *n* 1, 42 *n* 1, 45 and *n* 2, 51, 167 *n* 3. See the above.

Salm, one of the sons of Farīdūn, of the ancient kings of Persia, 435 and *n* 2.

Salmān al-Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih, one of the Companions, 572 and *n* 1.

Salmān Sāwajī, a famous poet, panegyrist of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān Awais Jalāyer, 571 **n 9**, 605, 633 and *n* 1.

Salt Range, the, 19 *n* 4, 128 *n* 3.

Sālū, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 7, 619.

Sām, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma*, 72, 178 *n* 2.

Sām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 453 and *n* 8, 455.

Samak, the fish which bears the Earth, 152 and *n* 2.

Sāmān, ancestor of the Sāmānī Kings of Khurāsān, 72.

Sāmāna, town of, 132, 186, 221, 243, 305, 310, 328, 330, 334, 338, 342, 343, 352, 355, 360, 362, 364, 365 and *n* 6, 378, 382, 390, 391, 392, 396, 398, 399, 438, 595.

Sāmānīs, the, a dynasty of Kings in Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 13 *n* 1, **14 n 1**, 16 **n 2**.

Samar, the Mughūl, one of the generals of Chingīz Khān, 188 *nn* 1 and 2.

Samarqand, town of, 6 *n* 3, 27 *n* 1, 59 *n* 1, 159 *n*, 310, 359, 443, 570 *n* 7.

Samarqandī, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥā'if* on Metaphysics, 427 *n* 1.

Sāmarrā, also called Surra-man-raā, a town in 'Irāq on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 *n* 1, 571 *n* 2.

Samā'u-d-Dīn, a *protégé* of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 338.

Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbawī,—or

Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū of Dihlī, Shaikh, one of the greatest of the 'Ulama Shaikhs, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 9, 430.

Samā'u-d-Dīn Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406.

Sambal. See under Sambhal.

Sambalaka, the town of Sambhal as called by Ptolemy, 364 *n* 4.

Sambast, town of, 358 *n* 6.

Sambhal, district and town of, called also Sambal, Sanbal and Sanbhal, 335 and *n* 8, 351, 364, 375, 395, 396, 406, 415, 418, 419, 426, 431 *n* 4, 435 and *n* 6, 443, 444, 451, 495, 525, 545, 547, 548, 590 *n* 5, 597, 598, 604.

Samīr, Rāi, Governor of Itāwa, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 *n* 5.

Sāmirah, otherwise known as Surraman-ra'ā or Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq, 571 and *n* 2.

Samnān, town of, 571 *n* 9.

Sāmothala, a place twelve *kroh*s from Lahore, 349

Samundar, name of the Bang Matī when it enters Hindustān, 84 *n*.

Samvat era of Vikramādityā, 95 and *n* 5.

Ṣan'ā', capital of Yaman in Arabia, 262 *n*.

Sanāī, Ḥakīm,—the celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 *n* 1, 56, 57.

Sanām or Sannām, town of, 138 *n* 1, 236, 310, 330 *n* 7, 438.

Sanbal, town of, 375. See Sambhal.

Sanbal, Sarkār of, 495.

Sanbal, a tribe of the Afghāns, 500.

Sanbhal. See under the town of Sambhal.

Sanbūz hills, the Kumāon hills, 186 *n* 1.

Sanchī inscription, the, 18 *n* 1.

Sandal wood, notes on, 484 and *n* 1, 627 and *n* 2.

Sandīla, district of, 349.

Sang Surākh, on the route between Ghaznīn and the Panjāb, 78 and *n* 3.

Sanīr, Rāi, of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 *n* 3.

Sānkā, Rānā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.

Sankāpūr, for the town of Shikārpūr, 487 and *n* 2.

Sānkot, for the fortress of Siālkoṭ, 49 and *n* 1.

Sannām or Sanām, town of, 138 *n* 1, 236, 310, 330 *n* 7, 438.

Ṣaqīf, called also Qassī, founder of the Arab tribe of Ṣaqīf, 12 *n* 1.

Ṣaqīf, a tribe of the Arabs, 12 **n** 1, 28 *n* 1.

Saqirlāṭ or *Siqlaṭ*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 and *n* 3.

Sar, Rāi, Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 377.

Saracens, the, 635 *n* 6.

Sarakhs, a city of Khurāsān, also called Sarkhas, 43 and *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 71.

Sāran, town of, 406 and *n* 4, 417.

Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349, 352, 353, 355, 358, 362, 380 and *n* 4.

Sārang Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.

Sārangpūr, town of, 454.

Sarastu, township of, in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, 525.

Saraswatī, the, 330 *n* 7. See under the Sarsutī river.

Sardar, town of, 326 *n* 2.

Sardārs in front of the throne, 497.

Sāregh Kotwāl, an officer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 22.

Sargdawārī, a ford on the Ganges, 377. See also under Sarkdawārī.

Sārī,—or

Sāriyah, a town of Ṭabaristān, 36 and *n* 3.

Sarjū river, also called the Sarū (*q. v.*), 221 *n* 3, 222 *n* 3, 223 **n.**

Sarkār of Allahabad, 416 *n* 3.

Sarkār of Hiṣṣār Fīroza, 439.

Sarkār of Qanauj, 410 *n* 4, 538.

Sarkār of Sahār, 410 *n* 4.

Sarkār of Sanbal, 495.

Sarkārs of Hindūstān, 495, 496.

Sarkdawārī, town of, 311, 312. See also under Sargdawārī.

Sarkés, in Gujarāt near to Aḥmadābād, 357 *n* 4.

Sarkhas, a city of Khurāsān, called also Sarakhs, 43 and *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 71.

Sarkhatra, canal, 327 *n* 3.

Sarkhech, near Aḥmadābād, 357 *n* 3. See the following.

Sarkhej,—or

Sarkhez, in Gujarāt near to Aḥmadābād, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4.

Sar Manzil, 595.

Sarmast Khān, the Afghān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 501, 534.

Sarmast Khān Sarbanī, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 538.

Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl*, an officer of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, son of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 275 and *n* 1, 277.

Sarsatī, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also Sursatī and Sarsutī (*q. v.*), 36 and *n* 1.

Sarsutī river, called also the Saraswatī, and the Salīma, 27 *n* 4, 69, 324, 330 and *nn* 6 and 7, 382.

Sarsutī, the country south of the Himālaya, also called Sarsatī and Sursatī, 70 and n 1, 80.

Sarsutī, fortress of, 293, 324, 327 and *n* 3, 355, 404 *n* 2. See under Sarsatī.

Sartez 'Imādu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 314 and *n* 2.

Sarū river, called also the Sarjū (*q. v.*), 222 and *n* 3, 238, 239, 298.

Sarūd, district of, 495 *n* 3.

Sarūr, town and district of, 326 and *n* and *n* 2, 495 and *n* 3.

Sarwānī, Khān-i-Khānān, Governor of the fort of Rantanbhūr, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 475.

Sarwaru-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397.

Sāsān, founder of the Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 72.

Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 46 *n* 5.

Sasseram, town of, 185 *n* 1.

Satal Dev, of Sorath, a rebel in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264.

Satgāna, country of, 387 and *n* 3.

Satgānw, district of, 302.

Satgaṛh, town of, 329 and *n* 4.

Saṭḥiyāt, superficialities, 504 *n* 9.

Satlaj, the, 23 *n* 3, 70 *n* 1, 190 and *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 and *n*, 330, 362 and *nn* 1 and 3, 363 *n*, 380 *n* 2, 381, 382 and *n* 2, 590 *n* 5, 593. Called also the Satlaz and the Sutlej.

Satlaz, the river Satlaj (*q. v.*), 330 and *n* 5.

Sātū, the roof of a house in Turkī, 494 *n* 7.

Sāṭūr, 494 and *n* 7.

Saturn, notes on the planet, 217 *n* 5.

Saudā, black bile, 5 *n* 3.

Ṣaulajān, from the Persian *Chaugān*, a stick with a curved extremity, 79 *n* 1.

Ṣaulajān, origin of the modern game of polo, 417 *n* 8.

Ṣaur, Jabal, a mountain near Mecca, 149 *n*, 158 *n* 1.

Sawādu-l-A'ḍham, meaning of the expression, 8 *n* 4.

Sāwa or Sāwah, a city of Khurāsān, 571 *n* 9, 633 *n* 1.

Sāwajī, Jamālu-d-Dīn Salmān, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer and his son Sulṭān Awais, 571 *n* 9, 605, 633 and n 1.

Sawāna, fort of, 264 *n* 6.

Sawās, district of, 475.

Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 475, 492, 495.

Scherpour, town of, 82 *n* 1, 93 *n*.

Sedillot's *Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, 198 *n* 2.

Sehwān, in the Karachī district of Sind, 560 *n* 8.

Seistān, province of, 19, 47, 50.

Seljuqs, the. See under the Saljūqs.

Sepulchre of the Poets in Tabrīz, called the Surkhāb, 339 *n* 4.

Serdi Tulāwarī, a common name of the town of Tarāyan, 90 and *n* 1.

Seven labours of Isfandiyār, in the *Shāh-Nāma*, 103 *n* 2.

Seven Places, the seven labours of Isfandiyār, 103 and *n* 2.

Seven poems of the Jāhilīyat, called the *Mu'allaqāt*, 99 and *n* 6.

Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, 207 *n* 1.

Sewand Rāi, or Sūndhī Rāi, the Hindū General of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and *n* 2.

Shab-i-Barāt, the fifteenth of the month of Sha'bān, 488 and n 5.

Shādarwān, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 583 *n* 4.

Shaddād ibn 'Ād, a king of the ancient Arabs, 261, 262 *n*, 263 *n*, 501 and *n* 3.

Shādī, a servant of Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of the country of Chaund, 468.

Shādī Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, 272, 275, 278, 283.

Shādī Kath, the Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl* or chief captain of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 275 *n* 1, 283 and *n* 9.

Shādī Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, Malik, the *Ḥājib* of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 274, 295.

Shāfi'ī, Imām, founder of the Shāfi'ite sect of Sunnī Muslims, 57 *n* 1.

Shāfi'ites, the,—one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, 57 *n* 1, 73 *n* 1, 514. See the above.

Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī, author of the *Tuḥfa-i-Iṯnā-'aṧarīyah*, 577 *n*.

Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.

Shāh 'Ālam, one of the Amīrs of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 477.

Shāh Ḥasan, one of Amīrs of Bābar, 446.

Shāh Hindāl, 587. See under Mīrzā Hindāl.

Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, Mīrzā, Governor of Tatta, one of the contemporaries of Humāyūn, 559, 560 and *n* 8, 561 and *n* 2, 562, 566, 567, 580.

Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī Ḥusainī, King of Persia, 449, 570, 572 *n* 8.

Shāh Ja'far Khwāndī Dakkanī, a Shī'ah divine, contemporary of Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, 624, 625.

Shāh Kāmrān, 584. See under Kāmrān Mīrzā.

Shāh Manṣūr Birlās, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Shāh Mīr of Agra, Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 526.

Shāh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458.

Shāh Muḥammad of Dihlī, contemporary of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 504, 505, 506.

Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 499 and *n* 7, 538, **539**, 540.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 7, 619.

Shāh Muḥammad Shāhābādī, Mullā, translator of the *History of Kashmīr*, 8 *n* 3.

Shāh Murād, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, 576.

Shāh Najaf, grandson by his mother's side of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 260 *n* 7.

Shāh Nāmah. See under the *Shāh-nāma*.

Shāh Rukh, grandson of the Great Tīmūr, Sulṭān of Persia, 618 *n* 1.

Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 *n* 6. Same as the next (*q. v.*).

Shāh Ṭāhir Khondī,—or

Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 6, 625 and **n 3**, 626, **632**, 635, 636.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp, King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 569, 570, 572, 624.

Shāh Turkān, mother of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 *n* 1.

Shahāb. See under Shihāb.

Shāhābād, district and town in Bengal, 330 *n* 7, 334, 439, 466 *n* 6.

Shahābu-d-Daulat. See under Shihābu-d-Daulat.

Shahābu-d-Dīn. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn.

Shāhanshāh Sayyid Zāda-i-'Alawī a descendant on the mother's side from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 260 and *n* 7.

Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 490 and *n* 4, 592.

Shāhik Bārbak, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'iz-zu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbanī, 221.

Shāhik Wazīr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.

Shāhīn, Malik, known by the title of Wafā Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 284.

Shāhīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 344.

Shāhjahānpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 *n* 3, 598 *n* 9.

Shaḥna-i-Shahr, City Constable, 401.

Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, 32 *n* 1, 88 *n* 2, 103 *n* 2, 116 *n* 5, 178 *n* 2, 180 *n* 2, 207 *n* 7, 321 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2.

Shāh-nāma, Atkinson's, 32 *n* 1, 116 *n* 5, 178 *n* 2, 180 *n* 2, 321 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2.

Shāh-nāma of Badr Shāshī the poet, 321.

Shāhnawāz, on the eastern bank of the Rāvī, 355 *n* 1.

Shāhpūr, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 *n* 7.

Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal*, 157 *n* 2, 158 *n*.

Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.

Shahr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 *n* 7.

Shāhrukhī, a coin first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sulṭān of Persia, 618 *n* 1.

Shahru-llāh, brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 312.

Shāhū Lodī the Afghān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305 and *n* 1.

Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān. See Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān of Herat, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361.

Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān. See Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān. See Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

Shaikh, application of the term, 303 *n* 4, 504.

Shaikh 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Shaikh 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 *n* 1.

Shaikh 'Alī Mughul, the ruler of Kābul, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.

Shaikh-allahdīyah of Khairābād, 546 and *n* 1.

Shaikh Bāyazīd, brother of Muṣṭafa Farmalī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.

Shaikh Ḥamīd, the commentator of Sanbal, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.

Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer, King of Khurāsān, 633 *n* 1.

Shaikh Khūran, one of the Hindūstānī Amīrs of Bābar, 444, 445.

Shaikh, son of Malik Marwān Daulat, Governor of Multān under the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 376.

Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, author of the *Gulistān*, 187 and *n* 2.

Shaikh Ṭāhir, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 418.

Shaikhā Khakar,—or

Shaikhā Khūkhar, Malik, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 347, 349, 358 and *n* 6, 381 and *n* 5, 398 and *n* 2.

Shaikhān, the,—title of the Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Khalīfahs, 303 *n* 4.

Shaikhs, holy shrines of the, at Multān, 392.

Shaikhu-l-Hadīyah Jaunpūrī, an author, 428, 429.

Shaikhu-l-Islām, 506.

Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Ḥasan Zinjānī, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and *n* 6.

Shaikhu-l-Nadīyah Jaunpūrī, 429

Shaikhzāda-i-Busṭāmī A'ẓam Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.

Shaikhzāda Dimishqī, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.

Shaikhzāda-i-Jām,—or

Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī, one of the learned men of the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 284, **318.**

Shakarganj, Shaikh,—or

Shakkar Ganj, Shaikh, 135 *n*, 271 *n* 4. Same as Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar (*q. v.*).

Shāl, village of, in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Shāl Mashāng, village of, 567 *n* 9.

Shāl Mastāng, village of, 567 and *n* 9.

Shāl-o-Mastān, two villages, 567 *n* 9.

Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Shām (Syria), 585 and *n* 7.

Shamā'ilu-l-Muḥammadīyah, name of a book, 625 *n* 6.

Shāmiāna, a kind of marquee, 460 and **n 4**, 497 *n* 1.

Shams Khān, uncle of Tatār Khān, the son of Ẓafar Khān (*q. v.*), 361.

Shams Khān Auḥadī, son of Auḥad Khān, the ruler of Baiāna under the Fīrūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 359, 360 and *n* 5, 378, 379, 385 and *n* 1.

Shams Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493, 494.

Shams Khātūn, sister of Quṭb Khān Lodī (*q. v.*), 404 *n* 2.

Shamsābād, town of, 232, 311, 377 and **n 3**, 384 and *n* 4, 403 and *nn* 4 and 5, 404 and *n* 2, 407 and *n* 1, 415, 472.

Shamsher Khān, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 537.

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, 315 *n* 7, 323 *n* 3, 324 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 328 *nn* 1 and 6, 329 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8, 330 *n* 2, 332 *n* 6, 333 *nn* 1 and 4, 337 *n* 7.

Shamsīyah, a famous treatise on Logic, 427 *n* 1.

Shamsīyah Sulṭāns of Hind,—of the family of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 71 *n* 1.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamash, 71. See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish.

Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij, Qāẓī, one of the Qāẓīs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 132.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 134 and *n* 3, 137 and *n* 8, 217.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Dāmaghānī, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.

Shamsu-d-Dīn of 'Irāq, Mīr Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 505.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, Sulṭān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihli, 71 and *n* 1, 79, 80, 86, 87, **88** and *n* 1, 90 and *n* 2, 91, 92, 93, **96**, 98, 120, 126 and *n* 3, 184, 187, 260 and *n* 7.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Kaikāūs, son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, Sulṭān of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 227, **229**, 230 and **n 1**.

Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sulṭān, 309, 324, 328. See under Ilyās Ḥājī.

Shamsu-d-Dīn of Mārhira, Qāẓī, one of the Qāẓīs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 123 and *n* 2

Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, called the A'ẓam Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464 and **n 5**, 568 and **n 6**.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Ghūrī before his accession, 65 *n* 2.

Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān, son of Malik Marwān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 *n* 4.

Shamsu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 390, 392.

Shaqā'iqu-n-Nu'mān, a red flower, 142 *n* 3.

Shar', *ash*, the sacred canon of the Qur'ān, 4 *n* 1.

Sharaf, a poet, 68.

Sharaf of Baiāna. See under Sulṭān Sharf.

Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, Quṭbu-l Mashāikhi-l-'Iẓām, a famous saint 82 *n* 1, 416 and *n* 13.

Sharafu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abdu-llāh as-Sa'dī, Shaikh, 187 *n* 2. The famous Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz.

Sharafu-l-Mulk Ash'arī, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125.

Shārān, town of, 406 *n* 4. [452

Sharbatdār, preparer of beverages,

Sharf. See under Sharaf.

Sharḥain-i-Miftāḥ, two commentaries on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 2

Sharḥ-i-Manẓūma of Ḥājī Mulla Hādī Sabzwārī, 181 *n* 2.

Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balāghat of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abi-l-Ḥadīd al-Mu'tazilī, 458 *n* 3.

Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥāif, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 and *n* 1.

Sharḥ-i-Shamsīyah, a treatise on logic, 427 and *n* 1.

Sharḥu-l-Masābiḥ wa-l-Manāhij, one of the works of Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 *n* 4.

Sharīf, Mīr Saiyyid, a well-known author, 560.

Sharq, Sulṭān, Governor of Baiāna, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and *nn* 6, 11 and 12.

Sharqī, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, 386 and *nn* 2 and 3, 387 and *n* 4, 403.

Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpūr, 409 and *n* 8, 413.

Shaṣt galla, surname of the poet Manūchihrī Dāmaghānī, 46 *n* 4.

Shatladar, name of one of the Sutlej in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.

Shaula, name of one of the mansions of the moon, 115 *n* 3.

Shāyista Khān, son of Qurra Qumār, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291, 293, **295** and **n 3**.

Shāyista Khān, title of Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khiljī, *afterwards* Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī (*q. v*), **226**, 227, 228, 229, **230** and *n* 1.

Shehr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 *n* 7.

Shekel, a weight and a coin of the Hebrews, 25 *n* 1.

Sher Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 226 and *n* 1.

Sher Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 130, 186, 187.

Sher Khān, son of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 534.

Sher Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihli, 25 *n* 5, 436. See under Shīr Shāh.

Sherpūr, town of, 82 *n* 1, 93 *n*.

Sherring's *Hindū Tribes and Castes*, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 433 *n* 4, 557 *n* 9.

Sherzād ibn Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Sulṭān of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 55 and *n* **2**.

Shī'ahs, the, 3 **n 6**, 22 *n* 3, 59 **n 4**,

156 *n* 1, 157 *n*, 420 *n* 8, 571 and *n* 2, 572 and *n* 5, 576 **n 5**, 577 *n*, 604 *n* 5, 625 and *n* 3, 626 *nn* 4 and 6, 636.

Shibla, a village in the dependencies of Osrūshna in Transoxiana, 59 *n* 1.

Shiblī, a famous Muḥammadan Saint, 59 and *n* 1.

Shihāb, Maulānā. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn the *Enigmatist*.

Shihāb, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of *Humāyūn*, 598 *n* 5.

Shihāb Khān. See *Shihāb Nāhir*.

Shihāb Muhamra Badāonī, for Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and *n* 2.

Shihāb Nāhir, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 351, 359.

Shihāb-i-Mutmara, Maulānā, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 99 and **n 2**, 100 and *n* 1, 103, 112, 271 and *n* 2.

Shihābu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33, 35. See under Sulṭān *Mas'ūd*.

Shihābu-d-Daulah Maudūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, *43 n 7*. See under Sulṭān *Maudūd*.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Ghorī, 62, 63 and *n* 1, **64** and *n* 2, **65** and **n 2**, 66, 70, 72, 133 *n*. See under Sulṭān *Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām*.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, Maulānā, a learned man in the time of Bābar, 449 and *nn* 3 and 9, 450 and *n* 1.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, 230.

Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara, known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara (*q. v.*).

Shihābu-d-Dīn Nīshāpūrī *Bakhshī*, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Sulṭān, *Malik*, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.

Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, **272**, 273 and **n 4**, 274 *n* 1, 284.

Shihābu-ṣ-Ṣāqib, a name of Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist (*q v.*), 450 *n* 1.

Shikārpūr, town of, 487 and *n* 2.

Shikebī, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 *n* 7.

Shiqqdārān, officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces, 407 *n* 2.

Shīr Khān, son of Ḥasan Sūr, *afterwards* Shīr Shāh, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, **466**, 467, **468**, 469, 470, 471 and *n* 1, 472, 475, 521, 541. See also under Shīr Shāh.

Shīr Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, **461** and *n* 5, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481 *n* 5, **482**, 483, **484**, 490, 492, 495, 496, 500, 502, 504, 526, 527, 535 *n* 7, 538, 542, 563, 594. See the above. The name is also written Sher Shāh.

Shir-i-falak, the constellation Leo, 498 *n* 5.

Shīr-i-Khudā, *the Lion of God*, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 93 *n* 4.

Shīr mādar, foster-mother, 580 *n* 5.

Shīrāz, the city of, 6 *n* 4, 38 *n* 4, 187 and *n* 2, 572 *n* 1.

Shīrgarh, the new name of Qanauj, 472.

Shīrīn, the wife of Khusrū King of Persia, 279 *n* 3.

Shīrin wa Khusrū, a poem of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 269 *n* 5.

Shirk, polytheism, 183 *n* 2, 625 *n* 5.

Shirwān Shāh Khāqān Manūchihr, King of Persia, patron of the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Shīwar, town of, 389 and *n* 8, 391, 392 and *n* 5.

Shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, 392.

Shujā'u-l-Mulk, son of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388.

Siālkoṭ, fortress of, 49 and *n* 1, 66 and n 7, 67 and *n*, 436, 437, 465.

Sibi, town of, 425 *n* 2.

Sicilians, the, 76 *n*.

Sidāran or Sidhāran, son of Kāngū Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 *n* 3, 395, 396, 397.

Ṣiddīq, Aṣ-, title of Abū Bakr, the first Khalīfah, 59 and n 2.

Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kajwī Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 394, 395, 397.

Sidhan, Rāi of Satgarh, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 *n* 5.

Sidhāran Khatrī, 395. See under Sidāran.

Sīdī Maulā, Saiyyid, contemporary of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233 and n 4, 234, 235, 248, 507 and *n* 2, 525.

Sidra, the,—or

Sidratu-l-Muntahā, the lote tree of Paradise, in the seventh heaven, 58 *n* 3, 150 and *n* 2.

Ṣiffīn, a celebrated battle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, 157 *n* 2.

Sihām, arrows used in the game of *maisir*, 369 and *n* 1.

Sihrind, town of, 330, 331 and *n* 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 *n* 11, 406, 437, 438, 486, 498, 548. See also under Sirhind.

Siḥru-l-Ḥalāl, *lawful magic*, 151 *n* 6.

Siḥūn (Jaxartes), the, 159 *n*.

Sihwān, in the Karāchī district of Sind, 560 *n* 8.

Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 *n* 3.

Sijistān, province of, 15 *n*, 34 *n* 4, 70 *n* 2.

Sijz, a village in the province of Sijistān, 70 *n* 2.

Sikandar, a general of Mīrzā Kāmrān's army, 463.

Sikandar, called Ẕu-l-Qarnain, Alexander the Great, 254, 255, 268, 331, 425, 436, 441, 485.

Sikandar, Rampart of, 191 and *n* 2.

Sikandar-i-Ṣānī, title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 and *n* 6.

Sikandar Khān Osbak, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592 and *n* 1, 594, 595.

Sikandar Khān, son of Shāh Muḥam-

mad Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 538, 539.

Sikandar Khān, Malik Ya'qūb, one of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 337, 338.

Sikandar Lodī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 411, 412, *n* 2, 413 and *n* 13, 416, 417, 418, 423 *n* 11, 424 and *n* 4, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431 and *n* 1, 432, 435, 444, 445, 466, 470, 476.

Sikandar Maliku-sh-Sharq, governor of Lāhor, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389, 390.

Sikandar, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān of Lakhnautī, contemporary of Sulṭan Fīroz Shāh, 328 and *n* 6, 329.

Sikandar Sūr, one of the cousins of Shīr Shāh, assumes the title of Sulṭān, 542, 543, 544, 546, 547, 550, 559, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597.

Sikandar, son of Tāju-l-Mulk Naṣr, one of the Maliks of Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyids, 380.

Sikandar Tuḥfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383. See the above.

Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 269 *n* 5.

Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 174 *n* 3, 298 *n* 4, 467.

Sikkah, currency stamped with name of sovereign, 3 *n* 3, 15 and *n* 3.

Sikkākī, Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, author of the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 2.

Sīkrī, another name of the town of Fatḥpūr, 386, 445 and *n* 2, 487, 488.

Sil Hako bridge, over the Brahmaputra, 84 *n* 1.

Silsilatu-z-Zahab, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Simāk, the fourteenth of the houses of the moon, 152 and *n* 2.

Simāku-l-A'zal, Spica Virginis, 152 *n* 2.

Simāku-r-Rāmiḥ, Arcturus, 152 *n* 2.

Sīmurgh, a fabulous bird, 178 *nn* 2 and 4.

Sind, 11 *n* 3, 12, 13 *n*, 20, 29, 36 and *n* 10, 80, 88 *n* 1, 91, 124, 187, 297, 465, 559, 560 *n* 8, 618 *n* 6. Called also Sindh.

Sind, the,—the river Indus, 128 *n* 3, 422 *n* 3.

Sindh, see under Sind.

Sindhīs, the, 130.

Sindhu, name of the Indus in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.

Sindus,—*the river Indus*, 23 *n* 3.

Sinjār, town of, in Mesopotamia, 55 *n* 3, 167 *n* 3.

Sinjar, *Alp* Khān, wife's brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247.

Sinjar ibn Malik Shāh Saljūqī, the last of the Saljūq dynasty in Khurāsān, 55 and *nn* 3 and 4, 56, 61 and *n* 5, 65, 167 and n 3, 170, 291, 602.

Sinjūrī, Abū 'Alī,—contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20.

Siutūr hills, the Kumaon hills, 185, 186 *n* 1, 334 and *n* 7.

Sipāhān, same as Ispahān or Iṣpahān, 34 and *n* 1, 35.

Sipand, rue, burned to avert the evil eye, 192 *n* 3, 617 and *n* 1.

Sipar, Rāi, Governor of Itāwa, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 and *n* 5, 381.

Siparak, a herb, 629 and *n* 2.

Sipra river, the,—in Mālwā, 95 *n* 4.

Siprak, a herb, 629 *n* 2.

Siqlāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 *n* 3.

Sīr, Rāi, ruler of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and *n* 3.

Sirāj 'Afīf, the Historian. See under Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf.

Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkākī, author of the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 2.

Sirāṭ, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 *n* 1. See also the next.

Sirāṭ-i-Mustaqīm, the hair-like bridge over Hell, 372 and *n* 2. See also the above.

Sirhind, town of, 331 *n* 3, 401, 520, 592 and *n* 6, 594. See also under Sihrind.

Sirhindī, Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu-llah, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 10 *n* 2, 67 *n* 2.

Sīrī, one of the three cities of Dihlī, 247, 269 *n* 1, 295 *n* 10, 311 *n* 5, 351, 361 *n* 1, 366 and *n* 1, 396.

Sirinor, mountains of, in the Himalayas, 307 *n* 4.

Sir Mūr,—or

Sirmūr, hilly country of, 120 and *nn* 1 and 8, 131, 251, 324, 337, 338, 341.

Sirmūr, town of, 326 *n* 2.

Sirmūr Bardār, hills of, 120 *n* 1.

Sissoo tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 *n* 2.

Sīstān, province of, 569. See also under Seistān, Sīwistān and Sijistān.

Siwālik hill-range, to the north of Hindūstān, 70, 93, 132 *n* 4, 358 and *n* 6, 438, 595.

Sīwī Siyūpūr, province of, 425 and *n* 2.

Sīwi o Sīūpur, province of, 425 *n* 2.

Sīwistān, province of, 91, 249 *n* 7, 323. See under Sīstān.

Siyāhwān, fortress in the Karāchī district of Sind, 560 and *n* 8.

Siyaru-l-'Ārifīn of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, 430.

Siyūpūr, province of, 425 *n* 2.

Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 159 *n* 2, 244 *n* 6, 298 *n* 5, 543 *n* 3.

Slane, De, *Ibn Khallikān* or *Prolégomènes d' Ibn Khaldūn*, 6 *n* 3, 12 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 3, 42 *nn* 1 and 3, 44 *n* 5, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 59 *n* 1, 74 *n* 2, 149 *n*, 151 *nn* 4 and 6, 152 *n* 2, 157 *n* 1, 167 *n* 3, 181 *n* 2, 198 *n* 2, 244 *n* 6, 287 *nn* 1 and 2, 352 *n* 1, 481 *n* 6.

Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 19 *n*, 29 *n* 5, 76 *n*, 367 *n* 3.

Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, 46 *n* 5, 332 *n*.

Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 23 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 35 *n* 2, 394 *n* 5.

Soane, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 *n* 1.

Sobha Nath, *or Lord of Beauty*, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.

Soghdi, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 *n* 1.

Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Īrān, 499.

Solimān (Solomon), 148 *n* 1.

Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and *n* 1, 205 and n 3, 206 *n*, 485, 505 *n* 6.

Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 *n* 3, 505 *n* 6, 559 and *n* 2.

Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 *n* 2.

Somagraha, lucky things, 79 *n* 2.

Somanāth,—or

Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4. See also the next.

Somnāt,—or

Somnāth, in Gujarāt on the coast, 17 and *n* 4, 27 and n 4, 28 and *n* 4, 256. See Somanāth.

Son, the,—or the Soane, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 *n* 1.

Sonhār, town of, 407 and *n* 6.

Sonīpat Bangar, district of Hindūstān, 122 *n* 1. [and *n* 6.

Sonnergong, same as Sunārgānw, 186

Sonpat,—or

Sonpath, a city with a fortress north of Dihlī, 21 *n* 4, 37 and n 3.

Sontheimer's *Ibn Baiṭār*, 146 *n* 6, 172 *n* 2, 173 *n* and *nn* 2 and 3, 182 *nn* 1 and 4, 484 *n* 1, 550 *n* 1.

Sorath, country of, 264 and *n* 6, 454 *n* 7, 455.

Soreth, peninsula of, 454 *n* 7. Same as Sorath.

Sortes Virgilianæ, 412 *n* 1.

Sortilege, different methods of, 412 *n* 1.

Sot river, the, in Rohilkund, 464 *n* 4.

Southern India, 265 *n* 2.

Spider, story of a, 149 *n*.

Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad*, 46 *n* 5.

Srāvana, a Hindū month, 27 *n* 4.

Stag, notes on the, 171 *n* 2.

Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 *n* 4, 454 *n* 6.

Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.

Statistical Account of Bengal, Hunter's, 125 *n* 3, 299 *n* 2.

Stein, Dr., 384 *n* 1.

Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 142 *n* 3, 159 *n* 2, 312 *n* 7, 321 *n* 2, 466 *n* 7, 629 *n* 2.

Sthāneswara, the modern Thānesar, 293 *n* 5.

Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 *n* 5.

Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 *nn* 1 and 3.

Ṣūbah of Agra, 410 *n* 4.

Subḥān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 *n* 7.

Subḥatu-l-Abrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Ṣubḥ-i-Kāẕib, the false dawn, 115 *n* 3.

Subuktigīn, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznīn, 13 and n 1, 14 and *nn* 1 and 2, 15, 16 and *n* 1.

Suclāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 *n* 3.

Sudr Khān, Governor of Agra, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 *n* 1.

Suez, Gulf of, 169 *n* 1.
Suez, town of, 169 *n* 1.
Ṣūfī Khān Yūsuf Azlbacha, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and *n* 5, 293.
Ṣūfī Walī Sulṭān Kadāmū, one of the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 *n* 3.
Ṣūfīs, the, 58 *n* 5, 191 *n* 4, 374 *n* 5, 508, 512.
Sūghma or *Sūqmā*, a Turkī word meaning *a pole*, 497 *n* 1
Suhā, a small obscure star in the Lesser Bear, 182 and *n* 2, 371 and *n* 5.
Ṣuḥuf, a collection of pages, 615 *n* 5.
Sūī Sūbar, province of, 425 *n* 2.
Sūkhpāl Nabsa,—or
Sūkhpāl Naba, Rājā of Sind, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 20 and *n* 4 See the next.
Sūkhpāl-Nawāsa Shāh, grandson of Jaipāl, 20 *n* 4. Same as the above (*q.v.*).
Suleimān (Solomon), 136, 559, 595.
Suleimān Badakhshī, Mīrzā, ruler of Badakhshān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 574, 580, 581, 585.
Suleimān, son of Ḥasan Sūr, and brother of Shīr Shāh, 468.
Suleimān Khān Karrānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 525, 540, 541, 554.
Suleimān Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 and *n* 11, 424 and *n* 2.
Suleimān, adopted son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.
Suleimān Shāh Akat Khān, brother's son to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259 *n* 5.
Suleimān Shāh Lodī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389.
Sulindrine, the town of Jālandhar in Ptolemy, 382 and *n* 4.
Sulphur, notes on, 340 *n* 2.
Sulṭān, title, first assumed by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 16 *n* 2.
Sulṭān of Rūm, the Sulṭān of Turkey, 480.
Sulṭān 'Ālam, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454.
Sulṭān Bahādur, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Humāyūn, 452, 453, 454 and *n* 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.
Sulṭān Begam, wife of Mīrzā 'Askarī, 569.
Sulṭān Begam, sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 570 and *n* 11.
Sulṭān Hoshang, Alp Khān, the ruler of Mālwā, 363 *n* 2, 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 3.
Sulṭān Junaid Mīrzā Birlās, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 439, 446, 468, 469.
Sulṭān Kot, fortress of, in the country of Bhasiyāna, 80 and *nn* 5 and 6.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī. See under Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.
Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān, elder son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 569.
Sulṭānpūr, town of, formerly called Arankal, 299.
Sulṭānpūr, on the river of Lāhor, 465, 472, 503, 506, 513, 534.
Sulṭān Saiyyid Muḥammad, same as Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 10 *n* 2.

Sulṭān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmānā, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 342.

Sulṭān Shāh Lodī, called Islām Khān, Governor of Sihrind under Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380 and *n* 3.

Sulṭān Sharf or **Sharq**, Governor of Baiāna, 414 and *nn* 6 and 8. See the next.

Sulṭān Sharq, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and *nn* 6, 11 and 12. See the above.

Sulṭānam, sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 570 *n* 11.

Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, 266, 301. See under **Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā**.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, ruler of Baiānā, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 414 *n* 8.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 348 and *n* 9.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qaranqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360.

Sumbul, the spikenard of the ancients, 146 *n* 6, 373 and *n* 4.

Sumbul-i-Hindī, the perfumed sumbul, 146 *n* 6.

Sumbul-i-Rūmī, called also **Nārdīn**, 146 *n* 6.

Sūmrā Rājpūts, the rulers of Sind, 13 *n*.

Sunārgām,—or

Sunārgānw, on a branch of the Brahmaputra S. E. of Dacca, 186 and *n* 6, 299, 308, 309.

Sūndhī Rāi, the Hindū General of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and *n* 2.

Sunnah, the practice of the Prophet, 488 *n* 7, 519 and n 4, 589, 626 and n 1.

Sunnatun mu'akkadatun, an authenticated traditional practice, 626 *n* 2.

Sunnīs, the, 3 *n* 6, 57 and *n* 1, 59 n 4, 156 *n* 1, 200 *n*, 320 *n* 4, 420 *n* 8, 576 *n* 5, 604 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3, 626 *nn* 1, 2 and 6.

Sūpar, town of, 424.

Supārī, the nut of *Areca catechu*, 302 *n* 6.

Sūqmā or ***Sūghmā***, a Turqī word meaning *a pole*, 497 *n* 1.

Sūr Afghāns, the, 538.

Ṣuraiyyā, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.

Surate, town of, 454 *n* 7. See **Sorath**.

Sūratu-l-Ikhlāṣ, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 2 *nn* 3 and 4.

Sūratu-l-Kahf, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 207 *n* 1.

Sūratu-r-Raḥmān, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 218 *n* 2.

Surgha, probably for ***Sūghma*** a Turkī word meaning *a pole*, 497 *n* 1.

Sūrī, a flower, 142 and *n* 3.

Surkhāb of Tabrīz, called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets,' 339 *n* 4, 584 *n*.

Surkh bud, *or Red idol*, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 *n* 1.

Surkh Kulāh, *or Red-caps*, name of the Turkomāns of the district of Garm Sīr, 48 and *n* 2.

Surra-man-ra'ā, or **Sāmarrā**, a town of 'Irāq on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 *n* 1, 571 and *n* 2.

Sursatī, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also **Sarsatī** and **Sarsutī**, 36 *n* 1.

Sūrtaq, Ilāq, name of a place, 569 *n* 8.
Surūr, town of, 326 *n*.
Surusty, for the country of Sarsutī (q.v), 80 *n* 1.
Sūrya Sidhānta. Burgess, 163 *n* 2.
Susa, a town of Persia, 332 *n*.
Sūsan, the lily, notes on, 101 *n* 1.
Sūsan-i-āzād, the white variety of the lily, 101 *n* 1.
Sūsānī, the syriac origin of the word *Sūsan* or lily, 101 *n* 1.
Sutlej, the. See under the Satlaj.
Sū-ul-qinya, description of the disease so called, 30 *n* 2, 31 *n*.
Suyūṭī, As-, author of the *Tārīkhu-l-Khulafā*, 12 *n* 2, 15 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1.
Sword of Moses, Gaster's, 141 *n* 4.
Sydenham Society, the, 30 *n* 1.
Syria, 279 *n*, 585 *n* 7.
Suyūrghāl, a Turkī word meaning gifts of land, 424 *n* 3.

T

Ta'abbaṭa-sharran, surname of Ṣābit-bin Jābir al-Fahmī, the famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 and *n* 3.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, 9 *n* 2, 52 *n* 1, 62 *n* 4. See the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, popular name of the *Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī* of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, 9 *n* 2, 10 *n* 3, 29 *n*, 45 *n* 1, 62 n 4, 82 *n* 4, 83 *n* 1, 121 *n* 7, 399 *nn* 1 and 7, 569 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 2 and 11, 572 *n* 7, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 582 *nn* 5 and 7, 586 *n* 5, 592 *n* 6, 593 *nn* 3 and 9, 594 *n* 6.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī, 230 and *n* 3.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty, 13 *n* 1, 14 *nn* 1 and 2, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 17 *n* 3, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 2, 23 *n* 1, 29 *n* 1, 31 *n* 1, 32 *n*, 33 *n* 2, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 3, 49 *n* 4, 50 *n* 1, 51 *n* 1, 52 *n* 4, 55 *nn* 2 and 4, 56 *n* 1, 60 *nn* 1 and 2, 63 *n* 1, 65 *nn* 1 and 2, 66 *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 69 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 70 *n* 3, 71 *nn* 5, 6 and 7, 72 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 73 *n* 2, 74 *n* 1, 78 *n* 3, 79 *n* 3, 80 *nn* 3, 4, 5 and 6, 81 *nn* 2 and 3, 82 *nn* 3 and 5, 83 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 84 *n* and *n* 1, 85 *n* 1, 86 *n* 1, 87 *n* 5, 89 *n* 5, 90 *n* 2, 91 *n* 4, 93 *n* 1, 94 and *n* 3, 95 *nn* 1 and 2, 98 *n* 2, 120 *nn* 1, 2 and 8, 121 *nn* 1, 2 and 5, 122 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 123 *nn* 2 and 3, 124 *n* 1, 125 *n* 2, 126 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 127 and *nn* 1 and 2, 128 *n* 1, 129 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 130 *n* 2, 131 *nn* 1 and 4, 132 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 134 *n* 1, 135 *n* 1, 592 *n* 4.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī, 95 *n* 6.
Tabarhindah, fortress of, in Rājpūtānā, 19 and *n* 2, 69 and n 2, 89 and *n* 3, 121 and *n* 5, 130, 131, 229, 233, 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393.
Ṭabarī, the celebrated Arab Historian, 36 *n* 2, 74 *n* 2.
Ṭabaristān, a province of Persia, 36 and *nn* 2 and 3, 47, 73 *n* 1.

Ṭabarīya, Sea of,—the Dead Sea, 158 *n* 1.

Tabarrā, or enmity, a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs, 576 and n 5, 577 *n*.

Tabarrāī, accursed, 577 *n*. See under *Tabarrā*.

Ṭabl-i-'ulā nawākhtan, meaning of the expression, 498 *n* 4.

Tabrīz, town of, in Persia, 72 *n* 4, 573, 584 *n*.

Tafā'ul, taking a *fa'l* or omen from the words of a book, 412 *n* 1.

Tafsīr-i-Madārik, a work on the sources of law ordinances, 428, 429 and *n* 1.

Tafsīru-l-Baiẓāwī, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 *nn* 1 and 4. See under the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl*.

Taftāzānī, At-, author of the *Muṭawwal*, a commentary on the *Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ*, 428 *n* 3.

Ṭughāna, a falchion, 215 and *n* 4.

Taghī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314, 319, 320, 324.

Taghī Tāghī, 324. See the above.

Tagīnābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsīr, 65 and *n* 1. See also under Takīnābād.

Ṭāhir, Khwāja, Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Ṭāhir, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 418.

Ṭāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 *n* 6. Same as the following.

Ṭāhir Khondī,—or

Ṭāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 6, 625 and n 3, 626, 632, 635, 636.

Ṭahmāsp, Shāh, the King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 469, 470, 624.

Ṭā'if, a town in Ḥijāz, 12 *n* 1.

Tāj or red caps of the Qizilbāsh, 627 *n* 7.

Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 470.

Tāj Khān Karrānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 525, 539, 540, 541.

Tāj-i-Khurūs, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1.

Tājiks, the descendants of Arabs in Persia, 66 *n* 1.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, Secretary of State of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 94, 97.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 334.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, feudatory of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125.

Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 353 and *n* 8.

Tāju-d-Dīn Naṣr, Malik, 378 *n* 6. See Tāju-l-Mulk Naṣr.

Tāju-d-Dīn Ṭālaqānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldkuz,—or

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldūz, one of the Mu'izzī Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn, 77 *n* 1, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 91.

Tāju-l-'Arūs, a celebrated Arabic Dictionary, 620 *n* 1.

Tāju-l-Ma'āṣir, name of an historical work, 73 *n* 2, 80 *n* 3.

Tāju-l-Mulk Malik Ḥusain, uncle of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231.

Tāju-l-Mulk Naṣr,—or

Tāju-l-Mulk Tuḥfa, one of the Maliks of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and *n* 2, 377, 378 and *n* 6, 379, 380.

Takhallus, poetical name, 633 and *n* 5.

Takhmār, a dart having no point, 215 *n* 6.

Takīnābād or Tagīnābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsīr, 34 and *n* 5, 48, 65 and *n* 1.

Taklū, a Turki word, meaning of, 569 and *n* 6.

Talanbha, a fortress at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 355 *n* 1. See under Ṭulumba.

Talaundī town of, 352, 362, 382 and *n* 2, 392.

Talbagha Nāgor, Malik, 295 and *n* 2. See under Talbigha Nāgorī.

Talbagha Yaghda, Malik, 286 *n* 5. See under Talbigha Yaghda.

Talbīgha Nāgorī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286, 295 and *n* 2.

Talbigha Yaghda, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286 and *n* 5.

Talhar, a town in the Kashmīr hill tracts, 383 and *n* 2, 384 *n* 1.

Ta'limīah, a sect of Muslim heretics, called also the Bāṭinīah, 22 *n* 3.

Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ, at-Taftāzānī's abridgment of the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 3.

Talpath, town of, 295.

Taltīb, name of a place, 258 *n* 4.

Talwāra hills of, 394 and *n* 1. See the next.

Talwāra, a village on the right bank of the Chinūb, opposite Riāsī, 384 *n* 1.

Tamāchī, brother of Bānbhana Rāi, governor of Thatha under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 *n* 4.

Ṭamghāch, Amīr, one of the slaves of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and *n* 2.

Tamīm, a tribe of the Arabs, 287 *n* 1.

Tamīm Anṣārī, one of the companions of Muḥammad, 13 *n*.

Tammat,—or

Tammati-l-Kitāb, answering to the word *Finis* at the end of books, 428 and *n* 4.

Tammūz, a god of the Phœnicians, 104 *n* 2.

Tamūz, the fourth month of the Jewish year, 104 and *n* 2.

Ṭanbūr, a kind of mandolin, 195 *n* 4.

Taneshar, 22 *n* 1. Same as the town of Thānesar (*q.v.*).

Tangah, 92 and *n* 3. See under *Tanqah* and *Tanka*.

Tang-chashm, or close-eyed, a name of the Turks, 627 *n* 7.

Tang-shakar, a sugar jar having a very narrow mouth, 174 *n* 2.

Tanka,—or.

Tanqah, a copper, silver or gold coin, 87 *n* 1, 92 and *n* 3, 306 and *n* 3, 307 and *n*.

Tanūra-i-Musaddas, the world, 147 *n* 2.

Taqīu-d-Dīn Wāiẓ Rabbānī, Makhdūm Shaikh, 333.

Tarāwarī, later name of the town of Tarāyan (*q.v.*), 69, 79.

Tarāyan, on the banks of the Sarsutī, 69 and *n* 4, 79, 90, 98. See under Tarāwarī.

Tarāzū-i-charkh,—or

Tarāzū-i-falak, a name of the constellation Libra, 142 *n* 2.

Tardī Beg,—or

Tardī Beg Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 455, 564 and *n* 6, 566, 568, 591.

Targḥī Mughal, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250, 251.

Tārīkh, chronogram, 605 and *n* 10.

Tārīkh-i-'Alāī of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 247 *n*, 251 *n*, 252 n 1. Called also the *Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ* (*q.v.*).

Tārīkh-i-Alfī, 28 *n* 4, 80 *n* 4.

Tārīkh-i-Badāonī, another name of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of Badāonī, 11 *n* 1.

Tārīkh-i-Firishta, 205 *n* 2. See under Firishta.

Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, 315 *n* 7.

Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī, 184 *n* 1, 185 *n* 2, 186 *nn* 5 and 6, 220 *n* 2, 249, 261 *n* 5, 264 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 274 *n* 1, 295 *n* 10, 301, 315 and n 7.

Tārīkh-i-Gusīda, 32 *n* 1.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 8 and *n* 3, 500 and *n* 7.

Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ of Mīr Khusrū, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (*q. v.*), 252 and *n* 1, 266.

Tārīkh-i-Mas'ūdī, the history of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 47 *n* 2.

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Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, called also the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 9 and n 2, 62 and n 4, 63 *n*, 64 and *n* 1, 67, 504.

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Elias and Ross, 69 *n* 5, 103 *n* 3, 145 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5, 236 *n* 1, 305 *n* 3, 353 *n* 1, 464 *n* 8, 572 *n* 8, 574 *n* 6, 575 *n* 1.

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Tārīkhu-l-Khulafā of as-Suyūṭī, 12 *n* 2. See under the *History of the Caliphs*.

Ṭarīqu-t-Taḥqīq, one of the works of Ḥakīm Sanāī, 56 *n* 2.

Tarjī'band, a kind of poem, 62 and n 1, 196 *n* 3.

Tarkhān, town of 40 *n* 1.

Tarkīb-band, a kind of poetical composition, 196 *n* 3, 198 *n* 2.

Tārkīla, town of, 186.

Tarma Shīrīn, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 316.

Tartary, Chinese, 145 *n* 2.

Taryāq or Turtāq the Mughul, of the royal house of Khurāsān, 251 *n*, 252 *n* 2.

Tashhīr kardan, to expose to public ridicule, 22 *n* 4.

Taṣḥīf, technical meaning of the expression, 615 *n* 5.

Ṭussūj, one twenty-fourth part of a *Gaz*, 330 *n* 8.

Tātār, country of, 161, 171.

Tātār Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī and Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 406 and *n* 3.

Tātār Khān, son of Arsalān Khān, Governor of Lakhnautī under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 185.

Tātār Khān, adopted son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 323 *n* 3, 328.

Tātār Khān Kālpī,—or

Tātār Khān Kāsī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542 and *n* 7, 592, 593.

Tātār Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt, 452.

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Tātār Khurd, Malik, Governor of Lāhor under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

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Tatthah. See under the town of Tatta.

Tau'am, name of the second arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Tauba (Repentance), formula of, used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril, 551 and *n* 2.

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Taurāt, the Mosaic law, 4 *n* 1.—The Book of the Law, 206 *n*.

Taurus, the constellation, 367 *nn* 3 and 4.

Taushīḥ, an acrostic, 606 and *n* 2.

Tāusīn, Mīyān, the famous Hindū musician, 557 and *n* 1.

Tawallā, affection (as opposed to *Tabarrā q.v.*), 576 *n* 5.

Ta'wīz, an amulet, 115 *n* 4.

Tayammum, ablutional ceremony performed with sand, 201 and *n* 2.

Taẕkira (*Book of Memoirs*) of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, 430.

Taẕkira of Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv, 33 and *n* 1. See also under *Taẕkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*.

Taẕkiratu-l-Mulūk, an historical work, 33 *n* 2, 90 *n* 2.

Taẕkiratu-sh-Shu'arā of Muḥammad 'Aufī of Merv, 33 and *n* 1, 221.

Tedjer, name of the river Tigris in the Zend, 394 *n* 5.

Teesta river, the, 84 *n* 1.

Teheran, capital of modern Persia, 30 *n* 1.

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Telingāna, Kingdom of, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 286.

Ten Thousand, Xenephon's account of the retreat of the—, 586 *n*.

Thākur of the Hindūs, 484 *n* 1.

Thales, the celebrated Greek astronomer, 367 *nn* 3 and 4.

Thāna of Bhīm, a name of the fortress of Bhīmnagar, 21.

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Thaneswar, modern name of Thānesar, 21 *n* 4

Thangīr, fortress of, 80 *n* 4. See under Thankīr.

Thankar, or properly Bhankar, fort of, 71 *n* 2, 425 and *n* 3. See under Thankīr.

Thankīr, fortress of, in the territory of Bhiāna, 80 *nn* 4 and 5. Called also Thangīr and Thankar (*q.v.*).

Thar Yāl, nephew of Hīmūn Baqqāl the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 553 and *nn* 5 and 6.

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Thornton's *Gazetteer of the countries on the North-West of India*, 567 *nn* 1 and 9.

Tibat,—or

Tibbat, country of, 84 *n*, 125. See also under Tibet.

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Tiberhindah, fortress of, 69 *n* 2. See under Tabarhindah.

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Tigīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.

Tigrā, name of the river Tigris in old Persian, 394 *n* 5.

Tigris, the, 59 *n* 1, 394 *n* 5, 624 *n* 8.

Ṭihārat, purifications enjoined by Muḥammadan law, 603 and *n* 2.

Tihārū, one of the Mountain tribes between Lakhnautī and Tibat, 84 *n*.

Tijāra, town in the province of Mīwāt, 366 *n*.

Tilāī, town of, 334 *nn* 4 and 5.

Tilak, the Hindū,—a General of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 *n* 9.

Tilang, called also Telingā or Telingāna, country of, 261 *n* 5, 265 and **n 2**, 297, 299, 309, 329.

Tilaundī, or Talaundī, town of, 352, 362, 382 and **n 2**, 392.

Tilok Chand, Rāi, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr), contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 408 *n* 4.

Tilok, the son of Jye Sein, 36 *n* 9. For Tūlak ibn Ḥusain (*q. v.*).

Tilūk Chand, Rāi,—Governor of Baksar, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī and Buhlūl Lodī, 408 and *n* 4.

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Tīmūr Khān, the Mughūl, one of the Generals of Chingīz Khān, 188 *n* 1.

Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg, known also as Malik Qīrān, one of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 125 and *n* 4.

Tippera District, 186 *n* 6.

Tīr, a kind of cambric or lawn and also an arrow, 192 *n* 1.

Tirhut, 86, 349, 416.

Tirpauliya mosque of Aḥmadābād, 635 and *n* 6.

Ṭiyarah, a bad omen, 412 *n* 1.

Tora o tūzak, Turkī words implying the acknowledging one as rightful king with due formalities, 259 *n* 1.

Torābānd, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, 328 *n* 1.

Tradition, six books of, 626 *n* 1.

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Trajan, canal of, 169 *n* 1.

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Trübner, the London Publisher, 76 *n*.

Tschān, a town near Rantanbhor, 257 *n* 1.

Tūbra, for *Tūra* (*q. v.*), 440 *n*.

Tūda Bahādur Khān, the Governor of Sunār Gānw under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299.

Tufak, a pea-shooter, 159 and *n* 2.

Tughā Khān Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125.

Ṭūghān, a falcon in Turkī, 215 *n* 5.

Tūghān the Ra'īs, one of the Turkbachas, raises an insurrection in the reign of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 379, 380.

Tūghānak, a kind of bird in Turkī, 215 *n* 5.

Tughdī Beg, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36, 37 *n* 7, 38, 43.

Tughlaq Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 338. See under Tughlaq Shāh.

Tughlaq Khān Ghāzī-i-Mulk, *afterwards* Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 249, 250, 251, 252. See under Ghāzī Malik.

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Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 324, 338 and *n* 1, **341**, 342.

Tughlaqābād, fortress of, 296, 297, **299**, 300, 307.

Tughlaq-Nāma, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 301.

Tughral, Governor of Bengal under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 135 *n* 1, 1[illegible], 216.

Tughral Beg Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'īl ibn Saljūq, founder of the Saljūqī dynasty, 42 and *n* 3, 43, 51 *n* 2, 61 *n* 5. See also under Tughril Beg.

Tughral Ḥājib, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47, 48, 50.

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Tughril ibn Arslān the Saljūq, of the Saljūqī dynasty of Khurāsān, 298 *n* 4.

Tughril Beg, founder of the Saljūqī dynasty, 35 *n* 3. See under Tughral Beg.

Tuḥfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and *n* 2.

Tuḥfa-i-Iṣnā-'aṣharīyah of Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī, 577 *n*.

Tuḥfatu-l-Aḥrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Tuḥfatu-l-'Irāqain of the celebrated poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4

Tūlak ibn Ḥusain, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 86 *n* 9.

Tulūm or Tulloom, a village on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 *n* 2.

Ṭulumba, town of, at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 355 and **n 1**, 389 and **n 2**, 390, 392, 427.

Tulūmdī,—or

Tulūndī, the village of Tulūm *q. v.*, probable origin of the town of Talaundī, 382 *n* 2.

Tulloom, a place on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 *n* 2.

Tunis, the province in North Africa, 167 *n* 4.

Tūr, one of the sons of Farīdūn, King of ancient Persia, 435 and *n* 2.

Tūra, palisades or abattis in Turkī, 440 *n*.

Tūrān, name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus, 15 *n* 5, 86.

Turk Allāh,—or

Turk-i-Khudā, *God's champion*, a title of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 270 and *n* 5.

Turkān Khātūn, called also Shāh Turkān, mother of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 and *n* 1.

Turkbacha Sulṭānī, ruler of Sāmānā, 360, 362. See under Bahrām Khān Turkbacha.

Turkbachas, the, 378, 388.

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Turkīs, the, 20, 572 *n* 8. See the Turks.

Turkish Dictionary, Redhouse's, 575 *n* 1.

Turkish-Persian Dictionary of Faẓlu-llah Khān, 482 *n* 2, 575 *n* 1. See under Faẓlu-llah Khān.

Turkistān or Turkestan, 20, 71, 83, 89, 132, 135 *n*, 158 *n* 6, 159 *n*, 191, 296 *n* 6, 468 *n* 2, 584 *n* 3.

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Turks, the, 61 *n* 5, 85, 88, 121, 122 *n* 3, 192, 209, **590**, 627 *n* 7. See the Turkīs.

Turmuẓī *Kotwāl*, a kotwāl of Dihlī in the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 260.

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Turquoise, notes on the gem, 630 and **n 8**, 631 *n*.

Turrār, a city of Turkestān, 159 *n*.

Turtāq the Mughul, of the royal house of Khurāsān, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and **n 10**, 252 and *n* 2.

Ṭūs, a district and city of Khurāsān, 32 *n* 1, 42 and **n 1**, 61 *n* 5, 71, 75 *n*.

Tūzak, a Turkī word meaning 'right' or 'authority,' 259 *n* 1.

Tūzak-i-Bābarī, called also *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī*, 438 *n* 7, 448 *n* 4. See also *Memoirs of Bābar*.

Typho-Malarial fever, 320 *n*.

Tyrrhenian, Pisæus the, inventor of the *rostrum*, 29 *n* 5.

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'Ubaid Rākātī, the poet, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298 and *n* 2.

'Ubaidu-llah Khān, the Ozbak King, 582 *n* 5.

Uchh, the city of, 66 and *nn* 3 and 5, 79 *n* 3, 80 and *n* 1, 90, 126, 130, 132, 292, 293, 353.

'Ūd, a musical instrument of the Arabs, 146 *n* 1.

Udhāfar, the town of Oodypūr, 13 *n*.

Ūdītnagar, fortress of, 422 *n* 2.

Ūfī, author of a *Taẓkira*, 78 *n* 2. See under Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv.

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Ujjain, on the Sipra, 95 and *n* 4, 257 *n* 1, 294, 384 *n* 5, 495.

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'Ulamā, application of the term, 303 *n* 4.

Ūlāq, post-horses, 292 *n* 3. See under *Ūlāgh*.

Ulug Beg, the royal astronomer, 152 *n* 2, 198 *n* 2.

Ulugh Beg, Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578. See also under Ulugh Mīrzā.

Ulugh Khān Balban, 132. See under Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

Ulugh Khān Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, son of Ghiyūṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 298, 299, 300 and *n* 3, **301**.

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Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, who eventually ascends the throne of Dihlī under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, 124 and *n* 4, **127**, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134 *nn* 1 and 2, **183**, 184.

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Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 131, 134 *n* 1. See Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn.

Ulugh Khānī canal, leading from the Sutlej, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*.

Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458, 574. See also under Ulugh Beg.

Ulūs, a Turkish word signifying 'a large tribe,' 575 *n* 1.

Ulūsbegī, or chief of the tribe,—a title, 575 *n* 1.

Ulūs-i-Chaghtā, 575 *n* 1. See also under the Chaghatai tribe.

Ulwar, district and town of, 134 *n* 1, 365 *n* 8, 366 *n*. See also under Alwar.

Ulwur. See Ulwar.

Umam, plural of *ummatun*, the followers of a prophet or a people of one religion, 373 and *n* 3.

'Umar, the second Khalīfah, called al-Fārūq, 3 *n* 6, 59 *n* 3, 106, 303 *n* 4, 604 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3.

'Umar Khān, nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.

'Umar Khān Shihābu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273 *n* 4. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar.

'Umar Khān Shirwānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2.

'Umar Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 *n* 4.

'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Tīmūr and the father of Bābar, 605 and *n* 1.

Umayyah, Dynasty of, the Khalīfahs of Damascus, 13 *n* 1, 481 *n* 8.

Umballa District, 362 *n* 1.

'Umdatu-l-Mulk, or Privy Councillor, 401.

Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib and sister of 'Alī, 105 and *n* 2, 150.

Ummahānī. See the above.

Ummahāt, a scientific term, 176 *n* 2.

Ummu Ghailān, a thorny tree, 550 *n* 1.

Ummu Kulṣūm, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Uṣmān, the third Khalīfah, 59 *n* 4.

'Umr Khān Shirwānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2.

'Umr Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 *n* 4.

'Umrah, the lesser pilgrimage, 175, 176 *n*.

Unão, town of, 408 *n* 5.

Unar, Rāi, the ruler of Thathah, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 332 *n* 6.

United States of America, 586 *n*.

'Unnāb, a tree and its fruit, 117 *n* 2.

'Unṣurī, the famous Persian poet, 46 *n* 4.

Untgarh, fortress of, 422 and *n* 2, 424.

'Uqāb, an eagle or kite, 352 *n* 1.

'Uqāb, the constellation Eagle, 321 *n* 3.

'Uqdatu-l-Junūbīyah, an astronomical term, 162 *n* 4.

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'Uqdatu-z-Zanab, an astronomical term, 162 *n* 4.

'Urūz or *'Arūz*, the last foot of the first hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 *n* 4.

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Ushī, Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn, a famous preacher and learned divine, 78 and *n* 2.

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'Uṣmān, the third Khalīfah, called Zu-n-Nūrain, 3 *n* 6, 59 *n* 4, 106 *n* 4, 158 *n*, 625 *n* 3.

'Uṣmān, an Afghān of the time of Islem Shāh Sūr, 495.

Ustā 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and *n* 6.

Ustād, the,—a title of Firdausī, the celebrated Poet, 461 and *n* 6.

Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 *n*, 54 and *n* 1.

Ustād 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and *n* 6.

'Uṭārid, the planet Mercury, 630 and *n* 3.

'Uzzā, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 110 *n* 3.

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Valley of the Ants, mentioned in the Qur'ān, 340 *n* 2.

Vasudeva, one of the deities of the Hindūs, 24 *n* 6.

Venus, one of the two auspicious planets, 138 *n* 3, 630 *n* 2.

Vihut, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.

Vikramāditya, the Rājā of Ujjain, 95 *n* 4.

Vikramājīt, Rāi, 95. Same as the above (*q.v.*).

Vikramājīt, son of Manik Deo, the Rājā of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 11.

Vikramājīt, Rāi, son of Rāi Mān Singh, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 432.

Vinea, a shelter under which to approach the walls of a fortress, 494 *n* 7.

Vipāsa, name of the Biāh in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.

Virgil, Georg., 75 *n* 2.

Virgin, the,—once the title of the fort of Hānsī, 37 *n* 2.

Vitastā, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, called also Vihut and Viyatta, 23 *n* 3.

Viyatta, the river Jhelam, 23 *n* 3. See the above.

Voyages d' Ibn Batūta, 67 *n* 1. See under Ibn Baṭūṭah.

Vrindāvana, town of, 24 *n* 6.

Vritras, the, slain by Indra with his thunderbolt, 294 *n* 4.

Vüller's *Persico-Latinum Lexicon*, 30 *n* 2, 109 *n* 4, 162 *n* 4, 173 *nn* 2 and 3, 192 *n* 3, 213 *n* 3.

W.

Wādī, a valley or desert, used in the sense of *Art*, 557 and *n* 2.

Wafā Malik, title of Malik Shāhīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 284.

Wafā'ī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 609.

Waghd, name of one of the blank arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Wahhābīs, the 183 *n* 2.

Waḥīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 and n 4, 286 *n* 1, 290.

Waihind, on the western bank of the Indus, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 1.

Wais Sirwānī, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 493 and *n* 7, 497.

Waisī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 and *n* 4, 585.

Wajīhu-d-Dīn, Shaikh, son of Kamālu-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Quraishī and father of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakarīya, 133 *n* 2.

Wajīhu-d-Dīn Quraishī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 *n* 4.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, 161. Same as Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban (*q. v.*).

Walaj, fort of, called also Bajj, 34 and *n* 7.

Wālī, one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being, 52 and n 3.

Wālī of Bangālā, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 469.

Walī Qizil, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Walīd ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik Marwānī, one of the Umaiyyad Khalīfahs of Damascus, 11 *n* 3, 12 and *nn* 1 and 2, 13 *n*.

Walīd ibnu-r-Raiyyān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād (*q. v.*), 262 *n*.

Walīd ibn Ṭarīf ash-Shaibānī, one of the Khawārij in the reign of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 *n* 2.

Walis, holy men, 627 *n* 3. See *Wālī*

Wāmiq, hero of a Turkish romance, 40 and *n* 1. See the next.

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Maḥmūd bin Aṣmān Lamāī, 40 *n* 1.

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Mu'īd of Tarkhān, 40 *n* 1.

Waqi'āt-i-Bābarī, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī*, 421 and n 8, 448 and *n* 4. See also under the *Memoirs of Bābar*.

Warangal, ancient capital of Telingāna, 265 *n* 4.

Wardī, a kind of beverage, 31 *n*.

Wars, a herb used for dyeing clothes, 173 *n* 2.

Wāṣil, Malik, adopted son of Malik Mubārak Qaranqal of Jaunpūr, 360 *n* 1.

Wāsiṭ, a town of 'Irāq between Baṣra and Kūfah, 12 *n* 1.

Waṣṣāf, the Historian, 265 *n* 5.

Wazīr, at chess, 103 and *n* 1.

Wazīr Khān Malik Shāhik, one of the Amīrs of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.

Western Jumna Canal, the, 325 *n* 3.

Western Rohtās, 493.

Whinfield's *Omar Khaiyyām*, 144 *n* 1.

Wilāyat-i-Panna, 417 and *n* 6. See under Panna.

Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, 535 *n* 2.

Works of Sir William Jones, 76 *n*.

Wuẓū', ceremonial washings before prayer, 602 and n 7, 603 *n*.

X.

Xenophon's *Account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, 586 *n*.

Y.

Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri in the Deccan, 271 *n* 6.

Yādavas of Hindū Mythology, 27 *n* 4.

Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 560, 561, 562, 574, 577 *n*, 578, 580.

Yāfiṣ, (Japhet), son of Nūḥ (Noah), 231. See under Japhet.

Yaghrash Khān, of the royal family of the Khiljīs, 283.

Yaghrash Khiljī, father of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 230.

Yahmūt, name of the fish upon which the world is said to rest, 148 *n* 2.

Yā huwā, an invocation to the Most High, 146 and *n* 2.

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī Dimishqī, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 *n* 9, 49 *n* 3, 64 and *n* 1, 624 and *n* 9.

Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu-llah Sirhindī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 10 *n* 2, 67 *n* 2, 222 *n* 2, 315 *n* 7.

Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, a traditionist, 18 *n* 1.

Yaḥyā ibn Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtīs, father of Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, 416 *n* 13.

Yaḥyā Paran, Mīyān, one of the Amīrs of Sikandar Sūr (*q. v.*), 547.

Yaḥyā Qazwīnī, Qāẓī, 64 and *n* 1. See under Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf.

Yaḥyā Tūran, Mīyān, Governor of Sambhal, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 545, 546, 547.

Yak of Tibet, 543 *n* 1.

Yaklakhī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn ibn 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 286 and *n* 1.

Yaksar, for Baksar, on the left bank of the Ganges, 408 *n* 5.

Yāḳūt. See under Yāqūt, the Arab Geographer.

Yālāū, a standard or ensign in Turkī, 483 *n* 2.

Yamak, name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people, 158, 159 *n*.

Yaman, country of,—in Arabia, 74 *n* 2, 262 *n*.

Yamīn, Sulṭān Muḥammad, king of Khurāsān, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1.

Yamīnah, wife of Solomon, 205 *n* 3.

Yamīn-i-Amīri-l-Mu'minīn, title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 88.

Yamīnu-d-Daulah Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ghaznawī, **15**, 16, 17. See Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.

Yamīnu-d-Daulah Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 97.

Yamīnu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥasan, full name of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 *n* 2.

Yamīnu-l-Khilāfat, title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 *n* 6.

Yamuna, the river Jumna which is also called Jamuna and Jaun, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 4.

Ya'qūb, Sikandar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 337.

Ya'qūbu-l-Manjanīqī, an Arab writer, 149 *n*.

Yāqūt or ruby, Four kinds of, 25 *n* 2.

Yāqūt, the celebrated Arab Geographer, 14 *n* 3, 15 *n* 4, 22 *n* 2, 66 *n* 1, 159 *n*, 166 *n* 1, 263 *n*, 476 *n* 5, 570 *n* 7.

Yāqūt the Abyssinian, Chief Amīr under Sulṭān Razzīyah *bint* Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 120, 121 and *n* 2.

Yarhāla, town, 583 *n* 2.

Yasūrī ibn Iyamghūr, the Dīwān of Ghaznīn under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Yatmīyān of Bukhāra, father of the poet Jāhī (*q. v.*), 618 *n* 5.

Yazdī, author of the *Ẓafarnāma*, 347 *n* 3, 358 *n* 6.

Yazīd ibn Mazyad, one of the Generals of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 *n* 2.

Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, second Khalīfah of the house of Umaiyyah, 205 *n* 1, 481 and **n 8**.

Yemen, country of,—in Arabia, 74 *n* 2, 262 *n*.

Yezdezbah,—or

Yezdibah, the magian ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 *n* 3.

Yār 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.

Yule and Burnett's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 495 *n*, 543 *n* 3.

Yulma, a Turkī word meaning 'that which has lost its hair,' 482 *n* 2.

Yūnas 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Yūsuf, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.

Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 32 *n* 2, 272 *n* 1, 588, 589.

Yūsuf and Zuleikha, Griffith's, 272 *n* 1.

Yūsuf ʻAẓdu-d-Daulah, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 29, 45 *n* 2.

Yūsuf Khān Auḥadī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 395.

Yūsuf Sarūr, Malik,—or

Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *n* 3, 391, 392. See also the next.

Yūsuf, son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, Malik, 396. See the above.

Yūsuf Qadr Khān, king of Turkistān, 27.

Yūsuf Ṣūfī Azlbacha, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and *n* 5.

Yūzbāshī, an Amīr of a hundred, 313 and *n* 3.

Z.

Zābul, a name for the town of Ghaznīn, 16 and **n 3.**

Zabūl, the second degree of the fever called *diqq*, 319 *n* 4, 320 *n*.

Zāḍul, grandfather of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 *n* 3.

Zābulī, a name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Zābulistān, 14 *n* 3, 51.

Ẓafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 337 *n* 2.

Ẓafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 and *n* 11, 334.

Ẓafar Khān ʻAlāī, 311. See Ẓafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn.

Ẓafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn, called Ẓafar Khān ʻAlāī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and *n* 2, 250 and *n* 5, 254, 258, 261, 311.

Ẓafar Khān Malik Dīnār Ḥaramī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 285.

Ẓafar Khān Fārsī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 336 *n* 5.

Ẓafar Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Ẓafar Khān Hizabru-d-Dīn, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 *n* 2.

Ẓafar Khān Khiljī, brother of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Ẓafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk, Governor of Gujrāt, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 346, 354 *n* 8, 361, 364.

Ẓafarābād, town of, 299, 312, 328.

Ẓafar-Nāma of Yazdī, an historical work, 347 *n* 3, 358 *n* 6.

Zaffur Khān Farsy. See Ẓafar Khān Fārsī.

Zahāb, water oozing from the ground, 459 *n* 5.

Ẓaḥḥāk ibn ʻUlwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn ʻĀd (*q. v.*), 262 *n*.

Ẓahīr, *nom-de-plume* of Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad the Poet, 339 and *n* 4.

Ẓahīr Dihlavī, Qāẓī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 367 and *n* 2, 375.

Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, 435, 436. See under Bābar.

Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Lāhorī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338.

Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar, 436, 443. See under Bābar.

Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad Fāryābī, a celebrated poet, contemporary of Khāqānī, 339 and *n* 4.

Ẓahīru-l-Juyūsh, Inspector of the forces, 302.

Zaid ibn 'Alī, one of the Imāms of the Shī'ah, 604 *n* 5.

Zain Khāfī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 448 and *n* 3, 609 and *n* 5, 610, 617, 618.

Zain Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 491.

Zain Khānī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 448 and *n* 3. See Zain Khāfī.

Zainu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Mubaiyyin*, 450 and *n* 8.

Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Khwāja, a famous saint, 609 *n* 5.

Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Shaikh, one of the learned men and poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and *n* 5, 610, 617, 618.

Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar, Maulānā, one of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, contemporary of Humāyūn, 588 and *n* 4.

Zainu-l-'Ābidīn bin Najīm, author of *al-Ashbāh wa-n-Naẓāir*, 5 *n* 4.

Zāirgah, sortilege by, 412 *n* 1.

Zakāt or almsgiving, one of the five foundations of practical religion, 175 *n* 4.

Zakhīratu-l-Qawānīn, an historical work, 9 *n* 2.

Zakhma, the plectrum with which the *chang* was played, 146 *n* 1.

Zāl, father of Rustam, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 178 *n* 2.

Zāl, the son of Afrāsyāb, king of Tūrān, 410.

Zamakhsharī, the celebrated author of the *Kashshāf*, a commentary on the Qur'ān, 28 *n* 1.

Zamīndāwar, country of, 591.

Zandkhān, a fortified town near Sarakhs, 43 *n* 3.

Zang, a cluster of globular bells carried by dāk-runners, 621 *n* 2.

Zang-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 *n* 2.

Zangbār, Shāh of,—the Moon, 621.

Zangī, Abū Manṣūr, brother of Abu-l-Faẓl of Bust, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47 and *n* 7.

Zangī, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 *n* 2.

Zanzibār,—the Night, 621.

Zanzibār, Sulṭān of, adopts *Saiyyid* as his regal title, 303 *n* 4.

Zaradrus, the river Sutlej, 23 *n* 3.

Ẓarb, in Prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, 606 *n* 4.

Zard choba, turmeric, 173 *n* 2.

Ẓarīf, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣfahān, the Poet, 582 *n*.

Zarīr, a herb used in dyeing clothes, 173 and *n* 2.

Zebā, mother of Sulṭān Sikandar ibn Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2.

Zend, of the Zoroastrians, 394 *n* 5.

Ẓiā Barnī. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ẓiā-i-Barnī. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ẓiāī, the Persian poet, contemporary and panegyrist of Sulṭān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, 38 and *n* 4.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, a court-servant of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Baranī,—or

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, 184 *n* 1, 186 *n* 3, 188 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 219 *n* 3, 220 *n* 2, 221 *n* 1, 227 *n* 7, 230 *n* 1, 247 *n* and *nn* 2 and 4, 248 *nn* 2, 6 and 8, 310 *n* 1, 311 *n* 5, 312 *n* 7, 314 *n* 2, 315 *n* 7, 316 *n* 6, 320 *n* 5.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Khajandī al-Fārsī, the Poet Ẓiāī, 38 *n* 4. See under Ẓiāī.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Qāẓī Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 288, 289, 290.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Tukilī,—or

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Tūlakī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 69 and *n* 3.

Ẓiāu-l-Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Rijā, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and *n* 13, 331.

Ẓikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and *n* 4.

Zinjānī, Shaikh Ḥasan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and *n* 6.

Zīrak, a name of 'Uṭārid (the planet Mercury), 630 and *n* 3.

Zīrak Khān, the Amīr of Sāmāna, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 382, 384, 391, 396.

Zīrqān, name of a place in Khurāsān, 43 and *n* 3.

Zodiac, signs of the, 75 *n* 2, 76.

Zorāwar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the old city of Rāparī, 377 *n* 5.

Ẓū-baḥrain, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 *n* 2.

Zubaidah Khātūn, wife of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 286, 287.

Zuhrah, the planet Venus, 138 *n* 3.

Ẓu-l-Faqār,—or

Ẓu-l-Fiqār, famous sword of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, 74 and n 2, 75 *n*, 106 *n* 5.

Ẓu-l-Fiqār Shirwānī, Mīr Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.

Zunnār, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and *n* 5.

Ẓu-n-Nūrain, title of 'Uṣmān the third Khalīfah, 59 and n 4.

MUNTAKHAB-UT-TAWARIKH

BY

ABD-UL-QÁDIR BIN MALÚK SHÁH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADÁÓNÍ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

W. H. LOWE, M. A.

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JALÁL-UD-DÍN MUḤAMMAD AKBAR PÁDSHÁH.

The Emperor of the time, the Khalíf of the age, Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar Pádsháh (may he ever be firmly seated[1] on the throne of the Khalifate and the seat of clemency!) with the approval of Bairám Khán, the Khán Khánán, began to honour and adorn the throne of the Sultanate, under an auspicious star, on Friday the 2nd of the month Rabi'ul-avval, in the year nine hundred and sixty-three (963) in the garden of Kalánor[2]—which, to this day, they have not yet finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amírs of the frontier, so that the *Khutbah*[3] was read also at Dihlí. And they composed this hemistich, as giving the date, *More noble than all princes here*:[4]

They composed the following distich:—

'Jalál-u[d-dín] Muḥammad Akbar, that prince of the age,
At the [death of] father said: *Prince of the age am I.*'[4]

And another [*mnemosynon*] they found [for the date]:
'*The desire of fortune.*'[4] Then the world began to blossom like a rose-garden, and pitiless Fate, binding up those wounds, said:—

[1] The word in the text means 'ambushed'; but transpose the *k* and the *m* and read *mutamakkin* 'established.'

[2] A dependency of Lahore. The year is 1556 A. D.; as for the month, see Elliot, V, 247.

[3] A form of praise and prayer consisting of four parts: (1) The praise of God, (2) of Muḥammad and his twelve descendants, (3) of royalty, (4) praise of, and prayer for the reigning sovereign. The mention of the Emperor's name in the *Khutbah* constitutes a legal proclamation of his accession to the throne. See Otto's *Court of Persia*, 160-1.

[4] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of each of these three expressions, in the original Persian, gives the date 963 A. H.

"When Death removes a crown by force,
At once another head is crowned[1];
When one old age completes its course,
A younger rises from the ground[2]."

(P. 9.) Before the decree for the accession went forth, Bairám Khán had by all the arts of finesse enjoined on Pír Muḥammad Khán Shirwání,[3] (who with an army had gone in pursuit of Sikandar in the Mountains of Sawálik, as far as the confines of the district of Dahmírí) not to allow the news of the death of the late Emperor[4] to be spread abroad.

Now Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, who was of noble Sayyid extraction, and of the country of Káshghar, in the symmetry of his limbs and the excellence of his valour was distinguished above all his compeers. To him the deceased Emperor had shown a special favour and a boundless condescension, so that he had honoured him by calling him his son. This man was a dullard. And in this place be it known concerning him that Bairám Khán had written an acrostic in twenty-four verses, of which the rhyme was *'azím* and *qadím*, and the rhyming letter *mím*, in such a way, that the initial letter of the first hemistiches composed the words "Ḥazrat Muḥammad Humáyún Pádsháh Ghází" ["My Lord Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh Ghází"]; and the initial letters of the second hemistiches "Sháhzádah [prince] Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar"; and the final letters of the first hemistiches the words "Mírzá Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí," together with some epithet or other which I have forgotten; and the sum of the twenty-four *míms* which closed the verses gave [24 × 40 =] 960 the date of the composition of the acrostic. I have heard from trusty friends, that the last time the late Emperor honoured Qandahár with his presence, Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí one evening, having drunk too much wine, slew in his bigotry a zealous Shí'ah. When the heirs of the murdered man came to demand justice, and the Emperor sent for Sháh Abu-l-Ma'áli, he put on the dead[5] man's robe of black

Compare: Le roi est mort. Vive le roi.

[2] Or *cradle*.

[3] On the spellingof this word, see Blochmann, Áín i Akbarí. 324 *n*.

[4] Nasír-ud-dín Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh, father of Akbar.

[5] Instead of *maftúl* read *maqtúl*.

velvet lined with (P. 10) red and blue, and putting the hanger[1], burnished bright, the very same with which he had despatched him, under his skirt, swaggered drunken into the royal assembly, and denied the deed. Bairám Khán on the occasion quoted these lines:—

"His disshevelled locks of hair To night-debauch confess;
Lo! a blazing proof is there, The lamp beneath his dress."

The Emperor was exceedingly delighted[2]; but the blood of that innocent one was hidden in the dust, and his murder was never proved. In short, when the royal Amírs summoned Abu-l-Ma'álí to the assembly on the occasion of the Accession, he returned answer, that he had an excuse and could not come; the second time they sent the message, that the Council was sitting and waited his presence, again he made excuse and sent some message of empty compliments, which Bairám Khán, thinking it the best course to pursue, accepted. But, when he came afterwards, Bairám Khán gave the order to Tulak Khán Qurchí, a man of great bodily power, who at that moment appeared on the scene like a spider's web [ready to catch a fly]; and, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, went unseen behind Abu-l-Ma'álí and took him prisoner, and asked to be allowed to blot out his name from the tablet of existence. But the merciful Emperor disapproved of this design, and said that it would be a pity to shed the blood of a [possibly] innocent man on the very day of his accession. So he sent him to Láhór. He escaped from that prison, and went to Kamál Khán the G'hakkar. Now at that time the government of that country was in the possession of Ádam G'hakkar, uncle of Kamál Khán. The latter treated Abu-l-Ma'álí with honour, and the two set off with an army with full preparations for the conquest of Kashmír. When he arrived at the frontier of Kashmír, at Rájorí a number of outlaws gathered round him. And, in the year 965, a party of the Chakks (which is a well-known tribe, and the dominant one in Kashmír) took him with them, with the intention of conquering Kashmír, and there he had a severe conflict with Ghází Khán, the prince of the Chakks, and was defeated. After this Kamál Khán made an excuse for separating from him, so

[1] *A'véz* from *ávékhtan* to hang.

[2] *Viz.*, with this apt citation.

Abu-l-Ma'álí disguised himself, and going to the district of Díbálpúr, took refuge with a servant of Bahádur Khán who at that time held the government there. The man's name was Tulak, and he had at one time been himself a servant of Sháh [Abu-l-Ma'álí]. So Tulak concealed him. But it so happened that this Tulak had one night a quarrel with his wife, who being vexed with him, went in the morning to Bahádur Khán and told him that Tulak was concealing Abu-l-Ma'álí in his house, and that they were plotting together against himself. Bahádur Khán, mounting his horse, had Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí seized and sent him to Bairám-Khán, and Tulak he ordered to be punished. Bairám Khán entrusted Sháh to Walí Beg the Turkomán, and sent him off towards Bakkar [*i. e.*, Mecca]. Walí Beg annoyed him very much by the way, and sent him towards Gujrát, that from thence he might go to Mekka. There he committed a murder, and fled and joined himself to 'Alí Qulí Khán[1]. When Bairám Khán received information of this, he sent an order to 'Alí Qulí Khán that he should send him to Ágra. At the time that, in accordance with this order, he arrived at Ágra the power of Bairám Khán was already on the decline; Bairám Khán, then, with a view to dispelling the suspicions of the Emperor sent him for a time to the fortress of Biyána. And, when he professed a resolution of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, he again took him as the companion of his journey. But after a few days Abu-l-Ma'álí separated from him also, and went to offer his adhesion to the Emperor. But, when of his extreme arrogance, he rode proudly up to him, this affair became the cause of his being imprisoned a second time, until he was sent to Mekka, as will be mentioned in its place[2]. It happened that, when, at the very time of the Accession, he fled (P. 12) from Láhór, Pahlawán Gul Guz his keeper committed suicide through fear of the Emperor's anger.

After the settlement of the decree for the Accession the imperial armies were levied against Sikandar [who was] in the mountain district. Sikandar kept up the war for three whole months, but was at last defeated. At this time Rája Rámchand[3] came from Nagarkot to pay

[1] See p. 5. [2] See text, p. 39. l. 6.

[3] The most renowned of all the rájás of the hills. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, Elliot, V, 248.

his respects to Akbar, and had an interview with him. And the imperial standards on account of the rainy season, when they had arrived at Jálandhar, remained there five months.

Contemporaneously with the decease of the late king, and the Accession of the Emperor, Tardí Beg Khán commandant of Dihlí had sent Mírzá Abu-l-Qásim, the son of Kámrán Mírza,[1] with a number of royal Kháns, and some picked elephants, in company with Khwája Sultán 'Alí Wazír Khán, and Mír Munshí Ashraf Khán, to pay their homage to the Emperor. In the same year Mírzá Sulaimán[2] came with Ibráhím Mírzá[3] with the intention of conquering Kábul, and Mun'im Khán,[4] being beseiged, sent particulars to the court. Then the Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Atka Khán,[5] and Khizr Khán Hazárah[6] with a company of men to bring the Queen Dowager and the other wives [of Humáyun] who were in Kábul.[7] Now before the arrival of this troop [at Kábul Mírzá Sulaimán] had sent Qází Nizám of Badakhshán (who was one of his most honoured Ulamá and who afterwards was known simply by the title of Qází Khán,) on an embassy to Mun'im Khán to make proposals of peace, only on the condition that they should at once insert his name also in the *Khutbah*. Mun'im Khán accepted the conditions, as being the best remedy for the general distress, and Mírzá Sulaimán, being satisfied with this concession, returned to Badakhshán.

During the first days of the Accession 'Alí Qulí Khán, having received the title of Khán Zamán, led an army into the district of Sambhal against Shádi Khán the Afghán, who was one of the Amírs of 'Adalí.'[8] (P. 13.) And on the banks of the river Rahab[9] he fought

[1] Kámrán Mírzá was brother of Humáyun the father of Akbar.

[2] Governor of Badakhshán.

[3] His son.

[4] Governor of Kábul and Ghazni. Erskine, *Humáyun*, 509; Elliot, V, 249.

[5] See note on the page corresponding to p. 52 of the text.

[6] A tribe which inhabited the Hindu Kush. Elphinstone, 304.

[7] Humáyun, on invading India, left his family and harem at Kábul. Erskine, 509.

[8] The nominal Emperor of India at the time of Humáyun's invasion.

[9] Written *Rahat* with the four-dotted *t* by Firishta.

a severe battle against all Khán Zamán's available force, which consisted of two or three thousand horse, and defeated him. Khán Zamán was making preparations to dislodge the enemy, when, in the meanwhile, letters came from Dihlí, Ágra, and Atáwa, saying, that Hémun Baqqál with a murderous army, and elephants, and much wealth furnished by 'Adalí, having swept before him the Amírs from the frontiers of Hindustán,[1] had arrived close to Dihlí with the intention of offering battle. Then Iskandar Khán the Uzbek from Ágra, and Qiyá Khán Kank from Atáwa, and 'Abdu-lláh Khán the Uzbek from Kálpí, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán from Biyána, and others from the frontiers, came to Dihlí, and joined themselves to Tardí Beg Khán.[2] But Khán Zamán, remaining on the same side of the river Jumna, was not able to form a junction with them. And Pír Muḥammad Khán Shirwání[3], who had come from the imperial camp with a message to Tardí Beg Khán, went along with the victorious[4] army. Near to Toghlaq Ábád [the ancient fortress] in the environs of Dihlí a sharp conflict occurred, and 'Abd-ulláh Khán the Uzbek, and La'l Khán of Badakhshán, who were on the right wing, sweeping the hostile ranks before them, continued the pursuit as far as the towns of Houdal and Palwal, and took much spoil. But Hémun, who with elephants huge as mountains had remained apart from the fray in the centre of the army, shouted out for Ḥájí Khán who came up from the direction of Alwar,[5] and then attacked Tardí Beg Khán, who had but a handful of men, and in a single charge swept him before him; but he turned back for fear of treachery, and did not pursue the Moghul. At the time of evening prayer, when the Amírs of the army returning from their pursuit [of the left wing of Hémun's army] reached the camping-place, they, finding that Hémun himself had settled down there, having drawn out softly from the city of Dihlí, took immediately to flight. (P. 14.) But Hémun forbad his men to pursue them. And Khán Zamán by way of Mírat'h[6] joined this army

[1] *i. e.*, the north-west of India, the term does not include Bengál.

[2] The commandant of Dihlí.

[3] Compare p. 2, note 3.

[4] *Victorious* is a fixed epithet of the imperial army.

[5] About 60 cosses S. S. W. of Dihlí.

[6] Text, p. 50, p. l. 5.

at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khán Khwája, the husband[1] of Gulbadan Bégum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hémun he made his glorious entry[2] into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amírs came to salute him. The Khán Khánán,[3] who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tardí Beg Khán, still in spite of this used to call him "Toqán," *i. e.*, "Elder brother," perceiving the cause of the defeat of that army to have been the treachery[4] of Tardí Beg, and having succeeded in impressing this on the emperor's mind by bringing Khán Zamán, and many others, a swituesses to substantiate his accusation, obtained a sort of permission to put him to death. So at the time of afternoon prayer he went to the house of Tardí Beg Khán, and taking him with him, brought him to his own abode into the tent, and afterwards at the time of evening prayer he rose up on the pretence of performing the ablutions, and gave to some men, who were held in readiness for the purpose, the signal to slay him. So they made an end of Tardí Beg Khán.[5] And in the morning, when Khwája Sultán 'Alí and Mír Munshí did not come to the Díwán, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tardí Beg Khán. But some time after they regained their liberty.

Then Hémun in Dehlí gave himself the title of Bikramajít, who was a great Rája in Hindustán, from whom the people of Hind take their era, he lived 1600[6] odd years ago. When he had done his best there to subvert the ordinances of Islám he came with 1500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, to offer battle at Pánípat. He sent on his artillery before him, (P. 15) and the opportunity presenting itself to a com-

[1] Lit. "In whose net was &c."

[2] *Anglice* "retreated to."

[3] *i. e.* Muḥammad Bairám Khán Turkomán. The *tárikh* of his death is given on p. 45 of the text.

[4] But see Elliot's note, V, 251.

[5] Tardí Beg Khán was a noble of importance in the time of Humáyun, and one of his most *faithless* followers. Blochmann's *Áín i Akbarí*, I, 318. He was a *Sunní*. Bairám Khán was a *Shí'ah*, Badáoní, III, 190.

[6] His date is 57 B. C. The date of the year in which the writer speaks is 964 A. H. And A. H. is 621. Thus 57 + 621 + 964 = 1642, and the "odd years" of which he speaks are 42.

pany of the great Amírs, such as Khán Zamán, Iskandar Khán and others, who were advancing as vanguard,[1] they took it at Pánípat after some fighting. And Hémun raising the hopes of the Amírs of the Afgháns, whose leader was Shádí Khán Muswání, with a suitable augmentation and a gift of lands, opening the door of his treasuries, and giving great largesses, tried to console the army for the loss. But the Afgháns, being surfeited with the money given them by his orders, began to pray to God for his fall, and in impromptus kept saying things to this effect: "Change is excellent, so let's have it;" consequently without delay he started from Pánípat mounted on an elephant called "Hawáy," and came to the district of K'haramanda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram[2] 964 A. H., (which day is also called Rózi 'áshúrá):—

"To friends 'tis not a day of woe,
Still less a day of joy to foe:"—

fighting and slaughter began between the Amírs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hémun. The Emperor and the Khán Khánán on that day were drawn up in three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of the victory were received. And Hémun, whose army was all dispirited, and who set all his hopes on the elephants, surrounded by his chiefs charged the imperial hosts, and threw both right and left wings into great confusion. Then, at last, through the efforts of the archers and the scimitar-strokes of some avenging veterans that breach was healed, and the wavering fortunes of the day were retrieved. Then Hémun, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khán Zamán was stationed. But the soldiers of Islám received him with a shower of arrows, and Hémun in those circumstances, with his head bare, like one mad with the bite of a dog, kept entreating: "Show mercy, as you hope to obtain mercy!" and (P. 16) kept repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his squinting eye so that

[1] *Manqaláy*, for *manghaláy*, is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab *munqalá* "ambassador."

[2] The first month of the Muhammadan year.

his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head, and he became unconscious. The troops near him, who still held out, when they saw this take place, fled. The army of the people of Islám pursued, and a general carnage ensued: and Shádí Khán Muswání, who was in the van of the army, was slain. Sháh Qúlí Khán Maḥrum[1] happened to meet with Hémun's elephant, and the elephant-driver said to him, "Do not kill me! Hémun is riding upon my elephant." So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadá-í Kambóh and the others, said to the Emperor, "Since this is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward." But the Emperor replied, "Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so." Then the Khán Khánán was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadá-í Shaikh, and the others, deliberately made an end of him. Thus was fulfilled the saying, "What is the good of killing one who is going to be burnt?"[2] And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"If through treachery, deceit, and fraud great Dehli fell,
By Fate's decree, into the hand of Hindu Hémun;
Muḥammad Akbar, that Sháh whose glory reached the sky,
By help of God captured that black-faced Hindu Hémun.
Creation's scribe on lasting tablet with pen of power
Wrote concerning that day: *He seized Hindu Hémun.*[3]

Nearly 1500 elephants, and treasure and stores, to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil. And Pír Muḥammad Khán, and Ḥusain Khán, (P. 17) a relation of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and many others, in consort with Sa'íd Khán the Moghúl, pursued the fugitives from Dihlí, and passing from Alwar they came up to the wife of Hémun, who had with her elephants laden with gold. She herself gained the mountain and jungle ground in the district of Kuwa (?) and

[1] See Brigg's Firishta, Vol. II, p. 189.

[2] *i. e.*, is going to Hell. Cf. text, p. 51, l. 10.

[3] The words "bigrift Hému-rá" give the date 964. The final *n* of *Hémun* is elided as in *Zamídárán* for *Zamíndárán*, text, p. 51, l. 7.

Bajwára,[1] but left the gold behind, the greater part of which the rustics[2] of the country of Bajwára seized; still the part which fell into the hands of the army of the Faithful was so great that they gave it away by shieldfuls, and "*nizár-i-zarhá*" "scattering of gold pieces" was found to give the date (964). And on the road, which the Queen took, there had fallen such quantities of coins and ingots of gold, that for many a year travellers and passers-by used to find them. In this manner the treasures, which Shér Sháh and Aslím Sháh, and 'Adalí had amassed through a course of years, were dissipated:—

"O mortal! eat, dress, scatter, give,
For life must needs end in the grave:
When one in other spheres doth live,
It recks not all that this world gave!
O lay not up the hoarded gold,
For many with excessive toil
Have hoarded up, with greed untold,
Wealth, which another seized as spoil."

When, the second day after the victory, the Emperor came to Pánípat, he had a mináret built of the heads[3] of the slain. From Pánípat, His Majesty came without delay to Dihlí, and caused the *Khutbah* to be proclaimed once more from the pulpit; there he stayed one month, and illustrious Amírs were appointed as governors of Ágra, Sambhal, and other towns. Then news came to Dihlí, that on the confines of Chamyárí, a place within 20 *cosses* of Láhor, Khizar Khán[4] had been defeated before Sikandar, and had arrived at Láhor. His Highness had scarcely departed for Jálandhar, when Sikandar had once more betaken himself to the mountains of Sawálik. (P. 18) Then the royal army going in pursuit penetrated as far as Disuha (?) and Dahmírí.[5]

[1] Text, p. 54, l. 7. It is in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj.

[2] *Guwár* is the Hindústání *ganwár* a villager, rustic, from *gánw*, Sanskrit *grâma* a village: the word recurs at p. 55, l. 21 of text.

[3] Persian *az kallahá*, but compare Mírkhánd who says that Taimúr took a place, and as *sarháy kushtagán* manárhá sákhtand; and comp. our text, p. 169, b. II.

[4] Compare p. 7.

[5] Comp. p. 2.

Be it understood, that with reference to the occurrence of events I desire from this point to omit trifling occurrences, and to occupy myself solely with events of general importance, in fact, mounted on a single horse to give the reins to the steed of my pen upon this open race-course, and to finish succinctly the history of these 40 years, from the accession of Akbar[1]; but success[2] depends upon God!

In this year Sikandar shut himself up in the fortress of Mánkút, and the great Amírs day by day kept attacking him and pressing him sore. And especially Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khán, a relation of Mahdí Qásim Khán, was so persevering in those attacks that if Rastam[3] had been alive, he would certainly have acknowledged his merits. Moreover his brother Ḥasan Beg was killed:—

"Upon the top of thy mountain Ḥasan was slain,
Greater than of Karbalá[4] of thee is the bane."

And this perseverance, which was observed on the one side by the Emperor, and on the other by Sikandar, was the reason of the high estimation in which Ḥusayn Khán was held, and raised him day by day to a higher rank, so that valuable lands[5] were made over to him in fief, till at last he came into the government of Láhor, and in many places defeated the rebels. When eventually the siege turned out of long duration, and corn became dear among the garrison, and the Amírs of Sikandar one by one deserted him, and came to the imperial court, as for instance Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, and others, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abd ur-Raḥmán, together with Ghází Khán Súr, with a present of elephants to visit the Emperor,

[1] The Pers. *Khaláfat-panáhy* is a compound adj. meaning "belonging to him in whom the Khalifate takes refuge," *i. e.*, "of the legitimate successor of the Prophet," meaning "of Akbar." It agrees with *julús* "accession."

[2] Luckily for us our author did not attain success in this his endeavour. For, while from other authors we can learn the bare facts of history, it is to Badáoní that we look for those little pieces of gossip, which give us such an insight into the manners of the times. It is this fact that renders this work so extremely interesting.

[3] Rastam a famous hero of Persian myths. See note to p. 51 of text.

[4] A place in Iráq, famous for the murder of *Ḥusayn* and *Ḥasan*, the sons of 'Alí.

[5] *Avlak* is Turki for "a field."

through the intervention of Atka Khán and Pír Muḥammad Khán, on the 27th of Ramzán[1] in the year 964, and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued his firmán that Jounpúr should be given temporarily[2] to Sikandar in fief, and that as soon as the Khán Zamán[3] should deliver the country before him [*i. e.* Bengal] out of the hands of the Afgháns, he should (P. 19) take his place. So Sikandar skirting the mountains came to Jounpúr. And when the Khán Zamán received possession of Jounpúr, Sikandar on the authority of a firmán asked for the district of Gour[4] that he might bring it under his command. There all sorts of accidents befel him, and after some time through the game of Fortune such a position of the pieces[5] came about that he even attached himself again to his old friends, and fickle Fate folded for him the carpet of gladness:[6]

"Fate's chequered board is not ever kind,
Nor can seed of joy be always sown,
These possessions must be all resigned,
Except mere dregs of joys which once were known."

It may here be mentioned that during the siege Muḥammad[7] Qúlí Khán Barlás, and Atka Khán, and the other Amírs brought the Balqís[8] of her day, the Queen Dowager[9] and other ladies veiled with the veil of chastity, from Kábul to the camp. And on the 2nd of Shavvál[10] in the year nine hundred and sixty-four (964) the imperial army moved towards Láhor. And during this march[11] ill-feeling arose on the part of the Khán Khánán against Atka Khán on account of one of the Emperor's elephants having run into the

[1] The 9th month.

[2] *Bi'lfi'l* which means in Arab. "actually" is here used in the Hindustani sense of "for a time."

[3] *i. e.*, 'Alí Qúlí Khán, p. 5.

[4] Gour is a chief town of Bengal.

[5] Referring to the popular game of chess.

[6] *i. e.*, he died, *viz.*, two years after his appointment. *Akbarnámah.*

[7] Cf. p. 5.

[8] The Queen of Sheba. See Al-Qor'án XXVII, 20-45.

[9] Her title was *Maryam Makání*. Blochmann, p. 309.

[10] The 10th month.

[11] *Yurish* is Turki for "a march", from *yurumek* "to go".

Khán Khánán's tent; but Atka Khán came to Láhor, and bringing all his sons with him to the Khán Khánán's tent, took an oath on the Glorious Word[1] [that the affair was a mere accident], so all suspicion was removed. In this year, through the intervention of Mullá 'Abdulláh Sultánpurí,[2] Sultán Ádam G'hakkar hastened to the Court to give in his adherence. And between the Khán Khánán and him a bond of brotherly love was formed, and in the presence of the Emperor himself a quarrel which had existed between Kámal Khán and his brother's son[3] ended in a settlement. Then Sultán Ádam returned to his usual place of abode loaded with honours and presents. (P. 20) After the passing away of the rainy season the imperial royal army marched towards Dihlí. And while camping at Jálandhar the nuptial bond was tied between the Khán Khánán and Her Highness Salímah Sultán Bégam, daughter of Mírzá Núr-ud-dín Muḥammad, and sister's daughter to the deceased Emperor, when a great feast was prepared, and gifts and largesses were distributed.

And on the 25th of the month Jamádá II[4] in the year 965 the royal cavalcade alighted at Dihlí.

And in those days the Khán Khánán used to come two days a week to the court of judicature, and in conjunction with the nobles, used to settle the important affairs of the kingdom. Now, among the incidents which happened at that time, was the story of the affection of the Khán Zamán for Sháhim Bég. In brief it is as follows: In attendance on the late Emperor were two men of good looks, good disposition, and approved manners, belonging to the corps of the Qúrchís,[5] the one Khúshḥál Bég, and the other Sháhim Bég son of the *Sárbánbáshí*[6] of Sháh Ṭahmásp [of Persia]. Both of them were preeminent for beauty of disposition and appearance, the beau

[1] Al-Qor'án.

[2] Called Makhdúm ul Mulk.

[3] But in the text, p. 55, l. 1, Sultán Ádam is said to be uncle of Kámal Khán. Consequently we must read here "between him and Kamál Khán his brother's son." See also p. 3.

[4] The 6th month.

[5] The Qúrchís (or *Koorchees*) were a corps of cavalry, composed of the *ancienne noblesse*, at the court of the kings of Persia of the Safevi dynasty. See also last line of this page of Text, and p. 56, line 11.

[6] Chief officer in charge of the camels.

ideal of the age, and paragons in the practice of valour. Now the Khán Zamán, before his appointment to proceed towards Sambhal,[1] cast secretly a glance at Sháhim Bég, and his extempore poem on the subject is as follows :—

"Of men and things there is no mark upon the board of life,
To me, love's pupil, naught but love for thee doth life impart.
Who else, as I for love of thee, lives such a weary life,
Grief's my friend, blood's my drink, pain's my sweetmeat, my food's my heart."

Now, when after the decease of the late Emperor he became an attendant on his present Majesty, he remained faithful to Sháhim Bég, who was one of the Qúrchís of the palace; and from the district of (P. 21) Lak'hnou he sent persons secretly to Dihlí, to fetch Sháhim Bég from thence to join him. So the Khán Zamán, following the manners of Transoxiana,[2] manifested wonderful affection for Sháhim Bég, and called him "my king," and gave himself up entirely to humouring him, and many times waited on him like an ordinary servant, and remained, while serving him, standing in his presence, and the like. Now I have heard from Mír Abu-l-Ghays Bokhárá of Dihlí (the mercy of God be upon him !), whose disciple Sháhim Bég had after a manner been, that at the time when Sháhim Bég came from the imperial camp to Jounpúr, agreeably with the age of youth, which "has just left the Presence of My Lord,"[3] was much occupied in prayer with the congregation, and in thanksgiving and reading the Qorán, and private prayer, and continual sanctity, and never turned his eye to unlawful things. And the Khán Zamán, through imitation of him, became adorned with scrupulous regard for the Law, and the

[1] See p. [5].

[2] Abridged translation.

[3] This is an Arabic quotation; but from what I know not. Compare:—

The youth who daily from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.—*Wordsworth.*

The same word '*aha*' is used for "age" and "meeting with," "presence," I do not see how to retain the paronomasia in English.

practice of holiness. And, to please Sháhim Bég, he deputed officers to go into his own camp that, enforcing the observance of things commanded by the Law, and preventing the committal of such things as are forbidden, they might abolish all wanton and forbidden practices. And Mír Sayyid Muḥammad Makkí, (who understood the seven manners of reading the Glorious Word, and with whom the writer of these pages had learnt to read the Qorán at Sambhal in the time of Islím Sháh), he retained with orders to instruct Sháhim Bég with extreme and boundless care. But, since the asceticism of youths is of unstable equilibrium, this piety was in a short time changed to the opposite :—

"Long time on my patience I myself did pride,
(P. 22) In practice of patience I displayed myself.
Love entered in, how could patience then abide !
Then thanks be to God ! that I have proved myself."

Sháhim Bég became attached to a dancing-girl named Árám Ján, who was very fascinating, and graceful in her movements ; apropos of which :

"No one can force th' affections of the heart,
Nor count on winning or by grace or art :
Many of beauteous form, and glances sweet,
Pour forth their heart-blood at the loved one's feet :
Many a one of fairest cheek, and mild,
Has been despised by him on whom she smiled."

Sháhim Bég could not rest till he had gained her, and although the Khán Zamán possessed this girl in lawful marriage, he gave her up to him. He was perfectly happy with her for some days, and then he gave her up, and made her over to 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán bin Mu'ayyid Bég, who had a desperate fondness for her. When news of the Khán Zamán['s misconduct] came to the court, the Emperor's wrath knew no bounds, and an order went forth from Ágra and Dihlí to Jounpúr addressed to the Khán Zamán to seek Sháhim Bég, and another was issued to the fief-holders of that district, to the effect that, if the Khán Zamán should be dilatory in this matter, an *Aghnágh*, *i. e.*, a meeting, should sit upon him, and bring

him to punishment. Then the Khán Zamán sent a confidential servant of his, Barj 'Alí by name, to the court to gloss over those faults of his, and to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was first of all to repair to the dwelling of Pír Muḥammad Khán, (P. 23) who was the Khán Zamán's plenipotentiary, and whose abode was upon a tower, and to deliver his message. It may be that harsh language was contained in the letter, for Pír Muḥammad Khán threw him down from the top of the tower, so that he was dashed to pieces. Pír Muḥammad Khán with hardness of heart laughingly said, 'This little fellow has become a victim to his name.'[1] When the Khán Zamán heard this news he set his heart on getting rid of Sháhim Bég, and extemporised the following :—

"When Union turns away, and leaves the country,
The [cold] wind of absence knows no bounds.
My breast is burning with desire for Union,
[But] my place of resort is the shop of the stitcher of fur."

And so, in accordance with the exigencies of the moment, he gave him leave to retire to the district of Sarharpúr, (which is about 18 *cosses* from Jounpúr, and was fixed as the fief of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég) that he might occupy himself there for a time in the pleasures of the chase, and return as soon as the wrath of the Emperor should be abated. So Sháhim Bég, in company with 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég, spent his time at that town, where there was an artificial lake of pure water, and a most pleasant garden, and a beautiful building in the middle of the lake, (and a most delightful and tranquil spot it is !) ; until on a certain day they had a wine-party and became exceedingly elevated, when—in accordance with the following :

"Singing and love and constant drinking
Are all three things which to madness tend :
When wine and love their arms are linking,
God be our refuge ! for bad's the end"—

he asked 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég for Árám Ján. He brought forward the excuse that he was married to her, and so Sháhim Bég became enraged with him, and all that friendship in a moment ended in hatred :—

[1] Viz. *Barj* "a tower," *nomen et omen.*

"Many have I observed, through the freaks of fickle Fate, (P. 24) Turned from hate to friendship, or again, from love to hate," and through pride and drunkenness of wine and youth he gave his orders, and had 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán seized; and, on the ground that Árám Ján had first been his, he demanded her from the house of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, and kept her with him. But Mụayyid Bég, the younger brother of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég, from a strong feeling of his brother's wrongs, assembled a body of men, and attacked the balcony,[1] where Sháhim Bég and Árám Ján were together. Sháhim Bég rose to drive them back, and a fray ensued, in which insane affair an arrow reached a mortal part of Sháhim Bég, and he died. The following hemistich they composed as giving the date :—

"He cried *ah!* and said: *Sháhim is become a martyr.*"

Be it observed that, when the numerical value of "*ah*"[2] is subtracted from that of "*Sháhim Shahíd shud*," we get 963, the date. But, it is a disputed point, whether that fatal accident befel Sháhim Bég in this year, or the year before; probably the latter: but God knows. Then 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán fled to the court, where he was favourably[3] received. The Khán Zamán had put on mourning and pursued 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Bég to the water of the Ganges, but being unsuccessful he returned disconsolate [to Jounpúr] with weeping eye and parched heart :—

"In grief the Sun dropped blood at dawn,[4]
Moon tore its face, Zohrah its tress,
Night put on mourning black, and Morn
Raised a cold sigh, and rent its dress."

During these few years the Khán Zamán with a small force had several brilliant engagements with the numerous forces of the Afgháns, and obtained the victory over them. The history of this

[1] Pers. *Bálákhána*, whence the English word, formerly pronounced balcóny.

[2] $d + h = 1 + 5 = 6$; $3 \times sh = 900$, $d = 1$, $2 \times h = 10$, $y = 10$, $m = 40$, $2 \times d = 8$. Sum 969. And $969 - 6 = 963$.

[3] *Tarbiyat yáftan*, here, as in Text 86, 17; 134, 9; 161, 12, is used in the Hindustani sense of "being favourably received."

[4] The word *shafak* means both "twilight", and "condolence", so that the expression in the original has the *double intendre* of "at dawn" and "through sympathy."

series of battles forms a model page in the annals (P. 25) of the time. Amongst them is the battle of Lak'hnou, in which Ḥasan Khán Bachgotí brought 20,000 men against the Khán Zamán, who had not assembled more than 3,000 or 4,000. Up to the moment when the enemy[1] crossed the river Karwí and attacked Bahádur[2] Khán, the Khán Zamán himself was engaged in taking a meal. When news was brought that the enemy was advancing to the attack, he called for a chess-board and kept playing at his ease. When he was told that the foreign troops had driven back his own men, he then at last called for his arms, and put them on. And, while the enemy was plundering his tents, and his whole army was in confusion, he ordered Bahádur Khán to retire; then he, with a handful of men, with drums beating, fell upon the enemy, repulsed them, and pursued them to a distance of seven or eight *cosses*. The slain he piled up in heaps, and then returned victorious. So, also, at Jounpúr he fought with the Bengálí,[3] who called himself Sulṭán Bahádur, and had issued coin, and caused the *Khutbah*[4] to be read in his name in Bengál. This man advanced upon Jounpúr with between 30,000 and 40,000 horse, and the followers of the Khán Zamán were completely routed. When the Khán Zamán rose from table, the enemy found the cloth spread just as it was, and began to plunder. But afterwards the Khán Zamán with a small[5] body of men brought destruction[6] on the fortune of the Afgháns, slaying many and taking many prisoners; and such an amount of booty did he take, that his army was completely set up in stores. And, in truth, such was his kingly good fortune, that he, and his brother with his own troop, obtained such a series of victories on the eastern side of Hindustán, as has fallen to the lot of but few. And, had

[1] This seems to be an Indian use of the word *Ghaním*, see Shakespeare's *Hindust. Dict.*

[2] That is, Muhammad Sa'íd Shaibání, younger brother of the Khán Zamán.

[3] The *Gourí*, see note, p. 12.

[4] See note, p. 1.

[5] Lit. "a numbered band", like the Hebr. *m'thêy mispâr* "men of number," it means "a few".

[6] For the peculiar idiom in which *az* is to be rendered by "on" cf. note to p. 57 (Text). Or the phrase may be translated literally "Extracted vengeance from", cf. δίκην λαβεῖν παρά τινος, and Hebr. *niphra' min* "was paid from" *i. e.* "took vengeance on".

they not shown the stain of rebellion upon the forehead of loyalty, these two brothers would have been on the path to a royal distinction. But, in the end, they sank all that perseverance and energy in the dust of (P. 26) degradation :—

"For fifty years one may maintain a name,
But one base act will cover it with shame."

And the rest of their acts will be mentioned in the years before us, if God, He is exalted, will it.

And in this year the Khán Khánán brought to punishment Muçáḥib Bég, the son of Khwájah Kalán Bég, a man who was not free from evil qualities, and inward vice.

And on the 17th of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 965, which coincides with the 3rd year from the Accession, the royal train adorned the city of Ágra. And in this year took place the appointment, removal, rise, and fall of Pír Muhammad Khán : and this is how it came about. Pír Muhammad Khán from being a Mullá had become an Amír, and had been advanced to such a degree, that he became closer and opener of every important affair of state, and finance, as vicegerent of the Khán Khánán. All the Pillars of the State used to go to his house, and but few obtained admittance. His opulence had reached to such a pitch that one day, in the course of going from Dihlí to Ágra, when the Khán Khánán went on an hunting expedition with Pír Muhammad Khán, the Khán Khánán asked his private purveyors : "Is there no provision in store, for we are hungry ?" and Pír Muhammad Khán on the spur of the moment said : "If you will be pleased to alight, whatever may happen to be at hand shall be served." So the Khán Khánán with his suit alighted under a tree, and 3000 drinking cups, and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours(?)[1] were brought out from the travelling-stores of Pír Muhammad Khán. Though the Khán Khánán was astonished, he let no sign of his astonishment escape him, but great jealousy found its way into his heart :—

"Perhaps in this place you may chance to fail to see,
How many envious foes, and jealous friends there be."

[1] In the text we should, possibly, read *búqalamun* of various kinds, or colours.

(P. 27) When they arrived at Ágra, Pír Muhammad Khán was indisposed for some days, and the Khán Khánán came to visit him. One of the servants, who was in the habit of keeping off people, both great and small, came to stop him, and said: "Be pleased to wait until your request has been made known, when you have made application you may come in;" on this the astonishment of the Khán Khánán knew no bounds, and he said:—

"For a wilful fool there is no cure!"

When this came to the ears of Pír Muhammad Khán, ill as he was, he came running, and "after the destruction of Bozrah"[1] begged forgiveness, saying: "Forgive me, for my Porter did not know you." The Khán Khánán answered: "Nor you either!" In spite of this, when the Khán Khánán came in, not one of Pír Muhammad's household was dismissed except Ṭáhir Muḥammad Sulṭán his chamberlain, who had obtained that position with great difficulty. Praise be to God! for if the fortunes of that man be such what shall I say of myself!—

"O go not to the Sulṭan's Court,
For there indeed thou 'lt profit naught.
Let the gruff Porter's stern rebuff
For wisdom's warning be enough."[2]

And the Khán Khánán, after he had sat down for a moment, came out again, and Pír Muhammad was left to meditate upon the affair. After two or three days the Khán Khánán sent to Pír Muhammad Khán the following message, by the hand of Khwájah Amíná[4] (who afterwards became Khwájah Jahán), and of Mír 'Abd-ulláh Bakhshí, and a number of courtiers: "You will remember that you came to Qandahár in the position of an unfortunate student, and that when we found that you possessed ability and the quality of fidelity, and

[1] *I. e.* 'after the steed was stolen,' when it was too late. Cf. Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 137.

[2] Compare

Repulsed by surly groom that waits before
The sleepy tyrant's interdicted door.

Dryden's translation of Juvenal.

[4] Kh. Amínuddín Maḥmúd of Harát, financier and calligraphist.

when also some worthy services had been performed by you, we raised you, a mere student and beggar, from the lowest step among the degraded, to the highest grade among the exalted in (P. 28) Sulṭánship and Khánship, and to the post of an Amír of Amírs; but, since the carrying of a high position is not in your capacity, nothing but a suspicion of rebelliousness and baseness remains in you. So we will take away from you for a time the insignia of your pride, that your base disposition and inflated brain may come to their senses. Now it is right that you should surrender the standard, and kettle-drum, and paraphernalia of pomp." So Pír Muhammad Khán, in accordance with this command, surrendered on the spot to some of the Khán's people those accessories of conceit (which have carried a host of ignorant men off their balance, and do so still, and have driven, and still do drive them, from the path of manliness and generosity, and have made, and still make, them associates of the Ghúls of the desert), and become the same *Mullá* Pír Muhammad that he was before; nay he became poorer still:—

> "Whatever the rolling heaven gives is but a loan,
> In a mill the white is but contingent[1] to the stone."

Soon after this they sent the Mullá to the fortress of Biyánah, and there he was confined. And from this place he wrote numberless pamphlets on the subject of proof by *tamánu*,[2] which is that made use of in the verse of the Qorán [XXI, 22]: "If there were in them gods beside God, verily both heaven and earth would come to ruin," and is a well known method of argument among logicians: and others besides addressed to the Khán Khánán, and thus made endeavours at reconciliation, and liberating himself; but all was in vain:—

[1] Arab. *'áriz*, accidental, contingent, συμβεβηκός.

[2] *At-tamánu'* consists in two things rendering one another mutually impossible. In the verse in question are implied—that the ruler of heaven and earth can be only *one*—and that that *one* can be none but God alone. Two kings cannot rule over one land, and just so two gods cannot rule the universe. If they both wished to do something, their powers would come into collision in doing it; if their wills differed, they would mutually hinder one another. It may not be unprofitable to observe, that the same line of argument is adopted in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Bk. XII *ad finem*.

And Mír Sayyid Ni'mat Rusúlí, who has been mentioned, repeated the distich, and made it well known in mosques and monastries. And in the mosque, and in Shaikh Gadá-í's own tribunal they wrote up his disgraceful deeds, until he came to read them and had them erased. Still it was no good: and this is one of the lampoons:—

"Mention not Gadá-í's name, eat not his bread
Since *beggary*[1] is bad, Gadá-í's face is black."

And some instances of his insincerity, and stupidity, and evil goings-on with respect to the servants of the Emperor were exposed, which will be mentioned in their proper place. And in these days the king studied under that paragon of greatness Mír 'Abd-ul-Latíf, who is one of the great Sayfí-Sayyids[2] of Qazwín, and who came from the country of 'Iráq to India in the year 963, and with him he began reading the Díwán[3] of "mystic language." And 'Abd-ul-Latíf's able son (an Amír endowed with excellent qualities, and commendable dispositions, in whom is reflected the truth of the Arabic proverb: "A well-bred son takes after his noble parents," whose name is Mír Ghiyás-ud-dín, and surname Naqíb Khán, a very miracle of knowledge in manners and customs, chronology, biography, and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day, and a blessing of the blessings of the age, a second Preserved Tablet,[4] and who bears to myself, the writer of these pages, the relation of co-temporary, fellow-student (P. 31) and co-religionist, is at present in attendance on His Majesty, giving all his attention to reading history, and all books of verse and prose, both day and night.

And in the year 966 the capture of the fort of Gwályár took

[1] Punning on the meaning of the word *Gadá-í* (see preceding page).

[2] They were known "in Írán for their Sunní tendencies" Blochmann *Áíní Akbarí*, p. 447. They were, consequently, especially esteemed by our Author.

[3] Probably the *Díván-i Ḥáfiz*, for Blochmann says "at that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some Odes of Háfiz." *Áíní Akbarí*, 448.

[4] *Louḥ-i maḥfúz*, the Indelible Tablet on which, according to Mahometan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from all eternity. It is referred to in Qor'án vi, 38. The sixth great article of faith with a Moslem is God's absolute predestination of both good and evil.

place. A *ghulám* of 'Adalí,[1] Buhail[2] Khán by name, who was beseiged therein, sued for quarter and gave up the keys. The date will be found contained in the words *Futḥ-i báb-í kil'ah-e Gwályár*, "The opening of the gate of the fortress of Gwályár." And in this same year Sangrám[3] Khán, also a *ghulám* of [the late] 'Adalí, sold the fortress of Rantambhor into the hand of Rái Surjan Hádá. The facts of the case are as follows. Before the Emperor made the city of Ágra the goal of his prosperous journey, he had appointed some of the Amírs, such as Hindú Bég Moghúl, &c., to reduce the fort of Rantambhor. They beseiged Sangrám Khán and ravaged the environs of the fortress, and the surrounding district, but were unsuccessful in their main object. But when Biyánah was given as a fief to Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán, one of the followers of the Khán Khánán, and Basáwar, and Todah[4] Tark 'Alí, which is better known as Todah Bihyún, were given to Chaghatáí Khán, then Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán was honoured with the command of the army, and, superseding the Amírs of the surrounding district, was appointed to undertake the seige. When he had beseiged the place for the space of one year, and reduced the garrison to great straits, Sangrám Khán made proposals of peace, and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view to acting upon the Khán's feelings, asked for special conditions for his own personal advantage. The Kháns chose my father, and that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts, Hájí Bhíkan Basáwarí, and sent them to arrange this important matter. After much altercation Sangrám Khán agreed to surrender the fortress on certain conditions, among which was one that he should receive part-compensation in the shape of ready-money, goods, and the most valuable of the furniture (P. 32) of his own house. But when the Amírs, since they had not the money to pay down, practised delay and procrastination in the matter, and moreover there was some idea of after all taking

[1] On the death of Islám Sháh (A. H. 960) Muhammad Sháh Súr 'Ádil, commonly known as *'Adalí*, had usurped the throne.

[2] Elliot's MS. of Táríkh-i-Alfí has *Babhal*, Abul Fazl says *Sohail*. 'Adalí had given the command of Gwályár to this *ghulám*.

[3] Called Hájí Khán in the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Elliot, V. 260.

[4] About 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhor.

the fortress by assault, then[1] Sangrám Khán gave up the fortress to Rái Surjan,[2] and got all he wanted from him: and this unfortunate army after so many years of effort got no thanks. Then Sangrám Khán in company with Hájjí Khán Alwarí went to Gujrát. And Rái Surjan strengthened the fort with the stores of provisions and arms. Thus by means of riches and address he became master of some also of the *pargannas* in the vicinity of the fortress. Then Ḥabíb 'Alí Khán and the Amírs, after spending some time in ravaging the country, separated and returned to their fiefs.

In this year Jamál Khán, a *ghulám* of [the late] 'Adalí, who had become possessed of Chunár, sent a representative to court, to intimate that if they could send a man fitted to be trusted with the affair he would surrender to him the fortress, on which the Khán Khánán sent back, in company with Jamál Khán's representative, Mihr 'Alí Bég Sildúz, (who afterwards attained the rank of Khán, and was made governor of the fortress of Chítor), with a farmán containing friendly terms.

And in those days I left home and, going from Basáwar to Ágra with the intention of pursuing my studies, I made acquaintance with Mihr 'Alí Bég, and remained at his house. And he greatly importuned my late teacher Shaikh Mubárak of Nágór (the mercy of God be upon him!), and my deceased father Shaikh Mulúkshāh (may he rest in peace!), to allow me to be his travelling companion, and carried the matter to such a pitch that he declared that he would lay aside the business[3] of his journey, if I could not go with him. And both of these valued persons, whom I have named, in their generous friendship towards me, thinking it best for me to go, would take no refusal. So I, to gratify my teacher, although it was the height of the rainy[4] season, and I was an inexperienced traveller, abandoning my studies, mounted the dangers of the jour-

[1] The apodosis is introduced by *wa* "and" as by τε in Herod. i, 116 ἐπεὶ δὲ ..... αὐτὸν εἵρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης ..... ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι.

[2] The Ṭabaqát-i Akbari says that he was a relation of Rái Udí Singh, who is mentioned on p. 61 of our Text.

[3] *Viz.*, of making terms with Jamál Khán for the surrender of Chunár.

[4] *Bashakál* for *Barshakál*.

ney. And passing through Kanouj,[1] Lak'hnou, (P. 33), Jounpúr, and Benáres, having seen the wonders of the world, and having been in the company of some of the great Shaikhs and Doctors of that part of the country, after crossing the river Ganges I came to Chunár in a month Zí-l-qa'dah[2] in the year nine hundred and sixty-six (966). Jamál Khán sent some of his people to meet Mihr 'Alí, and bring him to his house. There he received him with fitting hospitality and shewed him the palaces of Shór Sháh and Salím Sháh, and all the defensive munitions of the fort. But when the farmán of conciliation, containing a grant of five pargannas in the neighbourhood of Jounpúr in exchange for the fortress of Chunár, was read, Jamál Khán showed that he had further expectations, and proposing the most impossible terms endeavoured to detain Mihr 'Alí in inactivity until an answer to his representation should arrive from the court. Meanwhile he artfully held communication both with Khán Zamán[3] and Fatḥ Khán Afghán Tabní (?)[4] who with all his force was at the fortress of Rohtás, holding out to them separately promises of the fortress. Then Mihr 'Alí, when he became aware of the treachery and perfidy of Jamál Khán, and when also a suspicion as to Fatḥ Khán's fidelity found way into his mind, fearing lest they should league together for his injury, left the fort unattended, on the pretext of taking exercise. So leaving me in the fortress, he crossed the Ganges in the greatest perturbation. Then insinuating myself into Jamál Khán's good graces, and promising him to bring back Mihr 'Alí, and restore peace and quiet, in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It happened that my boat fell into a terrible whirlpool at the foot of the hill which adjoins the wall of the fortress, and a dreadful hurricane arose, which made the boat shake in every timber, and if the mercy of the Creator of land and sea had not been my shelter,[5]

[1] Kanyákubja or Canouj is one of the most ancient places in India. See Elphinstone, p. 233.

[2] The 11th month.

[3] He was at Jounpúr. See p. 17.

[4] The reading is here doubtful.

[5] The word *bádbán* in Pers. means "a sail", but in this Indo-Persian it is probably used with some reference to its meaning in Hindústání which is given by Shakespeare as "a shade to protect a candle from the wind."

the bark of my (P. 34) hope in that whirlpool of calamity would have been dashed to atoms on the hill to death :—

> " I came into a sea whose waves were man-devouring,
> No boat in that sea, no sailor, it is wonderful !"

And in the jungle at the foot of the Chunár hill I came to the dwelling and abode of Shaikh Muhammad Ghous, one of the great Shaikhs of India, and a man of prayer. One of his followers met me, and showed me a cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years as a hermit, subsisting on the leaves, and fruit of the desert trees. So celebrated had he become for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful and absolute monarchs used to bow the head of sincerity and courtesy in his honour.

After that Mihr 'Alí returned to Ágra, Fatú a *ghulám* of 'Adalí got into his possession the fortress of Chunár.

In 966 A. H. the aforenamed Shaikh with disciples and followers arrived with state and pomp at Ágra, coming from Gujrát. The Emperor received him with frank confidence. But his arrival was displeasing to Shaikh Gadá-i who on account of jealousy, hypocrisy, and envy (which to the saints of Hindustán, in their feelings towards one another, are the very necessaries of life), looked on his arrival as a case of opening a shop in the story above his own shop :—

> " The truth of this proverb wisdom will see,
> That, ' Two of a trade can never agree.' "[1]

And the Khán Khánán, on account of the influence which Shaikh Gadá-i exercised over his mind, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad in such a friendly manner as he ought to have done. On the contrary he held many preconcerted conversaziones, in which he brought forward the Shaikh to be a butt for the arrows of contumely, by bringing on the *tapis* a treatise of his, in which, describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he says that in his waking moments he had had an interview and conversation with the Lord of Glory (glorious is His Majesty !), who assigned to him a superiority over the Repository of Prophecy,[2] (may (P. 35) God bless

[1] See Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 61.

[2] Muhammad the Prophet.

him, and his family, and give him peace!), and which contained other such follies equally contemptible and reprehensible both in thought and expression. So the Shaikh much chagrined retired to Gwályár, and occupied himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, contenting himself with a *jágír* which yielded a million sterling[1] !

In this year Bahádur Khán, brother of the Khán Zamán, with the intention of subjugating the country of Málwah,[2] which Báz Bahádur, son of Suzáwal[3] Khán at that time held, had advanced as far as the town of Siprí,[4] when the Khan Khánán's troubles came about, so he turned back, and with the Khán Khánán's leave came, and attached himself to the Court. In the same year Ḥusain Khán came from Andarí to Ágra, and going with some of the gallant Commanders towards Rantambhór performed some brilliant exploits at Súpar,[5] and thence he carried his operations to the castle of Rantambhór, and defeated Rái Surjan in battle and compelled him to shut himself up in that fortress. Against him he acquitted himself well; but on account of the confusion which reigned in the circles of the Khán Khánán, he left his circle of investment incomplete, and went to Gwályár. And when thence he was making for Málwah, the Khán Khánán recalled him to Ágra.

On the 20th of Jumádá-s-sání[6] in the year 967 the Emperor crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition. And some malevolent speakers, who were jealous of the absolute authority which the Khán Khánán enjoyed as the *Vakíl*, and especially Adham Khán (who on account of his being the son of Máhum Atka[7] held the post nearest to his person), and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and others, seized the opportunity of misrepresenting to the Emperor certain words of the Khán Khánán. And in fact the Emperor

[1] A *kror*, or 10 million rupees, or *tankas* (?)

[2] For an epitome of the history of Málwah see Elliot, V. 168.

[3] Called Shuja' Khán Afghán, in the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. He is called Shujáwal by Blochmann, p. 428.

[4] *Sirí*, Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Siprí was about half way on his road.

[5] That is 'Shcopoor,' 120 miles S. W. of Ágra (Elliot).

[6] The 6th month.

[7] See footnote on the page of the Transl. corresponding to p. 52 of the Text, whence it will be seen that she ought to be called *Ankah* or *Anagah*.

himself (because he had not absolute power in his own kingdom, and sometimes (P. 36) had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the Exchequer, and because there was no privy purse at all, and the servants of the Emperor had but poor fiefs, and were kept in the depths of poverty, while the Khán Khánán's were in ease and luxury) wished that the circle about him should be put on a different footing. But he had no power to accomplish this, until, in accordance with the saying "When God wills a thing, its causes are at hand", circumstances combined to bring about the desired result:—

"When the subject-matter is collected,
Then the act of verse-making is easy."

Close by Sikandrah-rao which is [more than] half-way to Dihlí Máhum Ankah represented to His Highness, that the Queen Dowager, who was at Dihlí, had fallen suddenly ill, and impressed upon him that he ought to direct his course thither. Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán the Governor of Dihlí came to meet the Emperor, and in concert with all the others made mountains of mole-hills, and prejudiced his mind against the Khán Khánán:—

"Thy mole, and tutty-mark, and locks, and brow,
Are all banded together.
For the purpose of killing Mus'úd[1]
She is become an arraigner."

Eventually she made the following representation: "When the Khán Khánán learns that the imperial cavalcade is come to Dihlí at my instigation, he will be sure to wish to avenge himself, and I have no power to resist him, so it is best that I should receive permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekka." The Emperor could not make up his mind to part with Máhum Ankah. So he allayed their terror, and sent to the Khán Khánán the following message: "Since without your leave and approval I have journeyed thus far,[2] all my attendants are in the uttermost terror. It is right, therefore, that you should show yourself amicably inclined towards them, and

[1] *Mus'úd Bakk* a Persian Poet, see Sprenger *Catalogue of MSS. in library of king of Oudh*, p. 486.

[2] Of course this message is somewhat ironical.

so enable them to continue in my service with minds at ease." The Khán Khánán sent Khwájah (P. 37) Amíná,[1] and Hájjí Muhammad Khán of Sístán, and Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, who were the centre and pivot of important affairs, to wait on the Emperor, to make apologies, and assure his Majesty of his continued fidelity, and good will. But these advances did not reach the door of acceptance, and the above-mentioned magnates were not allowed to return. Then Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and Máhum Ankah, being determined to go through with the matter, spread abroad the news of the Emperor's alienation from the Khán Khánán, so that it reached the utmost publicity. Then the Amírs one after another left Ágra for Dihlí; and the affair is an exact parallel to that of the Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd Moghúl with Amír Chúbán, who was a vazír of almost regal magnificence: an affair which is mentioned in the books of history. And so the well-known [Arabic] proverb was fulfilled "The mystery of the world is like the course of the ass; when it goes forward it *does* go forward, when it goes back it *does* go back:"

When Fortune wishes to come to a slave,
All strangers claim relationship with him.
But when the time of prosperity turns away,
His very door and wall become a sting to him.[2]

Qíyám Khán Kang was the first of the Amírs who arrived at Dihlí. And Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and Máhum Ankah attached each one, as he came, more and more to the cause of the Emperor by holding out promises of high offices and fiefs: and with the greatest care and vigilance they applied themselves to strengthening the fortifications.

The Khán Khánán, who was at Ágra with all his devoted adherents, called a council. The advice of Shaikh Gadáí, with several others, was this, that before the balance of fortune should have turned against him he should set out, and get the Emperor into his power, so as to prevent his being accessible to the Khán's detractors. The Khán Khánán did not approve this advice, saying "Since the heart of the Emperor is alienated from me, any further friendly

[1] Comp. p. 20.

[2] *I. e.*, his own house turns against him.

intercourse in public is out of the question (P. 38), but how could I possibly assume any other guise! for, after spending a lifetime in loyalty to his person, in my old age to put a dishonourable stain on the forehead of my fortune were to cause me an eternal disgrace." Now he had always had a desire to make a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medína, so he got things ready for his journey to Ḥijáz,[1] and set off for Biyánah, intending to go by way of Nágór. He told his intention to all his supporters, and gave them leave to go to the court. And Bahádur Khán, who had been sent for from Málwah,[2] he allowed to go as their companion. He then released Muḥammad Amín Díwánah[3] from the prison in the fortress of Biyánah, and departed :—

"There is no permanence in any prosperity,
However much you may have tried it :
For lo! '*Prosperity*'[4] read backwards is '*transient*',[4]
Read it and see for yourself."

And those, who had the Emperor's ear, represented to him, that the Khán Khánán intended to go to the Panjáb. So the Emperor sent from Dihlí a message by the hand of Mír 'Abd-ul-Laṭíf Qazwíní, saying : "Our intention in coming[5] to Dihlí was simply, to transact some important State affair on our own absolute authority. But since you have long had a desire to retire, and have taken the resolution of going to Ḥijáz, it is just as well that you should do so. And now you shall have as many pargannahs in Hindústán as you please, and your agents shall forward the revenues of them to any place at which you may happen to be staying." When the

[1] Ḥijáz = Arabia petræa (Mekka and its territory in particular).
Najad = „ deserta.
Yemen = „ felix.

[2] See p. 29.

[3] And also Sháh Abul Ma'álí *(Akbar-náma)*, who was imprisoned there, see p. 4.

[4] The letters of the first word (اقبال) read backwards give (لاقبا) the second.

[5] This reminds one of the message of Richard II to his uncles, "I left London, not through any hostility to you, but to resume my power."

Khán Khánán heard the will of the Emperor, he went from Méwát to Nágór; and, with the exceptions of Walí Bég Zu-'l Qadr, and Ḥusain Qulí Khán (who became Khán Jahán),[1] and Ismá'íl Qulí Khán his brother, and Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Ḥusain Khán a relative of Mahdí Qásim Ḳhán, none remained with him. From Nágór he sent to the Court by the hand of Ḥusain Qulí Khán his paraphernalia of pomp, consisting of such kettle-drums and standards as he possessed. Also Shaikh Gadáí (P. 39), at last on the confines of Bíkánír, chose too to separate himself, and the hidden meaning of the following became manifest :—

"Every brother must part from his brother
(By thy father's life !) except the two stars *Al-Furqadáni.*"

The Emperor, on his way from Dihlí to the Panjáb, had reached the town of Jhujhar, when these insignia of power were brought to him, and their surrender pleased him much. At this halting place Sháh 'Abú-l-ma'álí, who had come to pay his respects to the Emperor, wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake[2] his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán. And at the same stage Pír Muḥammad Khán Shírwání, who was awaiting the proper season [for the pilgrimage] at Gujrát, having received information of the confusion of affairs, and of the causes of the Khán Khánán's dismissal, set off at once to the Emperor and did him homage, and received the title of Náçir-i-mulk. When he had received the insignia and standards of Khán-hood, he was appointed by the Emperor to go after the Khán Khánán, and pack him off as quickly as possible to Mekka without giving him any time for delay. He started off quickly enough, but remained at his leasure at Nágór, and after a few days' journey wrote a letter to the Khán Khánán as follows :—

"I came, in the heart the foundations of love were firm likewise,
My sorrow-laden soul is of sorrow-for-thee the companion likewise."

The Khán Khánán wrote in answer: "Your coming was manly, but your delay, after having come near, is cowardly."

[1] A title in reputation next to that of *Khán Khánán.* Blochm. 330.

[2] So too the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Firishta says that he wished to remain mounted while saluting the Emperor. *Elliot.*

The Emperor, when he had returned to Dihlí, sent for Mun'im Khán from Kábul, in order to invest him with the office of Prime-minister (*Vakíl*).[1]

The Khán Khánán went from Nágór to Bíkánír with the intention of keeping an eye on the proceedings of Máldeo Rája of Jodhpúr, who with a considerable force had made himself master of the road to Gujrát[2]. But being very much annoyed, when he became aware of Pír Muḥammad Khán's pursuit of him, he became desperate, and at the instigation of some demon-like men turned to the Panjáb. His people, family, and effects, together with his lawful heir Mírzá Abd-ur-raḥím, (who (P. 40) was then but three years of age, but now holds the post of Khán Khánán, and Commander-in-Chief), he put for security into the fortress of Tabarkindh,[3] which was a fief of Shér Muḥammad Díwánah, the reputed son of the Khán Khánán. But news came to the Khán Khánán, whilst at Dípálpúr, that the said Díwánah had seized those effects and was behaving most treacherously to his adherents. Upon this he sent to Díwánah one Khwájah Muzaffar 'Alí Díwánah, (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khán), and Derwísh Muḥammad Uzbek with sage and soothing words, [thinking] that "may be when he has repented of his base conduct, he will return to rectitude." But a dog had bitten Díwánah :—

"O wise men stand on one side,
For *Díwánah*[4] is intoxicated."

Shér Muḥammad sent Khwájah Muzaffar a prisoner to the Court, and this blow caused the Khán Khánán more despair than all the rest besides, so that starting from where he was, he set off for Jálandhar. Then Shams-ud-dín Atkah Khán, and his son Yúsuf Muḥammad Khán, and Ḥusain Khán the relative of Shaháb Khán, and all the Amírs of the Panjáb assembled in accordance with a farmán, and in the confines of the parganna of Dik'hdár,[5] at a spot

[1] When he received the title of Khán Khánán. See p. 38.

[2] With the intention of attacking him. *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí.*

[3] I. e., *Sirhind*, Elliot V, 265.

[4] *Díwánah* means 'possessed', 'mad'.

[5] In the vicinity of Jálandhar, between the Sutlej and the Biyah, *Akbar-náma.*

called Kanúr Phillour,[1] hemmed in the Ḳhán Khánán. There a severe contest took place, in which Ḥusain Khán the relative of Mahdí Qásim Khán distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye-stricken."[2] He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Walí Bég, and his son Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned, if God (He is exalted!) will. After that blow the Khán Khánán fled, and all his effects, which were not secured in the fortress, fell into the hands of Atkah Khán and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which (P. 41) the Khán Khánan had had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre[3] (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Imám my lord Moulawí Jámí (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets :—

"Peace on the family of *Ṭá Há*[4] and *Yá Sín!*
Peace on the family of the Best of the Prophets!
Peace on the Shrine, wherin there rests
An Imám, in whom sovereignty and religion are preeminent!"
"An Imám in sooth is an absolute monarch,
For the sanctuary of his door is become the *Qiblah* of kings.
King of the palace of Knowledge, Rose of the garden of Bounty,
Moon of the mansion of Majesty, the Pearl of the casket of Contingency.
[Peace] on Ibn Musá Rizá, to whom from God
Is the name *Rizá*,[5] because doing *God's will* was his habit."

[1] See Elliot V, p. 266, VIII, p. 107; Blochmann, p. 317.

[2] A pun. The Persian compound means "stricken by the evil eye," but grammatically it might also mean "stricken in the eye"

[3] Of Imám Rizá, at Ṭús in Khurásán. Balfour's *Translation of Ali Hazin*, 128.

[4] Ṭá-Há (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'án, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom Muṣṭafá and Aḥmad as well as Moḥammad, are also names): so likewise is Yá-Sín, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'án. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed. Poole, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 139.

[5] *Rizá* means "Will."

They say that the banner cost nearly a *kror* of gold. And Qásim Araslán found the date of the event in the words, "*alam-i imám-i hashtum*,[1] "banner of the 8th Imám"[2]. Atkah Khán sent it with the rest of the spoils to the Court, and it was put into the imperial treasury. One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khán Khánán published as his own[3] a *ghazal* of Háshim Qandahárí, substituting his own name [Bairam for that of Háshim], and ordering 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Háshim by way of an extempore joke said "Sixty is too little:" upon which he increased the sum by 40,000, and gave him altogether a complete *lac*. From which you would infer that the Khán Khánán's star was setting, and as a matter of fact his power at this period was on the decline. The *ghazal* is as follows, of which the *Maṭla'*[4] is Háshim's :—

"What am I, who have let go the rein of the heart?
Who am fallen from the control of my heart into the way of sorrow:
Who am become like a madman in the skirts of the mountains:
Who have without will of any one turned my head to the desert.
At one time like a candle seized by the fire of my heart,
At another like a wick fallen into the heat of fire,
I, Bairam, am free from care for little or much,
Never have I uttered the word *less* or *more*."

[1] 70 + 30 + 40 + 82 + 45 + 700 = 967.

[2] The *Shí'ah* (lit. followers) are the followers of 'Alí, the husband of Fátimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that 'Alí was the first legitimate *Khalífah* (successor to Muḥammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmán, the first three Khalíf-s, as usurpers. According to the *Shí'ah* the Muslim region consists of a knowlege of the true *Imám*. The twelve *Imáms*, according to the *Shí'ah* are as follows:

(1) Ḥasrat Alí, (2) Imám Ḥassan, (3) Imám Ḥusain, (4) Zain-ul-Abid-dín, (5) Imám Muḥammad Báqir, (6) Jáfir Sádiq, (7) Musá Qásim, (8) *'Alí Musá Rizá*, (9) Muḥammad Taqí, (10) Muḥammad Naqí, (11) Ḥussan Askarí, (12) Abu Qásim. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 170.

[3] Cf. Martial, ii, 20. "Carmina Paullus emit; recitat sua carmina Paullus;
Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum."

[4] The two initial hemistichs are called the *Maṭla'*.

(P. 42). This *maṭla'* also is one of Háshim's :—

"Thy lip was smiling on account of the weeping eye that I have,
Thy heart was contented on account of the distracted state I am in."

And in the same way the Khán Khánán, although he had nothing in his treasury, gave at one sitting a *lac* of *tankahs* worth in money and goods to Rám Dás of Lak'hnou, who was one of the musicians[1] of Aslím Sháh, and one that in music[2] and song you might term a second Miyán Tán Sín. This man used to be the Khán Khánán's companion and intimate associate, and by the beauty of his voice continually brought tears to his eyes. There was likewise a certain Ḥijáz Khán Badáúní, who formerly was among the number of the Amírs of the Afgháns, and had a standard and a kettle-drum, and a pennon, and afterwards towards the end of his life retired from military affairs, and in the enjoyment of a very trifling pension pursued rectitude in the path of asceticism and devotion. To him in return for a *Qaçídah*, which in the *Maqṭa'* [3] he dedicated to the Khán, he gave a *lac* of *tankahs*, and made him Superintendent of the Government of Sirhind, and caused him to be appointed to that province. The *Maṭla'* of the Qaçídah is as follows :—

"When the seal of the ring of the heavens
Went down into the water,
The view of its signet gave
A ruby-tinge to the ground."

And so that saying of Khwájah Kalán Bég came true, *viz.*, "*Heaven above*[4] is of course a good judge of poetry!" The sum of the whole matter is that 100,000 were to the liberal mind of the Khán as *one*. How different indeed to these base ones, who now have come to the surface of the water :—

"If the odour of fidelity thou perceivest from any one,
His foot thou shouldest kiss much more than that of kings."

[1] The word *kalávant* is the Sanskrit *kalávat* a musician.

[2] *Vádí* is the Sanskrit *vádya* music.

[3] The two concluding hemistichs are called the *Maqṭa'*. A *ghazal* is an Ode. A *Qaçídah* resembles the *Idyllium* of the Greeks.

[4] That is, those in power are sure to appreciate your doggerel, if only you flatter them enough in it.

(P. 43). In the month Zî-'l-qa'dah[1] of this year, after the appointment of Atkah Khán to march to the Panjáb, the Emperor appointed Khwájah 'Abd-ul-Majíd of Harát, with the title of Açaf Khán, to the Government of Dihlí. And then as it was the best thing to do, since Ḥusain Khán's father Walí[2] Beg and his brother Ismá'íl Qulí Khán were with the Khán Khánán, he delivered Ḥusain Khán[2] to Açaf Khán's keeping, and himself went to the Panjáb.

Mun'im Khán, in accordance with orders, having come from Kábul to the halting-place of Ludhiyánah,[3] in company with Muqím Khán sister's son to Tardí Bég Khán (who afterwards became Shujá'at Khán), waited on the king. He received the title of Khán Khánán and was raised to the office of Prime-minister. And the state of the public exchequer he laid bare. To this same halting-place came the news of the victory of Atkah Khán and the flight of the Khán Khánán towards the mountains of Siwálik. The captives were brought into the Emperor's presence, and he had them imprisoned. One of them, Walí Bég, who had received mortal wounds, went from a [temporal] to an eternal prison, and they sent his head to Dihlí. Ḥusain Khán was committed to the charge of his wife's brother Malik Muḥammad Khán son of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and the Emperor eventually took him into favour, and appointed to him as his fief Pátyálí, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and the place of the birth and growth of ['A]mír[4] Khusrou (mercy be upon him !)

After his defeat the Khán Khánán retired to Talwárah and shut himself up there. This is a very strong and almost inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmál,[5] on the banks of the river Biyáh, the government of which belonged to Rája Gobind Chand. The forces of the

[1] The 11th month.

[2] See page 33.

[3] The Ṭabaqát-i Akbari says it was *Jálandhar*.

[4] Amír Khusrú, the very Prince of Súfi poets (or king as his poetical title of *Khusrú* implies), was of Tátar origin. His father Amír Seifuddin came to Hindustán, and settled at *Pátiáli* near Dihlí, where he married the daughter of Amád ul Mulk. His son Amír Khusrú was born A. H. 651, A. D. 1253. Ouseley's *Persian Poets* p. 146.

[5] Abu-l-Fazl says *Siwálik*. Elliot.

king drew near and joined battle. And Sulṭán Ḥusain Jaláír, a youth of great beauty, symmetry of form and bravery, fell in that battle. When they brought his head to the Khán Khánán, offering him congratulations, he calling to mind the youth's devotion to himself in times gone by, covered his face with a veil and wept aloud, (P. 44) saying: "A hundred reproaches on this life of mine! For through the misfortune of my soul so many youths are lost." Although the Hindús of that place supported the Khán Khánán, fellow-feeling with the Moslem religion seized his skirt, so that turning his thoughts to the world to come, and purifying himself in the path of religion, he with a view to obtaining forgiveness for his shortcomings, sent without delay, and with the greatest humility, a message by the hand of Jamál Khán, a *ghulám*, craving an audience with the Emperor. Then Mullá 'Abd-ulláh of Sulṭánpúr, whose title was Makhdúm-ul-mulk, set off with the intention of acceding to his request. But the armies still remained in the same position, and the coming and going of messengers continued, until Mun'im Khán, with a handful of intrepid men, came up and seized the Khán Khánán's person and brought him back. And all the Amírs, in accordance with orders, went to meet him, and all honour and respect, just as in former times, having been paid to him, he received a free pardon, moreover a special dress of honour and a horse were given to him Then Mun'im Khán brought him to his own abode, and put all his tents and appliances at his service. And two days afterwards he received permission to proceed to Mekka with such an allowance for travelling expenses as beseemed his rank. And the Amírs and courtiers, both small and great, gave him every proper assistance in the shape of money, and that kind of stores which the Turks call *Chandogh*, and the Emperor having appointed Hájjí Muḥammad Khán Sístání as the Khán's escort, himself went for recreation and hunting towards the castle of Firúzah, going by way of Dihlí; and on the fourth of Rabi'-ul-awwal[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) he made his glorious *entrée* into Dihlí. And on the 12th of Rabi'-us-sání he arrived at Ágra, the metropolis, by water.

[1] The 3rd month.

Now they say that the Khán Khánán going with his retinue to Gujrát by way of Nágór, passed through a jungle which abounded in the prickly acacia, (P. 45) and the corner of his turban was caught in a thorn and fell from his head. And, whereas such an event is usually considered a bad omen, in theKhán Khánán's case it was turned to quite the reverse,[1] for Hájí Muḥammad Khán aptly quoted the following [couplet from Háfiz] :—

"When in the desert through desire for the *Ka'bah*[2] thou dost set thy foot,
If the thorn of the acacia hit thy head do not grieve."

And so the Khán's gloom was turned to cheerfulness :—

"By speech knots are untied,
By speech the rust of the heart is polished off:
Many a knot which comes into our affairs from destiny,
To open which seems difficult,
Suddenly, by a graceful turn of language,
That business is converted into facility."

When he arrived at Patan in Gujrát, Musá Khán Fuládí, governor of Patan, and Hájjí Khán of Alwar, received him with the greatest respect, and gave themselves up to the necessary duties of hospitality. One day the Khán Khánán was taking a trip on the lake, called Sahnas Lang,[3] where one named Mubárak Khán Afghán, (he belied his name!), whose father the Khán Khánán at the beginning of the conquest of Hindústan had ordered to be put to death, being resolved on vengeance, at the hour of evening prayer, when the Khán Khánán was getting out of the boat, came with a lot of ruffians, on the pretence of meeting him, and with one blow of his gleaming dagger made him drink the draught of martyrdom. And the date was found as follows :—

[1] Compare the case of William the Conqueror's falling down on landing in England.

[2] The *Ka'bah* (cube) is the square stone building in the mosque (called *Mujíd ul Ḥarám*, 'sacred mosque,' or *Bait-ulláh* 'house of God') at Mecca, which contains the Black Stone *(Ḥajr ul aswad)*, round which the act of encompassing *(Ṭawáf)* is performed at the Pilgrimage *(Ḥajj.)*.

[3] *Sahasmak* (Ṭabaqát i Akbarí).

"When Bairam put on the *Iḥrám*[1] in order to encompass the *Ka'bah*,
On the road he became a martyr[2], not having obtained his desire.
Of my heart I asked the date of his martyrdom,
It said: *Muḥammad Bairám is become a martyr*[3];"

And the humble author of this history discovered an enigma (P. 46)
"He said, 'The rose is gone from the garden of beauty.'[4] "

Fragment.

"From the bowl of Fortune, who has ever drunk a draught,
To whom its drink has not been more deadly than poison?
How should the world make thee secure from vicissitudes,
When itself is not secure from vicissitudes?
Heaven is a thief breaking into the tent of life,
Alas! its form is not bending for naught!
Seek not repose, since for any one beneath the sky,
The means for attaining this has never been collected.
Only look at the blue[5] garment of the sky, and learn,
That this sphere can be nothing but a house of mourning.
Put up with wounding, for to us from Fate
Wounds have become our portion, but not the antidote.
O Khâqâní, listen not to the deceptions of the world,
For its own laws are not secured from revolution."

The Khán Khánán always had a sympathetic heart, and was devoted to the words of the great Shaikhs (God be favourable unto them!), and in his noble company the talk was ever of the Word of God, and the Word of the Prophet. One day he went to Síkrá to see a certain ascetic Dervish, and asked the meaning of this verse of the Qur'án, [iii 25]: "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou

[1] The pilgrim-dress.

[2] To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a martyr *(Shahíd)*. See Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islám*, 71, 72.

[3] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of *Shahíd shud Muḥammad Ḳaṣírám* is 968.

[4] *Gulshan-i-Khúbí* "garden of beauty" = 1018; take away *Gul* "rose" = 50, and the difference is 968.

[5] *Blue* is looked on as a presage of evil.

humblest whom thou wilt." And, since the Dervish had not read a commentary, he gave no answer. Then the Khán Khánán himself said, "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt", namely by means of contentment, "thou humblest whom thou wilt", by continued craving.[1] Moreover Friday's prayers and attendance at the (P. 47) mosque were never neglected by him. He was, however, somewhat touchy on the subject of precedence, as Muḥammad Amín Khatíb once said to the writer, "With regard to the titles of his Highness, you will do well to give him ever so many more than to other people."

And in the same year Miyán Ḥátim Sambhalí passed from the world, and a blow fell on religion for [says the Arabic proverb] "The death of the learned is a fissure in religion." And they found the date in the words,[2] "He is with the mighty King."

On the 12th of Rajab-ul-murajjab[3] in this year Báz Bahádur, son of Sajáwal Khán[4], governor of Málwah, advanced with elephants and numerous followers within 7 *cosses* of Sárangpúr[5] to oppose Adham Khán, Pír Muḥammad Khán, and the other renowned Amírs. He gave battle and was defeated, and his retinue, and servants, and wives, were all taken prisoners. On the day of the victory, the two captains remained on the spot, and had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river; and Pír Muḥammad Khán, with a smile on his face, said in jest "what a plague of a strong neck this victim has, and what a power of blood has poured from it!". And as for God's creation, (which is only another term for *mankind*), with my own eye was it seen, that in his sight it was valued but as radishes,[6] and cucumbers, and leeks. When I, without any prejudice against either side, came to that army and saw the terror, like that

[1] 'A contented mind is a continual feast,' and so the contented man is always exalted. On the other hand the discontented man is always asking for more, and always considers himself ill-used.

[2] The words "'inda malík-*in* muqtadir" give the date 968.

[3] The 7th month of the Muḥammedan year.

[4] *I. e.* Sajáwal Khán Súr; see Blochm., 428.

[5] In Málwah.

[6] In Zia-al-Barni, p. 469, l. 15 (cf. p. 497, l. 11) *zakhm-i turub* "smiting of radishes" is used for "cutting off the head."

of the Judgment-day, I said to my friend Mihr 'Alí Khán Bég Sildoz[1], "Though the rebels have met with their deserts, yet it is not at all in accordance with the Sacred Law to kill and imprison their wives and children." Then he, on account of the pain offered to his religious feelings and conscience, spoke to Pír Muḥammad Khán to the same effect. He replied "In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them!" And the same night these plundering[2] marauders, having stowed away their Muḥammadan captives, consisting of the wives of Shaikhs, and Sayyids, and learned men, and nobles, in their boxes and saddle-bags, brought them to (P. 48) Ujjain[3] and other districts. And the Sayyids, and Shaikhs of that place came out to meet him with their Qur'áns in their hands, but Pír Muḥammad Khán put them all to death, and burnt them:—

"Having torn off the binding of the Qur'án,
And made its leather into a kettledrum,
It is very clear from this, that he is
An enemy of the Prophet."

All that had been the talk, with respect to the cruelty, insolence, and severity of Pír Muḥammad Khán was shown to be only too true. And that, which former generations have said, was verified, viz., *He who seeks learning in scholastic theology, is an infidel: and the Doctors of scholastic theology are infidels, to whatever sect they belong; we flee to God for refuge—from a knowledge which doth not profit, from prayer that is not heard, from a heart that is not humble, and a belly that is not satisfied.* Adham Khán sent the whole account of the victory to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Çádik Muḥammad Khán. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the ḥaram, and the dancing-girls, and nautch-girls, belonging to Báz Bahádur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the

[1] *Sildoz* is the name of a Chaghtái clan.

[2] *Quzáq*, whence the word *Cossack*.

[3] The name in Sanskrit is Ujjayiní, *i. e.*, "victorious": *cf.* Νικόπολις; and Alqáhirah "the victorious", *i. e.*, Cairo the metropolis of Egypt.

1st of Sha'bán[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Ágra, and came to Sárangpúr, and having taken possession of the spoil, and arranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzán[2] he came back to the foot of the throne.[3]

In this year the Khán Zamán[4], with the help of Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál, and Sháhim Khán Jaláír[5], fought against Shér Khán, son of 'Adalí, who had succeeded to his father at Chunhár, and was come to Jounpúr with a considerable force. The Khán Zamán defeated him, and gained a signal victory. This is the second victory that was gained at Jounpúr. (On the 17th of Zî-l-ḥijjah of this year the Emperor came to Ágra.)[6] And towards the end of this year, on account of the suspected insubordination of the Khán Zamán, the Emperor honoured Karah with his presence, passing by way of Kálpí, and (P. 49) accepting the hospitality of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek the governor of that place. Then the Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán came quickly from Jounpúr with every appearance of good will, and paid their respects to the Emperor, bringing with them elephants, and valuable presents, by way of compliment: then they, being honoured with a gift of horses, and dresses of honour, were dismissed to their fiefs. And *Peace is the best*[7] gives the date of that event, with one unit too much:

> "The Messenger of prosperity in this ancient world
> Uttered the shout that: *Peace is the best.*"

On the 17th of Zî-l-ḥijjah[8] of this year [A. H, 968], the Emperor returned to Ágra.

[1] The 8th month.

[2] The 9th month entitled *al-mubárak* "the blessed." During this month a fast of the most rigorous kind is enjoined. On the night of the 27th of this month, called *Lail-ul-qadr* "the night of power," the Qur'án began to be revealed.

[3] *I. e.*, returned to Ágra.

[4] *'Alí Qulí Khán*, see p. 5.

[5] *Jaláír* is the name of a Chaghtái tribe.

[6] This sentence, which is out of place here, is repeated on the next page of the Text, where it is appropriate enough. It occurs in the latter position in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*.

[7] These words give: 1 + 30 + 90 + 30 + 8 + 600 + 10 + 200 = 969.

[8] The 12th month.

And in this same year his reverence the Doctor Muláná Sa'íd, the profound Professor of the age, came from Transoxiana; but, on account of want of appreciation on the part of his cotemporaries, he could not remain in Hindústán :—

"Say O Humá,[1] never cast thy glorious shadow on a land
Where the parrot is less esteemed than the kite."

And His Highness[2] the Qázi Abu-l-Ma'álí, the son-in-law of His Highness th Prince[3] of Bukhárá, also, who was a master-builder in legal sci ice, and a second glory of the Imáms, and in the Derwish order was one whose words and direction were followed, and who after paying the 5 customary prayers[4], used to make a practice of reading the Qur'án aloud,[5] came; and the compiler of this epitome read a few lessons in the beginning of the Sharḥi-Waqáyah with auspicious and blessed results in the presence of that great man. And Naqíb Khán, also, had the good fortune to study under him, and verily, he was a wondrous precious person and blessed (the mercy of God be upon him !)

On the 8th of Jumádá-l-awwal[6] in the year nine hundred and sixty-nine (969) the Emperor went on a pilgrimage[7] to the blessed tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs and Saints, Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí (may God sanctify his glorious tomb !), and gave presents (P. 50) and alms to the people who waited there. And at the town of Sámbhar, celebrated for its salt-mines, Rája Pahárah Mall, governor of Ambér[8], together with his son Rái Bhagván Dás, came and paid his respects to the Emperor, who then espoused his

[1] *Humá* a bird of happy omen. Every head which it overshadows, it is supposed, will in time wear a crown.

[2] *Khudddm* (like *Bandagán*, p. 19, l. 3 *infrá*, and p. 235, l. 11 of Text) is merely a circumlocution for the person himself.

[3] Comp. the expression '*Azízi Miçr* 'king of Egypt.'

[4] *Viz.* (1) Before dawn, (2) midday, (3) afternoon, (4) before sunset, (5) evening. These five hours of prayer are of divine institution *(farz)*.

[5] Read *Jahránah*, not *Jahri-arrah*, which is nonsense.

[6] The fifth month.

[7] *Ziyádat* is, of course, a printer's error. for *Ziyárat*.

[8] The three great Rájpút states are Jaipúr or Ambér, Jodhpúr or Marwar, Udípúr or Méwár.

gentle daughter in honourable wedlock. And Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, who held a fief on the confines of Ajmír, he appointed to reduce the fortress of Mírt'ha, which is within 20 *cosses* of Ajmír, and was held by Jaimall Rájpút; and then returned quickly[1] to Ágra. Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain gave quarter to the garrison, but stipulated that they should carry away with them none of their goods, or personal property. So Jaimall evacuated the place. But a certain Deo Dás one of Jaimall's soldiers contrary to the stipulations, when the imperial troops were entering, with a considerable number of men set fire to the goods and chattels of the fortress, and offered an obstinate resistance. After raising many of the imperial soldiers to the grade of martyrdom, Jaimall himself went into eternal fire, and 200 of his renowned Rájpúts went to hell.[2] Thus by the help of Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-muṭlab Khán, and other Amírs the fortress was taken.

In those days Pír Muḥammad Khán, who after Adham Khán went to the Court possessed absolute power in Málwah, collected a great force, and led it against Burhánpúr and reduced Bíjágarh, a strong fortress, by force of arms, and made a general slaughter. Then he turned towards Khándésh, and was not content with himself, unless he practised to the utmost the Code[3] of Changíz Khán [the Moghul, viz., *no quarter*], massacring, or making prisoners of all the inhabitants of Burhánpúr and Asír[4], and then crossing the river Narbadah he raised the conflict[5] to the very heavens, and utterly destroyed many towns and villages of that district, and swept every thing clean and clear:—(P. 51).

[1] "In a day and a night" *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí!* "In less than three days," *Abu-l-Fazl.* "In three days," *T. Alpí.* Elliot.

[2] Our candid author was a pious *Muslim*, and speaks in fitting terms of *Káfirs!*

[3] It is very strange that Defrémery (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Janvier, 1852, p. 76) should call *Taurat* a 'mongol word'; when it is known to all that it is *Hebrew*, and is used in the Qur'án (in the form *Taurát*) to denote the Pentateuch. But it is, of course, true that it is used of this code.

[4] A well-known place in Khándésh, Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí, Elliot, v. 275.

[5] The word used is *'arbadah*, because of its similarity of sound to the name *Narbadah*.

'First they carried off every one from house and home,
All money and chattels, whether hidden or exposed :
They robbed the crown from the pulpit, as well as the turban from the preacher,
They tore, the cupola from the mosque, as well as the lamp from the Mináret."

Then, while his men were in confusion[1], and left far behind him, Báz Bahádur Khán, who fled together with some of the rulers of that country, in conjunction with other *zámíndárs* made an attack on Pír Muḥammad Khán. He could not sustain the attack, but betook himself towards Mandú. In the course of his retreat, in company with all his Amírs, he rode his horse into the river Narbadah. It chanced that a string of camels which were passing at the time, attacked his horse, and he went by water to fire[2]. And so the sighs of the orphans, and weak, and captives were his ruin :—

"Fear thou the arrow-shower[3] of the weak in the ambush of night,
For, the more he sighs through weakness, the stronger is the blow of his dart.
When you have cast Bízhan[4] into the well, do not sleep like Afrásyáb,
For Rustam is in ambush, and a crocodile is under his cuirass."

[1] *Uljah* is a Hindústání word meaning "confusion", it occurs also p. 41, line 13 of Text.

[2] *I. e.*, was drowned, and went to Hell.

[3] The arrow-shower is *prayer*, cf. the saying of some Christian writer that: Fervent prayer is like an arrow shot from a strong bow, it pierces the cloud; but half-hearted prayer is like an arrow shot feebly, which falls to the earth without reaching its mark. "The ambush of night" means the darkness of anguish and oppression.

[4] *Bízhan*, (whom Sir W. Jones calls the Paris of Ferdusi), on account of his love-adventure with *Manizha*, daughter of Afrásiáb, was made a captive by the Turks, and confined in a dismal dungeon, till he was delivered by *Rustam*. The crocodile represents Rustam's charger named *Rakhsh*. The reader is referred to the *Sháhnámah* for further legends about *Rustam*. Here, as the Deliverer, he represents God, who avenges the cause of the helpless, when they cry unto Him against the oppressor. Cf. Exodus xxii. 23; Deut. xv. 9; xxiv. 15, &c.

And the Amírs of Málwah, seeing that their remaining any longer in that district was beyond the bounds of possibility, read the verse of flight[1], and came to the Court. For some time they were imprisoned, but eventually obtained their release. Báz Bahádur Khán again became possessed of Málwah, bnt 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, in conjunction with Mu'ín-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí and others, brought that country into subjection to the Emperor. Báz Bahádur for some time took refuge in Chitór, and Udípúr, with Rána[2] Udí Singh, but afterwards went away: and after remaining some time in Gujrát he came to the Court, and returned to his allegiance. He was imprisoned for some time, and, though he (P. 52) obtained his release, he did not escape the claw of death :—

"In this many-coloured garden there does not grow a tree,
Which can escape the molestation of the wood-man."

And 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek remaining at Hándiyah[3], the auxiliary[4] Amírs, went to their fiefs, and Mu'ín-ud-dín Khán came to the Court.

In this year Khwájagí Muḥammad Çáliḥ of Hirát, grandson of Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh Marwáríd, a well-known Wazír, was appointed to the Çadr-ate[5]. But he had not such absolute power [as his

[1] *I. e.* they fled. Compare the following two from *Bahá-ud-dín Zahír*. (1) *Wakuntu ka-súrat-i-'l-'ikhláç-i ammá 'abarta, wakanta 'anta ka-ḍí janábah*, "And I was like the Súrah of Sincerity [so pure and sincere] when you passed by, and *you* were like one ceremonially unclean [*i. e.* not fit to touch the Qur'án]." (2) *Qara'ná Súrat-'as-salwán-i 'ankum, bal ḥafiẓnáhá*, "We read the Súrah of Parting without regret from you, nay, we learnt it by heart." Súrah cxii see p. 23, is called *Súrat-ûl-'ikhláç*, but there is not one called *Surat-'us-salwán*. The latter expression is imitated from the former which is proverbial. So the expression "the verse of flight" (possibly too with some reference to Al Qur'án xxxiii. 16) is after the analogy of the phrase "the verse of the Throne" meaning Al Qur'án ii. 256.

[2] *Rána* is Hindi for *Rája;* and fem. *Rání* (text, p. 17, l. 6) for *Rání*. *Udí* is the Hindi *Udaya*.

[3] Spelt *Hindia* in the maps.

[4] *Kúmaki* (or *Kúmákchí)* means 'auxiliary'. The words are *Chaghatái—Tátar*, see Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-oriental*, p. 476; and C. Defrémery, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Février—Mars, 1852, p. 283.

[5] See p. 22, note.

predecessors] in the matter of conferring and granting *Aukáf*,[1] and *Madadi ma'áish*: because his jurisdiction was circumscribed by that of the clerks.

In this year Sayyid Bég, son of Ma'çúm Bég, came as ambassador with a letter from Sháh Ṭahmásp [of Persia], containing all the conventional condolences [for the death] of the late Emperor. That letter shall be given hereafter *in extenso*, if God (He is exalted!) will. He was received with all honour and respect, and the Emperor presented him with a sum of seven *lacs* of *tankahs*[2] and a horse, and dress of honour, besides all the hospitality and kindness, which the Amírs showed him, so that he went back from Hindústán with gifts and presents without number.

On Monday the 12th of Ramzán[3] of the year 969 Adham Khán through pride, and presuming on his favour with the Emperor, and being jealous because he had taken the premiership from Máhum Ankah[4] and given it to Atkah Khán (surnamed A'zam Khán, who on his arrival from the Punjáb had been made Prime-minister) at the suggestion of Mun'im Khán and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán,[5] and some others, who were jealous of Atkah Khán, cut him in pieces [as he sat] at the head of the Díwán. Then with his sword in his hand he swaggered in, and took his stand at the door of the royal

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Tankah*, called *Táka* in Bengál, is there at the present time the name for *rupee.*

[3] The ninth month

[4] Ferishta (Briggs ii. p. 211) says that 'a nurse's husband, and her male relations are called Atka [Blochmann *Atgah*]: the wet-nurse herself in Tukí is called Anka [Calcutta Chaghatáí Dict. and Blochmann pronounce *Anagah*]: a foster-brother is called Koka [or with the affix of unity, Kokaltásh, which Ab-ul-Fazl writes *Gokaltásh*].' Whenever, then, a Persian Text, as here, has *Atkah* after the name of a *woman*, it must be read *Ankah* or *Anagah*. Akbar had three nurses, *Máhum Anagah* mother of Adham Khán and Muḥammad Báqí Khán; *Píchah Ján Anagah*, wife of Khwájah Muqçúd 'Alí a servant of Akbar's mother; and *Jíjí Anagah* wife of Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Atgah Khán (the *Atkah Khán*, whose death is here recorded). Ab-ul-Fazl says, that after the fall of Bairám Khán, Máhum Anagah, by whose machinations that result was brought about, became *de facto* [if not *de jure*] prime-minister, while the ostensible minister was *Mun'im Khán.*

[5] A Sayyid of Nisápúr, and a relative of Máhum Ankah.

inner apartments. Then the Emperor also seized a sword, and coming out, asked him, "Why did you commit such an act?" He answered, "A disloyal[1] fellow (P. 53) has met with his deserts." Then they bound him hand and foot, and cast him down from the top of the terrace of the palace, and since he still breathed the Emperor commanded them to throw him down a second time. By chance it happened that the murderer was buried one day before his victim. And so that disturbance died down. And one date is *Two violent deaths took place*,[2] and another, by way of a riddle, is :—

"From his violence A'zam Khán lost his head."[3]

The second is exactly correct, but the first is one too many. And some one else said as follows :—

"The army's greatest[4] Khán, A'zam Khán,
Whose equal none saw in this age,
Went to martyrdom in the month of fasting,
He drank fasting the draught of death.
Would that he had been martyred one year later,
For then the year of his death would have been *Khán Shahíd*."[5]

And when she had presented the food of the fortieth[6] day of mourning for Adham Khán, Máhim Ankah, through grief, joined her son.

[1] In the text read *ná* instead of *tá*.

[2] 6 + 4 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 300 = 970.

[3] *Zulm* 'violence' gives 970. The 'head' of *A'zam* is *A*, *i. e.* 1, subtract this from 970, and you get 969 the date.

[4] Punning on the name *A'zam*, which means 'greatest.'

[5] *I. e.*, 'Martyr Khán' = 970.

[6] On the 39th day after the death they cook, during the day, *poláú*, a dish made of rice, meat, stale butter clarified (*ghí*), curdled milk, spices, &c.; and at night they prepare plenty of curries, *tulun* (fried food), *poláú*, &c. (*i. e.*, such dishes as the deceased was in the habit of eating during his life), arrange them in plates, together with various aromatic spices &c., some of the clothes, and jewels of the deceased, which they deposit on the spot where the individual gave up the ghost, and over them suspend to the ceiling a flower-garland. Some foolish women believe, that on the fortieth day the soul of the dead leaves the house, if it has not done so previously; and if it has, it returns to it on that day, takes a survey of the above articles, partakes of such as he takes a fancy to, swings by the flower-wreath, and departs. These sayings and doings, however, are all innovations, and consequently unlawful. *Qanoon-e-Islám*, 424.

In this year my late, lamented, father (may God have mercy on him !), the Shaikh Mulúkshâh, on the 27th of Rajab in Ágrah, through liver-complaint, transferred the baggage of existence from this transitory world to the eternal kingdom. I carried his corpse in a coffin to Basáwar and buried him there. I found the date as follows :—

"The Title-page of the Excellent of the world, Mulúkshâh,
That Sea of Knowledge, that Source of Generosity, and Mine of Excellence,
Since in his time there proceeded from him a very World of Excellence,
The date of the year of his death comes out: *a World of Excellence.*"[1]

And by a curious coincidence the Pír, who had been his patron, *viz.*, Shaikh Panjú Sambhalí, who had a great following, and a few of whose excellencies will be mentioned, if God will, in the sequel to this work, in this same year attained union with the True Beloved, and the following was found to give the date :—(P. 54)

"The Perfection of Truth and Religion, Shaikh Panjú,
Whose place the Garden of Paradise became,
By way of enigma the date of his death
Is got out from his heart-attracting Name."[2]

And another *mnemosynon* for the date is *Darwísh dánishmand* "the learned Dervish" (may God have mercy on him !).

In this year Mun'im Khán, the Khán Khánán, and Muḥammad Qásim Khán, the High Admiral, on account of their being accomplices in the lawless and base act of Adham Khán, and for other reasons, passing the ford of *Púyah* in a boat at the time of evening prayer, with the connivance of certain poor *zamíndárs*, in company with two or three horsemen, went towards Ropar[3] and Bajwárah[4]

[1] *Jahán-i fazl* = 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 80 + 30 + 800 = 969.

[2] By taking the numerical values of the letters in *Shaykh Panjú*, omitting *P* which is not included in *Abjad*, we get 969.

[3] On the river Satlaj.

[4] P. 10.

by the skirts of the mountains. Thence they continued their flight towards Kábul, where Ghaní Khán, son of Mun'im Khán, was governor, and eventually came to the *pargana* of Sarút, which is in the Dóáb, the fief of Mír Muḥammad Munshí. Qásim 'Alí Khán, [and] Asp[1] Juláb Sístání, governor of that *pargana*, a donkey of a fellow, recognizing in their mode of action in the jungle signs of flight, with a number of ruffians and whole *posse comitatus*, came and seized both of them. Then he sent the news to the people of Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, who happened to be in the neighbourhood. The latter appointed a number of his sons, and friends, to accompany them, and sent them with every mark of honour and respect to Ágra. The Emperor commanded a number of those about his person to meet them, and bring them to his presence. Then at his own request he reinstated the Khán Khánán in his office of Premier under even better conditions than before. So the Khán Khánán, in conjunction with Shíháb Khán and Khwájah Jahán, continued to conduct public affairs.

In this year Mír Muḥammad Khán Atkah,[2] surnamed Khán Kalán, went with a considerable force to the aid of Kamál Khán[3] G'hakkar into the territory of the G'hakkars, and after (P. 55) a battle took prisoner Sultán Ádam the paternal uncle of Kámal Khán, who has been already mentioned.[4] His son, Lashkarí by name, fled to Kashmír, and was afterwards captured, and both father and son[5] died a natural death. Then the whole district was entrusted to Kamál Khán, and he hastened to do homage to the Emperor at Ágra.

One day the Emperor made a great feast, and Khán Kalán wished to present a *qaçídah*, which in his vanity he had called *ghazzá* [splendid], in the presence of the Amírs and nobles and great poets. As soon as he had recited the first line of the first couplet as follows:—

[1] *Asp* means "a horse," hence the wit of calling him "a donkey."

[2] Elder brother of Atka Khán (*A'zam Khán*).

[3] A farmán had been issued that the territories of the G'hakkars should be divided between him and Sultán Ádam. But the latter resisted this division of territory. Elliot, V. 279.

[4] See above, p. 13.

[5] The Akbar-námah says that the son was put to death Elliot, V. 280.

"Thanks be to God that *I* have returned
After conquering the G'hakkar"—

suddenly 'Abd-ul-Malik Khán, his relative, (while the Emperor was giving all his attention to the *qaçídah*, which was in fact the cause of the issue of the invitations, and in return for which Khán Kalán *expected* a great gift), came forward and shouted out "My Khán you ought to have said *we* returned, for there were other *expectants* besides yourself." At which the whole company fell on the back of their heads[1] with laughter. Then Khán Kalán threw his turban on the ground and exclaimed "My Liege! satisfaction from this little incapable, who has marred the results of all my labour!" And one of the witticisms of the time is this verse which 'Abd-ul-Malik made for his signet ring:—

"When you increase *'Abd*[2] by *Malik*
You must put *Alif Lám* between."

And Mullá Shírí, the well-known Hindú poet, has a *qaçídah* of eulogy and satyr dedicated to him; and this is one of the couplets in it:—

"If a rustic[3] confront you, get out of his way,
For you are a gentleman, and ought not to confront a rustic."

In this year Maulánà 'Alá-'ud-dín Lárí, author of notes in explanation of the "*'Aqá'idi* (P. 56) *nasafí*," came from the Khán Zamán's to Ágra, and applied himself to the study of the sciences, and founded a school of worthless persons, the date of the foundation of which is given by the words *Madrasah-e Khas*[4] "A school of the worthless." Then he went on a pilgrimage, and from that journey he travelled to the other world (God's mercy be upon him!).

In this year the affairs of Kábul fell into confusion, and several Governors, becoming marks for the arrows of promotion, and then

[1] Anglicè "split their sides."

[2] *'Abd* is 'servant' and 'Malik' is 'king,' *'Abd-ul-Malik* means 'servant of the king.' But there is perhaps a further meaning of an unedifying nature.

[3] The same word that is used in p. 10, l. 2; see note on that passage.

[4] 40+4+200+60+5+600+60=969.

of disgrace, in a short space of time felt the effects of the ups and downs of fortune. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán, *Ákhtah-bégí*,[1] on his coming to Hindústán from his own quarter, had been promoted to the government of Kábul. The Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, on account of the bad disposition of Ḥaidar Khán, now wrote for his own son Ghaní Khán to come, and then appointed him to supersede Ḥaidar Khán. But Ghaní Khán, through his depravity, followed in the footsteps of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khán, and committed many discreditable actions. For instance, without any cause he imprisoned Tolak Khán Qúchín,[2] who was one of the chief Amírs. But he in turn fell into his hands, and experienced the lash of the hemistich :—

"The drink, that thou givest other, thou thyself shalt drink."

When with a hundred strategems Ghaní Khán effected his escape, and, breaking his word, and oath, brought a considerable force to bear against Tolak Khán, who without waiting to fight made for Hindústán: then Máh Júyak Bégum, (mother of Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, the son of the Emperor Humáyún, who was at that time ten years of age), with the concurrence of Sháh Walí Bég Atkah, and Fazá'il Bóg the Blind, brother of Mun'im Khán, whose eyes Mírzá Kámrán[3] had put out,[4] and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bég, closed the fort of Kábul against Ghaní Khán. So he was compelled to go to Hindústán, and, on account of his undutifulness towards his father, being unable to find road or way, fled, as an exile[5] and wanderer, to Jounpúr, until at last he escaped from the disgrace of existence. Now the afore-mentioned Fazá'il Bég was

[1] The officer in charge of the geldings, not to be confounded with the higher title Átbégí (from the Turkish *át* a horse). Blochmann, *Áín-i Akbarí*, 432, *n*.

[2] He began his career under Bábar, joined Humáyún on his return from Persia, accompanied him to India, and after the Emperor's death became a supporter of Akbar. Compare p. 3, where he is called *Qúrchí* (comp. p. 13 *n*.) His correct appellation seems to be *Qúchín*. He is called *Qúlchín* in the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*.

[3] Humáyun's brother.

[4] See Erskine ii, 336.

[5] The reading of this word in the original is doubtful.

(P. 57) the Bégum's lieutenant, and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bég acted as his deputy, and they by combined tyranny helped themselves to good fiefs, and put off the Prince's suite with inferior ones. Sháh Walí Atkah not being able to stand this, with the assistance of 'Alí Muḥammad Asp (who is now on the list of the Emperor's Courtiers), and by the Bégum's orders, one night made an end of Abu-l-Fatḥ while he was drunk. On which, as his father was making for Hazárah[1] with his goods and chattels, suddenly the servants of the prince went after him and sent him to his son.[2] Then Sháh Walí Bég with the Bégum's permission assumed the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Ádil Sháh. On account of these things the Emperor sent Mun'im Khán, with some Amírs, to undertake the guardianship of the Prince, and the government of Kábul. Then the Bégum Máh Júyak taking the Prince with her went with the whole of the forces of Kábul to Jalálábád[3] intending to offer resistance. Mun'im Khán and all of the auxiliary Amírs, among whose number were Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás and Ḥasan Khán brother of Shiháb Khán, on the first attack met with a severe repulse,[4] and giving his retinue to the wind turned his face towards the Court in such a plight as may no one see [again] ! After this victory the Bégum on a suspicion of treachery sent Sháh Walí to the world of non-existence :—

"A partridge eat an ant, a hawk came and asked satisfaction of the partridge,
Afterwards an eagle came, and did the same by the hawk,
A hunter shot an arrow at him, and took his life,
The rolling sphere one day brings down dust on the hunter."[5]

[1] The northern portion of the tract which is included in the branches of the Hindú Kush.

[2] *I. e.*, killed him too.

[3] Known of old by the name of Jusáí. *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí.*

[4] According to Elliot's translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i 'Akbarí* "Mu'nim Khán defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack." He, or his MS., is evidently in error.

[5] For a parallel instance of primitive notion of retribution, see Mishnáh, *Áboth*, ii: Hillel saw a scull floating on the water, and said to it 'Because thou madest others to float, thou hast been made to float : and, eventually, they, who made thee to float, shall themselves float.'—The Persian idiom here is

When Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí returned from Mekka he went towards the Court. Suddenly near Jálwar, at the instigation of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, (P. 58) he took to rebellion, and went about laying his hands on everything he came across. This Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain had at this time fled from Ágra, and Ḥusain Qulí Khán, Çádik Muḥammad Khán, and others had been sent in pursuit of him, as will be mentioned shortly, if God (He is exalted!) will. Then Ismáil Qulí Khán and Aḥmad Bég and Iskandar Bég, relatives of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, went in pursuit of Abu-l-Ma'álí, who entered the fortress of Nárnoul, and, seizing the treasures of that place, distributed them amongst his own party. And after that his brother Khánzádah (whom they also called "king of libertines")[1] was captured in the confines of Nárnoul by Muḥammad Çádiḳ Khán and Ismáil Qulí Khán, who went in pursuit of him. So, being helpless, he turned from Hindústán and went towards Kábul. And coming into the district of the Panjáb by the jungle-side, with the concurrence[2] of their attendants, he killed Iskandar Bég and Aḥmad Bég, who had got separated from the Amírs, and then wrote a petition and sent it to the Bégum Máh Júyak Bégum, mother of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. It contained professions of regard for the late Emperor, and of the sincerity of his own fidelity, and in the beginning of it the following couplet was written :—

"We are not come to this door, for the sake of pomp and grandeur,
We are come here as a refuge from the evil of circumstances."

The Bégum wrote in answer to him :—

"Show kindness and alight, for the house is thy house."

peculiar; *var-dwardan* "to bring on" when used of *destruction* takes the prep. *az* "from" before the thing *on* which the destruction is brought. *E. g.*, in the episode of *Sohráb* we find :—

Ba-zakhm-í sar-í gurz-i sindán-shikan
Bar-árad damár az du çad anjuman.

"With a stroke of the end of his anvil-smashing mace *he brings destruction on* two hundred battalions." So too in p. 25, line 17 of our Text, see p. 18 *n*.

[1] Sháh-e lawandán.

[2] Some of those under their command had been formerly in the service of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, and now had bound themselves by an oath to desert Aḥmad Bég and Sikandar Bég whenever Abu-l-Ma'álí should be met

He married the Bégum's little daughter; and then, assuming the management of affairs, at the instigation of some conspirators, such as Shúkún son of Qaráchah Khán and others, slew the helpless Bégum, and martyred Ḥaidar Qásim Kóhbar, who for some time had been Sháh Wáli Bég's successor as [the Mirzá's] irresponsible lieutenant. (P. 59). His brother Muḥammad Qásim Kóhbar he imprisoned. And when a considerable body of men bound on their girdles to avenge the Bégum, and punish him, a savage fight took place within the fortress of Kábul, in which he drove them out. And Muḥammad Qásim, having effected his escape, went to Badakhshán, and instigated Mírzá Sulaimán to expel Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí; Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, also, sent some of his people to urge him to come: as will appear later on.

In this year Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain—who is of the fourth generation from his Reverence:—

"He, who is acquainted with the *Freedom* of God,
Is the Lord of the *Free*, (though) the *Servant of God*"[1]:—

after the return from Mekka of his illustrious father Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín (son of Khwájah Khávind, son of Khwájah Yaḥá, son of Khwájah *Aḥrár*, God rest their souls!), and after his father's receiving all honours went from Nágór to Ágra the metropolis. And through the baseness of some envious persons (may their names and marks be blotted out from the page of the world!), without any apparent reason conceiving a suspicion, he went off towards Nágór[2]. Then the Emperor sent Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, and a body of men, together with Ḥusain Qúlí Khán[3] in pursuit of him, with instructions to try first conciliatory measures, and, if those failed, to extirpate him. Then he, handing over the empty fortress of Ajmír to Tír Khán Díwánah, hastened to Nágór[4]. But Díwánah deserted the fortress, and went and followed his principal. Then Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, having meet with Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí

[1] *'Ubaid-ulláh* means 'little servant of God'. *Aḥrár* means 'the free'.

[2] Ajmír and Nágór, which were his *jágírs*. *Akbar-námah*. Elliott V, 282.

[3] He had received a grant of Mírzá Sharaf's *jágír*.

[4] The *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* also has Nágór. But *Abu-l-Fazl* says *Jálór* which, as Elliot remarks, the context shows to be correct.

at Jálor (who was passing by on his road from Mekka to the Court), they so arranged matters together, that Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí should go against the people[1] of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who were at Ḥájípúr, (P. 60) and passing that way, should bring Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím from Kábul, while Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín should do what he could [to prevent rebellion] where he was. But Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, on hearing the news of the pursuit of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and the other Amírs, turned aside and betook himself to Narnoul, where Mír Gesú was governor. Him he made prisoner, but not meeting with any further success, except being able to seize some gold, since he saw the way to the Panjáb and Kábul open to him, he pursued his original design. And Aḥmad Bég and Iskander Bég[2], separating from the army of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and Ismáil Qúlí Khán,[3] went after him without delay, and overtook him. And a body of the servants of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, whom these two leaders had attached to their cause and perfectly trusted[4], sent a rascal named Zamánah Qulí to Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí in great haste, with a message to the effect that if he would remain at a certain place, they would make an end of these two leaders as soon as ever they arrived :—

"You may ascertain in one day the attainments of a man,
Up to what point on the ladder of sciences he has reached ;
But be not confident as to his heart, and be not deceived,
For the wickedness of the heart may remain unknown for years."

When they drew near, Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí on the one side, and these domestic enemies on the other, sprang out of ambush, and brought both the Amírs under the pitiless sword. And their old retainers, when they saw what had taken place, fled like frightened deer or

[1] When he went in pursuit of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, he left his wives and family at Ḥájípúr. *Akbar-námah.*

[2] Relatives of Ḥusain Qúlí Khán. Elliot V, 284.

[3] Brother of Ḥusain Qúlí Khán.

[4] They had formerly served under Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, and were in reality devoted to him. Now they were serving under Aḥmad Bég and Sikandar Bég, and had bound themselves by an oath to desert to Abu-l-Ma'álí, as soon as he should be attacked. *Ṭabaqáti Akbarí.*

wild beasts. When news of this came to the Emperor, he happened to be enjoying himself hunting in the neighbourhood of Mat'hurá[1]. Nevertheless he marched at once towards Dihlí with the intention of quelling the disturbance.

And it was at that place that his Majesty's intention of connecting himself by marriage with the nobles of (P. 61) Dihlí was first broached, and Kawwáls[2] and eunuchs were sent into the harems for the purpose of selecting daughters of the nobles, and of investigating their condition. And a great terror fell upon the city. This was the cause of the circumstances which lead to the suggestions[3] of Shaikh Badah, and Lahrah, lords of Agra. The circumstances are as follows. A widowed daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Fátimah[4] by name (though, unworthy of such an honourable appellation), through evil passions and pride of life, which bear the fruits of wantonness, by the intervention of a tire-women lived in adultery with Báqí Khán, brother of Buzurg Adham Khán, whose house was near hers. And this adultery was afterwerds dragged into a marriage. She used to bring with her to festive gatherings, another daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, who had a husband living, whose name was 'Abd-ul-Wási'. And the story of the devotee's cat[5], which is told in the beginning of the Anwár-i-Sohailí, came true. Now this woman, whose husband was still living, was wonderfully beautiful, and altogether a charming wife without a peer. One day it chanced that the eyes of the Emperor fell upon her, and so he sent to the Shaikh a proposal of union, and held out hopes to the husband. For it is a law of the Moghul Emperors[6] that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound

[1] Near Agra.

[2] A *Kawwál* is a person sent to the father of a lady in the proposals of marriage. He praises his principal before the father of the lady.

[3] See below.

[4] According to a saying of Mahomet four women attained perfection, *viz.*, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrán, Khadíjah the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife), and Fátimah the prophet's daughter.

[5] I have been unable to find this story of the devotee's cat in the only edition of the Anwári Sohailí, to which I have access.

[6] This was an article in the Code of Changíz Khán. See Price II, p. 660

to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd and Mír Chobán and his son Damashq Khwájah. Then 'Abd-ul-Wási', reading the verse[1]: "God's earth is wide":—

"To a master of the world the world is not narrow[2]"

bound three divorces[3] in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city of Bídar in the kingdom of the Dakkan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Ḥaram. Then Fátimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles also of Agra and Dihlí, that the relation of equality [between the different families] being manifested, any necessity for unreasonable preference might be avoided.

At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e Bégum, a slave named Fúlád, whom Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, when he fled and went to Makka, had set free, shot an arrow[4] at him from the top to the balcony of the Madrasah, which happily did no more than graze his skin. When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pírs of Dihlí, he gave up his intention[5]. The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amírs wished to delay a little until the affairs should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy. His Majesty went on horseback to the fortress, and there the physicians applied themselves to his cure, so that in a

[1] Al-Qor'án IV, 99. The word used here for "wide" is the fem. of his own name *Wási'*.

[2] *Omne solum forti patria est.*

[3] "Ye may divorce [your wives] twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness..... But if he divorce her [a third time], she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he [also] divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other." Al Qor'án II, 229, 230

[4] In this, as in most other events, the native historians, while agreeing in the main facts, are wonderfully at variance with regard to details. See Briggs' *Ferishta* II, 215, and Elliot V, 285.

[5] Viz. of marrying any other ladies of Agra and Dihlí.

short time he was healed of his wound, and mounting his royal litter[1] went to Ágra.

On the 15th of the month Jumáda-s-sání[2] of the year 970 the Emperor returned to the metropolis. In this year also took place the death of Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí in Kábul. The circumstances are as follows. After the tragic end of the Bégum,[3] the mother of Mírzá Muḥammad Hakím, Muḥammad Qásim Kohbar[4] fled to Mírzá Sulaimán in Badakhshán. Then the Mirzá,[5] with his wife, who is known as Walí Na'mat,[6] brought a large force against Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí, who,[7] in his turn taking with him Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, kindled the flames of war on the banks of the river Ghorband. The right wing of the Kábulees was repulsed by the left wing of the Badakhshees, and Sháh Abul-Ma'álí, leaving Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím to oppose Sulaimán Mírzá, (P. 63) hastened to the support of his broken line. But while he was gone Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, with the concurrence of his followers, crossed the river and went over to Mírzá Sulaimán. Then Abu-l-Ma'álí, having now no further power of resistance, took to flight. Near the village of Járíkárán he fell into the hands of Sulaimán Mirzá's men, who has gone in pursuit of him, and was made prisoner. They brought him to Sulaimán Mírzá at Kábul. Sulaimán Mírzá sent him at once bound, and with his hands tied behind his neck, to Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, who ordered him to be strangled. This event took place on the evening of the 17th of the blessed month of Ramzán in the year nine hundred and seventy (970).

After this victory Mirzá Sulaimán sent for his daughter from Badakhshán and gave her in marriage to Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím.

[1] The word *Singh-ásan* is Sanskrit, and Hindí. It means lit. *lion-seat*, then *throne*, *royal-litter*.

[2] The sixth month.

[3] Máh Chochak (Júják) Bégum, widow of the late Emperor. Abu-l-Ma'álí had stabbed her. Elliot V. 286. Mírzá M. Ḥakím was Akbar's brother.

[4] Mírzá M. Ḥakím's lieutenant *(vakíl)*. He had been imprisoned by Abu-l-Ma'álí.

[5] That is Mírzá Sulaimán, sixth in descent from Taimúr.

[6] Comp. pp. 62, 88, 213 of Text. Her name was Khurram Bégum.

[7] The *u* in the text seems to stand for *va-ó* 'and he' *viz.* Sháh Abu-l- Ma'álí.

And when he had appointed one Umméd 'Alí, a trusty follower, as administrator of the Mírzá's affairs, he returned to Badakhshán.

In this year Jamál Khán, a follower of 'Adalí,[1] had given up the fort of Chunhár to Fattú[2] (another of 'Adalí's followers), whose fame had reached the Imperial Court. When the latter had sent a petition to Court (offering to surrender the fort), Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous (of whom Fattú was a devoted disciple), and Áçaf Khán (who is the same as Khwájah 'Abd-ul-Majíd Haraví[3]) went and took peaceful possession of the place. They committed the fort to the guardianship of Ḥasam Khán Turkamán, and sent Fattú to do homage to the Emperor, by whom he was received with all honour.

About this time took place the death of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous. While at Gujrát he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher, but when, the truth of matters was fully enquired into, he was obliged to flee with all speed. And Mullá Ismá'íl 'Aṭá-í Mu'ammá-í, one of the Shaik's trusty friends and disciples (Be on him what may!) found the date in these words: *Bandah-e Khudá Shud*,[4] "The Lord's servant is no more."

While the compiler of this *Muntakhab* was at Ágra occupied (P. 64) in acquiring the usual branches of knowledge, the Shaikh came in the dress of a Faqír, with great display and unutterable dignity, and his fame filled the universe. I wished to pay my respects to him, but when I found that he rose up to do honour to Hindús, I felt obliged to forego the pleasure. But one day I saw him riding through the bazaar in Ágra. A great crowd accompanied him, before and behind, and to return their salutations, and humble gestures, he was obliged continually to bow on every side, so that he had not a moment's leisure to sit upright in his saddle. Although he was 80 years of age a wonderful freshness, and remarkably fine colour, were observable in his complexion (God be merciful unto him!).

[1] Comp. p. [5] note.

[2] See Text p. 34: l. 10.

[3] See Text, p. 43: l. 2.

[4] 2 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 300 + 4 = 970.

On the 26th of the blessed month of Ramzán of this year my most venerable maternal grandfather died at Basáwar. I received this news at Sansawán, a dependency of Sambhal. *Fázil-i Jehán*[1] "Excellent one of the world" gives the date. Since I was indebted to him for instructiou in several things, besides some of the Arab sciences, and he deserved greatly the respect of men of science, I experienced much distress and sorrow from this event, and it reopened the wound occasioned by the recent death of my valued father. This verse of Amír Khusrú (Upon him be mercy !) occurred to my mind:—

"A sword passed on my head, my heart remained two halves,
A sea of blood flowed, a unique pearl[2] remained."

In the course of the year succeeding these events utter confusion seized my [usually] placid mind, and mundane grief, from which it was fleeing, suddenly came on me with grim mirth, and compassed my path. Then the inner meaning of the words "Cast thyself in it upon me"[3] became evident and the words of my late father, which he used often to repeat, were verified, *viz.*, "This thy clamour and confusion endures as long as I am in the bonds of life; but, when I am no more, they will see how unshackled thou (P. 65) wilt live, and trample upon the world and all that therein is:"—

"The world is a house of mourning: what is hidden?
A sorrow-stricken one like myself: what is certain?
Mourning became two, my sorrow became double:
O help! For my mourning is become double.
It is unjust that there should be two scars on such an one as me!
One light is enough for one candle-stick,
One head cannot wear two veils,
One breast cannot bear two burdens."

In this year I'timád Khán[4], chief eunuch of Aslím Sháh, obtained the highest consideration in the ḥaram, and even in state matters

[1] 80 + 1 + 800 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 970.

[2] A tear of heart-felt sorrow.

[3] Compare Pss. xxii, 9, xxxvii, 5, &c. I do not know where this Arabic quotation comes from.

[4] See Blochmann's *Á'ín-i Akbarí*, p. 13, *n.*

became the Sovereign's confidant. He showed an enterprise, and economy, such as was never before exhibited, and the monetary matters of the Díván became more settled. He was in his turn succeeded by Todarmal. And during the time of the influence of Máham[1] Ankah, and the Bégum, and I'timád Khán the chief eunuch (who was a man of sense and discretion), Mír 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy aptly quoted the following tradition from the *Nahj-ul-balághat*, which is attributed to Amír[2] (may God accept him!), but others attribute it to that noble paragon the late 'Alam-ul-hada' of Baghdád, "He said (Peace be upon him!) "A time will come on men, when none will become favourites but profligates, and none be thought witty but the obscene, and none thought weak but the just: when they shall account the alms a heavy imposition, and the bond of relationship a reproach, and the service of God shall be a weariness unto them, and then the government shall be by the counsel of women[3], and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs." From this event to the time of emancipation[4] a whole age passed!

"Ah what a difference 'tis between
What now is and what has been."

In the year 971 Khwájah Muzaffar 'Alí Turbatí[5] received the title of Khán, and was made Minister of Finance, and they found *Zálim*[6] "oppressor" to give the date. Meanwhile day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Rája and him. And a certain wit adapted the old verse, (P. 66) :—

"A dog of a Cáshí is better than a Çifáhání,
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Cáshí:"

in the following manner :—

"A dog of a Rája is better than Muzaffar Khán
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Rája."

[1] Comp. p. 36 of Text.

[2] Khusrú (?)

[3] Cf. Is. iii. 4.

[4] From having a Hindú in office.

[5] *Turbat* is the name of a tribe in Khurásán. Blochm. 348.

[6] 900 + 1 + 30 + 40 = 971.

When the Amírs complained of the Rája to the Emperor, and requested his dismissal, he returned answer "Every one of you has a Hindú[1] to manage his private affairs. Suppose we too have a Hindú, why should harm come of it?" And a foolish fellow invented the following jewellers-posie concerning the Rája :—

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Rája of Rájas Todarmal."

In this year Qází Lál, the wittiest of all good fellows and boon-companions, was sent for from the town of Baran under some pretext or other, and delivered up to punishment. The words *Qází Lál*[2] give the date.

In this year Ghází Khán Tannúrí[3], one of the great Amírs of 'Adalí, who had been for some time at the Court, once more took to flight and went to Hatiyah. In the neighbourhood of Gaḍha he brought a considerable force to bear against Áçaf Khán and gave battle. He was slain on the battle-field, and Áçaf Khán, having it now all his own way, marched against the district of Gaḍha-Katangah[4]. This district at that time contained 70,000 inhabited villages, and its metropolis was the fortress of Chourá-gaḍh[5]. But in former times the metropolis had been the fortress of Hoshang-ábád, which was built by Sulṭán Hoshang Ghórí king of Málwa. Rání Durgávatí by name, a lady of great loveliness and grace, and in the prime of beauty, who held the government of the place, came against him with 20,000 horse and foot, and 700 powerful elephants, and fought an obstinately contested battle. Many valiant souls on either side, after striving and struggling beyond all limit or measure, at a message from some arrow or pitiless sword, vacated their bodies. An arrow (P. 67) hit the queen in a mortal part, and when she was

[1] When Bábar arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people were all Hindús. Erskine's *Bábar*, p. 232.

[2] 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 + 30 + 1 + 30 = 972, which seems to be one too many.

[3] So called, also in the *'Aín i Akbarí*, Bloch. p. 367. But in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* he is called *Súr*. Elliot V, 288. A Ghází Khán Súr was killed in the time of Humáyún, Blochmann, p. 384.

[4] Comp. p. 77, lines 7 and 11, of Text.

[5] A place about 70 miles west of Jabalpúr. *Blochm.* 367.

on the point of death, she signed to her elephant-driver to put an end to her agony. Nevertheless the tricks of her bad luck did not deliver her from ruffians. Ah yes !—

"Every foul fetid beast
Finds his foul fetid feast:"

[and again] :

"A Christian's well may not be pure, it's true :
'Twill do to wash the carcass of a Jew !"

Áçaf Khán marched against Chourá-gaḍh, and the son of the aforesaid queen, after fighting for his life, joined[1] the queen. So much treasure fell into the hands of Áçaf Khán and his soldiery, that the Creator alone is competent to compute its amount. On the strength of this wealth Áçaf Khán set up the pretensions of a Qárún[2] and a Shadád, until eventually he went under-ground[3] :—

"Though thy corn and wealth be ne'er so great,
All thy coffers full, thy barns be sate ;
Boast not ! on the Judgment-day thou'llt find,
Poisonous serpents round thy wealth entwined."

On the 12th of the month Zí-qa'dah[4] of this year, the Emperor went on an elephant-hunt towards Narwar, and after taking many elephants by means of wonderful contrivances, even in the midst of the rainy season, passing by Sárang-púr in the country of Mandú, at the end of the month Zi-ḥijjah[5] he encamped in that district. And 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, by reason of some defalcations of which he had been guilty, withdrew his family from Mandú, and took the road for Gujrát. And, for all that Muqím Khán (who on that march received the title of Shujá'at Khán) went to him,

[1] Or to retain the cold irony of our author, (a Moslem speaking of a Hindú), we may say that, "he rejoined the ladies".

[2] Equivalent to those of a Midas and a Crœsus.

[3] Of course with reference to the story of Corah who is called Qárún in the Qor'án.

[4] The eleventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[5] The twelfth month.

and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice, 'Abd-ulláh Khán would not accept them :—

"If a place to *take* it thou canst find,
Thy counsel, may be, it will *take*.
But what mark, if the ear of the mind
Be dull, can eloquence then make ?"

'Abd-ulláh Khán for a short time made a stand at Haráwal, but when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade (P. 68) reached him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances the greater part of his followers and family and children and goods and chattles, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrát. There he took refuge with Chingiz Khán, a dependent of Sulṭán Muḥammad of Gujrát, who had succeeded Sulṭán Muḥammad in the government of that province, and had become there the lord paramount. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as far as the confines of Gujrát, and threw his haram and renowned elephants into confusion[1], and made them prisoners, and brought them to the Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, *viz.*, the countrymen and landowners[2]. Now the state of civilization in Gujrát in the time of Chingiz Khán, they describe as such, as it had not[3] been during the reign of former kings ; and the demand for men of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all imagination ; and any soldier or traveller or stranger, who came and sought an interview or audience with him, had no further need of anything, nor of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used daily to give away among his people five or six dresses of honour from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never worth less than 70, or 80, or at any rate 50 *ashrafí*. And one of his Ḥátim-isms[4] was this, that one day he went out with his courtiers, 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek being of the number, and on this occasion two or three vessels full of fine stuffs and precious jewels were presented

[1] Text pp. 41, 13 and 51, 5.

[2] Sanscrit *bhupál*.

[3] Supply *na*.

[4] Ḥátim Ṭáí was famous for his liberality.

to him: no sooner had he seen them, than he gave them up to 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbek. And another of his acts is the following: all that which Árif Çafaví Ḥusainí possessed (who is now at Láhór and is renowned for the glory of the gift of dominion over Jinns, and for his treasures), he distributed among his followers. And they say that when all these treasures and hoards were found by Chingiz Khán, all Husainí's seals bore the stamp of Chingiz Khán (but God knows!).

At this time Mírán Mubárak Sháh of Burhámpúr sent ambassadors to the Emperor and paid him homage. And I'timád (P. 69) Khán[1] the chief eunuch accompanied them, and brought the daughter of Mírán, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. And Muqarrab Khán one of the Amírs of the Dakkan came and did homage to the Emperor.

And in the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Mandú to the district of Nálchah[3]. He appointed Qará Bahádur Khán to the government of that district, and himself went on a hunting expedition by way of Ujain, Sárang-púr, Baródah, and Gwályár, and on the 3rd of the month Rabi'ul-awwal[4] returned to his capital. Twins, Ḥasan and Ḥusain by name, were in this year born of one of his wives, and in the course of one month went to the other world.

In this year the building of the city of Nagar chín took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the *Akbar-námah*, ordered me to compose some lines, which I here insert without alteration:—

"When[5] the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch, who is the builder of the building of the world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with [the verse]:—

[1] See p. 65 Text.

[2] The first month.

[3] A town in the territory of Dhar in Málwa, on the route from Mow to Mandú.

[4] The third month.

[5] Our author here gives us a specimen of his stilted style, which, happily for us, he does not usually adopt.

" The world-upholder, the world to hold, doth know,
One place to uproot, and then another sow :"

he should make resting places for the glorious imperial cavalcade, by graciously building at every stage, and on every clod of soil, where the air of the place was temperate, its fields extensive, its water sweet, and its plains were level—and what choice was there! for cool spots, and pleasant dwellings, and fragrant resting places, and sweet waters, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of an evenly-balanced condition of the soul, all of which may possibly be conducive to the knowledge and service of God, are of the number of the six necessaries of existence; and especially at a time when some of the royal occupations (P. 70), such as exercise and hunting, were therein involved—for these reasons, in this year of happy augury, after his return from his journey to Málwah, when the friends of the empire were victorious, and the enemies of the kingdom had been disappointed, before the eyes of a genius lofty in its aims, and the decision of a mind world-adorning, it befell, that, when he had made a place called G'hrá walí (which is one *farsang* distant from Ágra, and in respect of the excellence of its water, and the pleasantness of its air, has over a host of places a superiority and a perfect excellence) the camping-place of his imperial host, and the encampment of his ever-enduring prosperity, and when he had gained repose for his heaven-inspired mind from the annoyances incidental to city-life, he spent his felicity-marked moments, sometimes in *chougán*-playing, sometimes in racing Arabian dogs, and sometimes in flying birds of various kinds; and, accepting the building of that city of deep-foundations as an omen of the duration of the edifice of the palace of his undecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the increase of his pomp and state, his all-penetrating firmán was so gloriously executed, that all who obtained the favour of being near to his resting-place, and were deemed worthy of the sight of his benevolence, one and all built for themselves in that happy place lofty dwellings and spacious habitations, and in a short time the plain of that pleasant valley under the ray of the favour of his Highness, the adumbration of the divinity, became the mole on the cheek of the new bride

of the world, and received the name of *Nagar-chín*, which is the Hindústáni for the Persian *Aman-ábád*, "Security's-abode":—

"Praise be to God! that picture, which the heart desired,
Issued forth from the invisible behind the curtain of felicity."

It is one of the traditional wonders of the world, that of that city and edifice not a trace now is left, so that its site is become a level plain—"Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!"[1] as the author of the *Qámús* has said: "Of seven or eight cities, called Mançúrah, or Mançúriyyah, built by a mighty king,[2] or monarch of pomp (P. 7ı) in their time, at this time not one is inhabited:" "Will they not journey through the land, and observe what has been the end of those who were before them[3]."

In this year, or in the year preceding which is perhaps more correct, the Emperor sent to the town of Andarí-Karnál for Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabí, the traditionist, grandson of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qudús of Gangóh, who is one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Çadr[4], in order that in conjunction with Muzaffar Khán, he might pay the pensions[5]. Soon after he acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistance allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if the bounty of all the former kings of Hind were thrown into one scale, and the liberality of this age into the other, yet this would pre-

[1] "He it is who caused the unbelievers ... to quit their homes.... They thought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But God came upon them .. and cast such fear into their hearts that by their own hands ... they demolished their houses. Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" *Al Qur'án* LIX, 2.

[2] For *Shahr-hái* read *Shahryári*.

[3] Al Qur'án XII, 109

[4] During Akbar's reign the *Çadr* ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. He was the highest law-officer, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law-officer, and might exercise the powers of High-Inquisitor. *Blochm.* p. 270. The four officers referred to are *Vakíl*, *Vazír*, *Bakhshí*, and *Çadr*.

[5] Comp. p. 23.

ponderate. But gradually, little by little, it regained its former position, till eventually things became reversed, as will be related further on, (if God, He is exalted ! will).

In this year Khwájah Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of the Emperor, who bore the mark of relatives, like scorpions, on the forehead of his destiny :—

"Relatives are like scorpions in the harm they do ;
Therefore be not deceived by father's or mother's brother.
For verily *sorrow*[1] is increased by the *father's brother*,
And as for the *mother's brother* he is *destitute* of all good qualities".

One day, when they came to his house to counsel him, and prevent his committing some unworthy actions, which he meditated, he having learnt their intentions, through malevolence and that innate insanity, which had before manifested itself in him, killed his wife. And since he was deserving of punishment, the Emperor first had him mauled with kicks and sticks, and then gave him several duckings, and packed him off to Gwályár. In that prison he was released from the prison of his natural temperament and went to his deserts :—

"Leave to Destiny the man who does you a wrong,
For Destiny is a servant, who will avenge you."

And in this year Mírzá Sulaimán for the third time came to Kábul. And the reason for his coming was (P. 72) this : when Sháh Abu-l-Ma'álí was defeated, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím had married[2], just before he went away again Mírzá [Sulaimán] gave the greater part of the district of Kábul in jágír to his own soldiers, and so [by this diminution of his revenue] the affairs of Mírzá [Ḥakím] and his people became embarrassed. So they on some pretext or other turned [Mírzá Sulaimán's] Badakhshís out of Kábul. So

[1] There is of course a play on the words. *Ghamm* means 'sorrow', and *'amm* 'father's brother'. *Khál* means 'mother's brother', and *khálí* (in rhyme for *khdlin*) means 'destituto'. The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since *ammá* requires *fa* after it; read, therefore, *wa'inna-l-khála*. Moreover the *tanwín* of *khairátin* must be dropped.

[2] See p. 63 Text.

Mírzá Sulaimán, with a large force, came to take vengeance, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím being unable to withstand him left Báqí Qáqshál with a number of trusty vassels in Kábul, and himself went to Jallál-ábád. Mírzá Sulaimán pursued him. But when Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím reached the banks of the Níláb he wrote a letter to the Court, and Mírzá Sulaimán leaving Qambar, one of his followers, with a body of men at Jallál-ábád, went from Pasháwar to Kábul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amírs of the Panjáb (such as Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Atkah Khán, with the whole Atkah-clan[1], and Mahdí Qásim Khán, and Kamál Khán Gah'kar) joined Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákim; and having given Qambar with 200 or 300 persons (who were holding Jalál-ábád) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Báqí Qáqshál at Kábul. Mírzá Sulaimán turned the face of flight towards Badakhshán. Mírzá Ḥakím came to Kábul, and Khán-i-Kalán[2] remained in office as guardian of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and the remaing Amírs returned to their own jágírs. After some time Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, without the permission of the Khán-i-Kalán, gave his own sister[3], the widow of Sháh 'Abu-l-Ma'álí, in marriage to Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí, one of the sons of Khwájah Naqshbandí[4] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí, becoming absolute Prime-minister[5], managed the affairs with absolute power, and some wits of the period used to say :—

"If our Master be Master Ḥasan,
We shall have neither sack, nor rope left".

(P. 73) The Khán-i-Kalán, who had supported the authority of the deposed minister, being unable to endure the present state of affairs, without the Mírzá's leave went to Láhór, and sent a true account of matters to Court.

[1] See above, p. 49.

[2] Mír Muḥammad, elder brother of Atkah Khán.

[3] Fakhrunnisá Bégum, daughter of the late emperor Humáyún by Júják Bégum. *Blochm.* 322.

[4] Called *Khwájah Bahá-ud-dín* in the *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí*. Elliot V, 294.

[5] Presuming on the importance he had acquired by his marriage. *Ibid.*

In this year Shaikh-ul-Islám Fatḥ-púrí Chishtí, who in the year nine hundred and seventy-one (971), on his return from Mekkah and Madínah honoured Badáún with his presence, and wrote from that place a letter in Arabic to the Author of this history (as will be related in its proper places, if God, He is exalted! will), laid the foundation of the building of a new monastry, the like of which cannot be shown in the whole of the inhabited world. The following is a *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"Shaikh-ul-Islám, the leader of mankind,
(May God exalt his sublime power!)
When he came from Madínah to Hind,
That renowned Depository of Spiritual-direction,
From his auspicious advent Hind
Found anew a happy fortune.
Take a certain letter and subtract it
From *Shaikh-ul-Islám*[1], to find the date."

And another like unto it :—

"Shaikh-ul-Islám, the perfect saint,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
A flash from whose forehead was a glimpse of Eternity,
A beam from whose face was the light of Eternity,
When from Madínah he turned to Hind,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
Reckon a letter and reckon not a letter
From *Khair-ul-maqdam*[2], to find the date".

This monastry, having taken 7 years to complete, vaunted itself above the seven heavens[3].

[1] 300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1052. If you take *lámf*, which means 'an *l*', and is numerically equivalent to 81, from this you get 971.

[2] 600 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 100 + 4 + 40 = 1025. Subtract *mím* = 90, and you get 935; then add *dál* = 35, and you get 970. But I am afraid that this is not the correct solution of the riddle.

[3] The Seven Heavens (*Bihisht*) are: (1) *Dár ul jullál* (Mansion of Glory), composed of pearls; (2) *Dár us sulám* (The Mansion of Rest), of ruby and

And about this time the Maḥall-i-Bengálí in Ágrah, and another lofty palace, were completed; and Qásim Arsalán made this *mnemosynon* :—

"When, for his pleasure, the king of fair countenance
Ordered the building of the two palaces of auspicious mark,
The date of the one came out from *'ishrat*[1],
Khánah-e Pádasháh[2] was the date of the other."

During the first part of the month Rajab[3] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972)[4] the Emperor went towards (P. 74) Narwar and Karah with a view to elephant-hunting; and having appointed certain people of that district to secure the elephants, he went himself to Gwályár. For some days, through the heat of the weather, he suffered from a fever; but, when he recovered, he returned to his metropolis.

In this year the project of building the fortress of Ágrah was conceived; and its citadel, which had before been of bricks, he had built of hewn-stone. And he ordered a tax of the value of three *sérs* of corn on every *jaríb* of land in the district, and appointed collectors and officers[5] from the Ámírs who held jágírs to collect it. In the course of five years it was completed. [The dimensions of the fortress are as follows:] breadth of wall, 10 *guz*,

garnet; (3) *Jannat ul máwá* (The Garden of Mirrors), of yellow pewter; (4) *Jannat ul Khúld* (The Garden of Eternity), of yellow coral; (5) *Jannat un Nu'ím* (The Garden of Delights), of white diamond; (6) *Jannat ul Firdús* (The Garden of Paradise), of red gold; (7) *Dár ul qarár* (The Everlasting Abode), of pure musk. The eighth, or Crystalline Heaven, called *Kúrsí*, supposed to be the judgment seat of God; the ninth Heaven, called *'Arsh*, the Empyrean Throne of the Divine Glory and Majesty; and *Jannat ul 'adan* The Garden of Eden, or Terrrestrial Paradise, are not termed *Bihisht*. *Qanoone Islam*, p. 149.

[1] *'Ishrat* means "pleasure", and = 70 + 300 + 200 + 400 = 970.

[2] That is 'The King's palace', 600 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 1 + 5 = 969.

[3] The seventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[4] The Text has by mistake (982).

[5] *Tawáchí* is a Turkí word denoting *haut commissaire*. See De Courteille, Dictionary p. 219. The word recurs at p. 216, l. 8 *infra* of Text.

height 40 *guz;* with a deep trench both sides of which were built up with stone and lime, its width 20 *guz*, its depth to the surface of the water 10 *guz*, and it was filled with water from the river Jamna. And the like of that fortress can scarcely be shown in any other district. And the date of the gate[1] thereof was found by Shaikh Faizí to be *Binú-í dar-i Bihisht*[2], "The building of the gate of Paradise." And cost of the building of the fortress was about three *krors*. After it was completed it became the depository and store house of all the gold of Hindústán, and this *mnemosynon* was found for the date: *Shud binú-i qil'ah bahr zar*[3], "The fortress was built for the sake of gold." And in truth it is not known to any how to convert that *dead* gold into *live*-stock, except to him who applies the verse: "And the Earth hath cast forth her burdens[4]", so that it should say impromptu "God, who giveth a voice to all things, giveth us a voice[5]":—

"Gold in the hand of a worldly man,
O brother, is still in the ore.
Gold, my son, is meant to be enjoyed;
For hording, gold is no better than stone".

In this year the rebellion of the Khán Zamán, and Ibráhím Khán and Iskandar Khán Uzbek took place. And this is how it arose. After the rebellion of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek[6], suspicion of the whole Uzbek tribe found access to the Emperor's mind, and he sent Ashraf (P. 75) Khán the *Mír-Munshí* from Narwar to seek Iskandar Khán on propitiatory terms. This man held a jágír in Oudh[7], and by means of seductive artifices he managed to carry off

[1] The date of the completion of it, cf. Joshua vi. 26, "At the price of his first-born shall he lay its foundations, and at the price of his youngest *shall he set up the gates thereof.*"

[2] I can only make 974 out of this.

[3] 300 + 4 + 2 + 51 + 10 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 200 + 7 + 200 = 986.

[4] Al Qur'án xcix. 2.

[5] Al Qur'án xli. 20.

[6] See above p. 67.

[7] Anglice Oude, Sansk. *Ayodhya.*

to his jágír, which was Sarharpúr[1], Ashraf Khán, on the pretence of accompanying Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, who was senior to the others. Thence they went to Jounpúr to the Khán Zamán[2] with the intention of asking his advice. These came to the determination to rebel, which they proceeded to do unanimously, and most unjustifiably detained Ashraf Khán. Sikandar Khán and Ibráhím Khán raising the head of rebellion in Lak'hnou, and Khán Zamán, and Bahárdur Khán at Karah and Mánikpúr. The Amírs of those districts, such as Sháham Khán Jaláir, Sháh Budágh Khán and others were defeated in battle before the Khán Zamán. In that battle Muḥammed Amín Diváni was made prisoner, and the Amírs then shut themselves up in the fortress of Ním Kahár, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál in Mánikpúr. Then Áçaf Khán leaving a body of men to hold the district of Garha Katangah, went himself with considerable treasure, and a fresh army, to the relief of Majnún Khán. He unlocked his treasury and satisfied the greed of his army, and also supplied Majnún Khán plentifully from the public treasury (which was the means of his being able to recruit his army), and then encamped opposite to the Khán Zamán. Thence they sent reports to the Court. And Sání Khán wrote this verse in his dispatch :—

"O royal cavalier, army-decking in the day of battle,
The victory hath escaped us, place thy foot in the stirrup."

When, on his return from his journey to Málwah, the Emperor received this news, he sent off Mun'im Khán the Khán-Khánán, to cross the Ganges at the ford of Kanouj, and himself in the month Shavvál[3] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) set his royal foot in the stirrup. And to Qiyá Khán Gung (who had been one of the rebels), at the intercession of the Khán-Khánán, (P. 76) the Emperor, on his arrival, granted an audience, and graciously condoned his offences. Thence by forced marches his Imperial Highness came to Lak'hnou. Sikandar Khán did not give

[1] That is, Ibráhím Khán's *jágír*.
[2] 'Alí Qulí Khán Uzbek.
[3] The tenth month.

battle, but joining the Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán, these all ceased to confront Áçaf Khán and Majnún Khán, and, retreating towards Jounpúr with all their people and families, crossed the river Narhan, and went down country. Then Yúsúf Muḥammad Khán, son of Atkah Khán, was appointed to go against them. The Emperor also pursued in person, and encamped outside Jounpúr. At that halting-place Áçaf Khán with 5000 veteran horse, in company with Majnún Khán, came and paid his respects, and brought his gifts, and was graciously received. On Friday the 12th of the month Zí Ḥijjah of the aforesaid year the Emperor alighted at the fort of Jounpúr. And Áçaf Khán being made generalissimo of the army crossed the ford of Narhan and went down country to oppose the Khán Zamán. In those days the Emperor appointed Ḥájjí Muḥammad Khán Sístání to go on an embassy to Sulaimán Kararáni,[1] Governor of Bengál (who had a strong friendship for the Khán Zamán), in order to prevent his giving any aid or assistance to the Khán Zamán. When he arrived at the fortress of Rhotas, some Afgháns seized him, and sent him to the Khán Zamán, with whom they had a kind of union. And the Khán Zamán, on account of the time-honoured friendship which had existed between Ḥájjí Muḥammad Khán and himself, treating him with punctilious honour and respect, settled to send his own mother with him to the Court, to intercede for himself, and entreat forgiveness for his faults.

In these days, the Emperor sent Ḥasan Khán *Khazánchí*[2], and Mahá-pátra[3] *Bád-farósh*[4] (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Shír Sháh, and Islím Sháh, and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindú poetry) on an embassy to the Rájá of Orissa (who was distinguished above the other Rájás for his army and military pomp), to dissuade him from reaching the hand of aid and assistance to the Khán Zamán, and to prevent his giving him refuge in his dominions, and that, by preventing Sulaimán also from

[1] Called also *Karáni*, and *Karzáni*. He reigned in Bengál from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1573. *Blochm.* 171.

[2] That is 'Treasurer'.

[3] This name is Sanskrit, from *mahá* great, and *pátra* vessel.

[4] Means 'Seller of wind'.

helping him he might utterly frustrate the (P. 77) plans of the Khán Zamán. The Rája agreed willingly enough to act on the part of the Emperor, and declared his loyalty by sending elephants and valuable gifts and presents. Then the two ambassadors returned to the Court at Ágrah.

About the same time Muzaffar Khán, and others of the courtiers, through the violence of their nature and their avarice, assailed the ear of Áçaf Khán with open and covert suggestions, hoping to get from him presents, valuables and further advantages, [but afterwards] they followed the beaten track of detraction, and suggested to some people to find out the truth about the booty of Chourá-gaḍh[1], and broached the matter to Áçaf Khán himself. When Áçaf Khán was conducting hostilities against the Khán Zamán and was encamped at the fort of Narhan, he had been much wounded and annoyed by these matters, so that one midnight, seizing the opportunity, he together with his brother Vazír Khán, and such troops as he had, fled towards the district of Garha Katangah[2], and arrived at Garha. On the receipt of news of this circumstance the Emperor appointed Mun'im Khán, Khán-Khánán, in his place as generalissimo of that army, and appointed Shujá'at Khán to go in pursuit of Áçaf Khán. Shujá'at Khán embarked from Mánikpúr, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges, but Áçaf Khán (who had retreated for some distance), as soon as he heard this returned, and came to the river-bank to hinder his passage. There he fought a severe battle, and prevented the flotilla of Shujá'at Khán from crossing, so that the latter, when night came on, was obliged to retnrn to the side from which he started. Then Áçaf Khán on the other bank of the river, with his

[1] Compare p. 67, l. 6—10 of Text.

[2] In the vast territories of Hindústán there is a country called *Gondwána*, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of *Gonds*..... To the *east* of this country lies *Katanpúr*, a dependency of the country of *Jhárkand*; and on the *west* it borders on *Káisín*, belonging to the province of *Málwah*. The length of this district is 150 *cosses*. On the *north* lies *Panna*, and on the *south* the *Dekkan*, and the breadth is 80 *cosses*. This country is called *Garha Katangah*. *Garha* is the name of the chief city, and *Katangah* is the name of a place [near it]. The seat of government was the fort of *Chouragarh*. *Akbarnámah*, Elliot, vi, p. 30.

whole army went off to his own jágír. At this juncture Shujá'at Khán, finding the field open, proceeded by another road to Karah, and went some distance in pursuit of an enemy, the skirt of whose garments he could not reach even in thought; and, when he found that there was a great distance between them, he returned to Jounpúr and came of the Court.

Also in these days Ḥasan Khán came as ambassador, bringing fitting presents, on behalf of his brother Fatḥ Khán[1] Afghán Tibatí, governor of the fortress of Rohtás, where in the year (P. 78) 972 he had been beseiged by Sulaimán Kararání, but, on hearing news of the approach of the Emperor, Sulaimán had raised the seige. His prayer was that he might be confirmed in his government, while he should deliver up the fortress[2]. On this account Qulíj Khán was appointed to accompany him from Jounpúr. Then Fatḥ Khán, having repented of sending his brother, and having provisioned the fortress well, wrote a letter to his brother as follows: "Convey thyself to us as quickly as possible, for our mind is at rest with regard to the stores." So Ḥasan Khán, cloaking his treachery under the garb of hypocrisy, managed to detain Qulíj Khán for some time, and outwardly made show of submission. But eventually Qulíj Khán became aware of his duplicity, and had to depart without attaining his object:—

"Dastán i Sám[3] was champion of the world,
Yet at play he was not always the winner."

This Rohtás is a fortress in the neighbourhood of Bihár, in length it is[4] 14 *cosses*, in breadth 3 *cosses*, in height 5 *cosses*[5]. Outside the fortress there is cultivated land, and such abundance of water that if one drive a nail into the ground or set a trivet at any spot water comes up. Ever since Shír Sháh seized the fortress it had

[1] See Blochmann's *Aín-i Akbarí*, p 502.

[2] To Akbar rather than to Sulaimán Kararání.

[3] *Dastán i Sám* means 'Dastán son of Sám', comp. the Greek *ὁ τοῦ*. *Dastán* is another name for *Zal* the father of *Rustam* (see notes to page 51 T.)

[4] Viz. the plateau on which it is built. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, Elliot V, 300.

[5] The *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* says 'half a cos'. *Ibid.* This seems nearer the mark.

been in the hands of the Afghans, till the turn came to Fatḥ Khán, who would not bow the head to Sulaimán. And afterwards it came into the possession of the Emperor, as shall be related if God, (He is exalted !) will.

And when Jounpúr became the halting-place of the imperial standards and the Emperor was very busy in the arrangement of important affairs, before he sent off Mun'im Khán as leader of the army against the Khán Zamán, this latter, being encamped at the ford of Narhan, honoured Bahadúr Khán with the command, and sent him off together with Sikandar Khán towards Sardár (?)[1], with instructions to penetrate to the centre of the district, and create a disturbance, and with a considerable force to obtain any advantage they could in any direction they pleased. On this account (P. 79) several of the great Amírs with a great army (such as Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khan, and Qiyá Khán, and Sa'íd Khán, and Muḥammad Ma'çum Khán Farankhúdí,[2] and others whom it would take too long to mention) were appointed, together with Mír Mu'azz-ul Mulk Mashhadí[3] (on the stature of whose capacity the dress of commander-in-chief sat badly and unbecomingly) to undertake to oppose and drive back Iskandar and Bahádur. These armies had not yet met, while Mun'im Khán the Khán-Khánán (who had an excessively friendly regard for the Khán Zamán) for four or five months, after the manner of an old man, kept sending soldiers with messages by letter and by word of mouth to make negotiation for peace. When Khwájah Jahán and Darbár Khán arrived at the ford of Narhan from Jounpúr, in order to examine into the matter of peace or war, and to settle whether haste or delay were preferable, on the one side the Khán Zamán with three or four people, and on the other the Khán-Khánán and Khwájah Jahán, also with three or four persons,

[1] *Sarwár* is the reading of the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*. Elliot identifies the place with *Sarharpúr* (V. 301). Blochmann considers (p. 381 *n*) that the district *Sarwár* got its name from the river *Sarw*. See p. 83, l. 12 of our Text. Our editors, or printers, probably mistook *wáw* for *dál*.

[2] Or *Faranjúdí*.

[3] He belonged to the Músawí Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alí Músá Razá, the 8th Imám of the Shí'ahs.

got into the same boat, and when they had had an interview, settled peace on the following terms: That the Khán Zamán should send his mother, with his uncle Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, and the famous elephants he possessed, to the Court. And that after that all his transgressions had been condoned, Sikandar and Bahádur should go themselves to the Court. Then Darbán Khán brought this news to the royal ear; and the next day the Khán Khánán and Khwájah Jahán brought the mother of the Khán Zamán, aad Ibráhím Khán, together with the elephants, to the Court, and assumed the position of intercessors for the forgiveness of the faults of the Khán Zamán. When, suddenly, news came from Sardár[1] of the flight of the general Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The Emperor was much enraged, and that peace was turned to rancour.

The explanation of this circumstance is briefly as follows: When the imperial army drew near to Sikandar and Bahádur, they remaining just where they were (P. 80) sent a message to Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk: "Become thou the means of intercession, and obtain for us from the Court forgiveness of our faults, so that we may send to the Court whatever, of elephants and other things, we have taken possession of, and then when we are cleared of our transgressions, and our faults are forgiven, we may ourselves go and do homage." Mír Mu'izz-ul Mulk[2] in as much as he was continually boasting: "I, and there is none beside me", showed a Pharaoh-like, and harsh Shaddád-like character, which is one of the inheritances of the Sayyids of Mashhad; and on that topic it has been said:—

> "O men of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imám[3]
> May the curse of God rest on each one of you!"

And another poet saith:—

> "Though it is man that renders the face of the ground pleasant,
> A *Mashhadí*[4] on the face of the ground is not pleasant."

So he established a character for crookedness of disposition, for which he became notorious, and said: "Your being made clean can

[1] See preceding page, note 1.

[2] He was a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, and therefore our author could not bear him.

[3] Múzá Razá.

[4] *Mashhadí* means both "an inhabitant of Mashhad", and "a cemetery".

only be imagined by the water[1] of the sword". Meanwhile Lashkar Khán, *Mír Bakhshí*, and Rája Todar Mal came from the Court to hasten the decision of the Amírs, whether for peace or war. So that, if they thought it best, they might fight; but if not, they might hold out hopes to Sikandar and Bahádur.* So Bahádur Khán came again to the outposts of the imperial camp alone, and sending for Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and some of the Amírs, he made proposals of peace, saying: "Since the Khán Zamán is sending his mother, and Ibráhím Khán to the Court, or rather by this time will have sent them, we have hopes of the forgiveness of our transgressions, and indeed this is the most probable contingency. Meanwhile we are awaiting the answer, and until the affair be settled we will not put our hand to war. Do you too, until the answer arrive, wait a few days." Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk was a very fire, and Todar Mal played the part of oil of naphtha, (P. 81) and made that fire burn fiercer than ever, so that nothing but words of sternness passed on their tongue. So Bahádur Khán and Iskandar Khán, becoming desperate, did what they thought best for their own interests, and drew up their army :—

> "In the time of necessity, when there is no escape,
> The hand seizes the hilt of the sharp sword".

On the one side Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, putting Muḥammad Amín Dívánah in the van, himself took up his position in the centre, and kept by his side 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán, and Salím Khán, and Kákar 'Alí Khán, and Bég Núrín Khán, and other tried warriors, and appointed the other Amírs to the right and left wings. And on the other side [were] Sikandar Khán, and his relative[2] Muḥammad Yár Haráwal; and Bahádur Khán was in the centre[3]. Then the two armies joined battle, and like two mountains they clashed together. Much valour was displayed on either side, Muḥammad Yár was slain, and Iskandar Khán fleeing, threw himself into the River Siyáh[4], which was in

[1] *Áb* means "water" Sanskrit *áp*, also "brightness," Sansk. *ábh*. There is, of course, a play on these two meanings of the word.

[2] He was his brother's son. *Blochm.*

[3] The word *qol* is Turkí, it recurs on p. 231, l. 1 of Text.

[4] Sai or Sye, which falls into the Gúmti near Jounpúr.

his rear. He himself got out again, but many of his men were drowned, and others came under the *áb*[1] of the sword. Then the imperial troops gave themselves up to plundering. And Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, with a few men, was the only officer who kept his place. For to tell the truth the body of tried warriors, especially Ḥusain Khán the relative of Mahdí Khán and Báqí Muḥammad Khán, &c., being sick of the command of Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and of the rule of Rája Todar Mal, in accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "There is no fidelity towards kings", did not make that resistance they should have done. At this moment Bahádur Khán, who still held his ground, seized the opportunity, and moved forward to the attack. Directly he came up, he swept Mír Mu'izz-ul-Mulk before him. And Sháh Budágh Khán was thrown from his horse, but not before he had given substantial proof of his valour, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab, putting forth as much strength as he could, seized him by the hand (P. 82), but in vain. Eventually the son escaped and the father fell into the hands of Uzbeks:—

> "When he was free from sorrow, he reckoned him a dear friend,
> When he came to grief, he deserted him."

And Rája Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khán, who at the beginning had remained inactive, began now to fight vigorously, until evening, but without success. They became separated, but the next day they rejoined one another, and came to Sher-gaḍh, and reported the state of affairs to the Court.

And now we come to the point where we left off[2] about the Khán Zamán. When the Khán Khánán brought to the Court the mother of the Khán Zamán, and Ibráhím Khán, together with Mír Hádí Sadr and Nizám Aghá, who were trusty friends of the Khán Zamán, and presented the war-elephants to His Majesty, then Ibráhím Khán, with head bare, and a sword and a shroud[3] round his neck in the place of a cloak, delivered himself up, and said in an impromptu:—

> "Wilt thou spare me, or wilt thou slay me,
> The option lies with thee."

[1] See above p. 82, note 1.

[2] See p. 81.

[3] As a sign that he was ready to suffer death.

Moreover the Khán Khánán, taking up the position of intercessor, reminded the Emperor of the past services of their party, so that their offences received pardon. The Emperor commanded that they should be left in possession of their *jágírs* as heretofore, but that, as long as the Imperial camp remained in that place, they should not cross the river. So their representatives came to Ágrah, and the Emperor issued the necessary *farmáns*, in accordance with which they took possession. The mother of the Khán Zamán sent this good news to her sons[1], and Bahádur Khán and Sikandar Khán sent the elephants, *Koh-párah*, and *Çaff-shikan*[2], two very quarrelsome females, together with other presents, to the Court.

Meanwhile the report from Rája Todar Mal and Lashkar Khán arrived, containing an account of the battle and the flight, and of the treachery[3] of the Amírs. Then the Emperor ordered: "Since to please the Khán Khánán I have overlooked the fault of (P. 83) the Khán Zamán and the others, let the great Amírs come to the Court." Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Rája Todar Mal were reprehended, and the perpetrators of the treachery were for a time debarred from the imperial presence; and then, were rebuked, and restored to their former favour.

In these days the Emperor made an expedition to the fortress of Chunár, and, being engaged in elephant-hunting in the jungles about that fortress, took to camp-life. While the Emperor's camp was at Chunár, the Khán Zamán crossing the Ganges in haste, and breaking his word[4], came to Muḥammadábád, which is a dependency of the town of Mou[5], and sent agents to seize Jounpúr and Gházípúr. This affair highly displeased the Emperor, who sent Ashraf Khán *Mír-munshí* to Jounpúr, to detain the Khán Zamán's mother in the fortress, and to seize any rebels there might be there; and, leaving the camp in charge of Khwájah Jahán, and Muzaffar Khán,

[1] 'Alí Qulí Khán Shaibání [*Khán Zamán*], and Muhammad Sa'íd Shaibání [*Bahádur Khán*]. Their father was Ḥaidar Sulṭán Uzbek i Shaibání. Concerning their achievements, see p. 18.

[2] These names mean respectively "Piece of a Mountain", and "Rank-breaker".

[3] See above p. 83.

[4] See above.

[5] Or Mhow (properly Mahu), about lat. 26° N, long. 79° E.

himself hurried off by forced marches with the intention of exterpating the Khán Zamán, and arrived at the bank of the river Sarwár. There some boats laden with goods and effects, which were equal to one[1] of the seven treasures of Khusrou, fell into the hands of the loyal party. The imperial army occupied the bank of the river, and had traversed a considerable tract of jungle, when it became known that the Khán Zamán had retired to the skirts of the mountains of Sawálik. So they gave up the pursuit of him and returned. Meanwhile Bahádur Khán with a body of tried warriors came to Jounpúr, and throwing up a noose, climbed into the fortress, and released his mother; and, seizing Asraf Khán, was fully determined to loot and spill, when he received intelligence of the return of the imperial standards. So he fled, and with Sikandar Khán crossed the Ganges at the ford of Narhan.

And on the 15th of the month Rajab,[2] which is the auspicious birthday of the Emperor, (P. 84) outside the Parganna of Nazámábád, one of the dependencies of Jounpúr, the weighing[3] of the Emperor took place; for, in accordance with established custom, he is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar[4] birthdays, against gold, silver, and other precious things, which are given to the Brahmins of Hind, and to others. And the poets, recited, and still do recite, heart-ravishing poems on this topic. Then his Majesty determined to remain for some time in the citadel of Jounpúr. Then the Khán Zamán on hearing of his remaining there, sent Mírzá Mírak (who afterwards became Razawí Khán) to intercede on his behalf with the Khán Khánán. He went along with Khán Zamán's mother, and brought the message to the Court. So the Khán Khánán, in conjunction with Mír 'Abd-ul Laṭíf Qazwíní, and Mullá Abd-u-lláh Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, and Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí[5] *Sadr* a second time prayed for the pardon of the offences of the Khán Zamán, and was graciously accepted. And they sent Khwájah Jahán, and Mír Murtazá Sharífí, who is of the family of that

[1] This treasure was called *Bádáwar*, because the wind carried a vessel laden therewith to the camp of the said king.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] This is an old Hindú custom. On the whole subject see Blochmann, *Ain*, 18.

[4] This latter would be his Muhammadan birthday.

[5] He was *Shaikh-ul-Islám* of Hind.

paragon of the human race, the very eleventh[1] Intelligence, Mír Sayyid Sharíf Jurjání (sanctified be his grave!), and Mukhdúm-ul-Mulk to bring the Khán Zamán to repent of his rebellion, and to convey the glad tidings of his pardon to the ear of his soul. The Khán Zamán came to meet them, and, as was required took an oath of allegiance, and then dismissed their Excellencies with every mark of honour and respect.

The Emperor towards the end of the year nine hundred and seventy-three (973), returned, and set his face towards the capital, and on Friday the 7th of the month Ramzán[2] of the aforesaid year he came to Ágrah and spent his time in festivities. Thence he went to his new palace Nagar-Chín, and occupied himself in *Chougán*-playing, and dog-racing, and hawk-flying. And they contrived a a fiery ball with which one could play on a dark night.

And in this year died Muḥammad Yúsuf Khán, son of Atkah Khán, through continual wine-bibbing:—

"Three things are fatal to men,
And bring the healthy to sickness:
(P. 85) Continual indulgence in wine and women,
And the cramming of food upon food."

In this year the Emperor appointed Mahdí Qásim Khán, and some of the Amírs such as Ḥusain Khán, his relative, and Khálid Khán and others, with 3000, or 4000 horsemen to act against Áçaf Khán in the district of Garha Katangah[3]. Then Áçaf Khán left the fortress of Chourágarh, and sent a petition to Court asking for the pardon of his offences. But, when this was not accepted, he wrote a letter to Khán Zamán, and in concert with Wazír Khán his own brother went to Jounpúr to the Khán Zamán. The Khán Zamán at the first meeting bore himself so haughtily towards him, that Áçaf Khán repented of having come:—

"Alas that he came out of the well,
And fell into the snare!"

[1] They count *ten* Intelligences; this man was, as it were, *an eleventh*.

[2] The 9th month.

[3] See p. 78, note 2.

And Mahdí Qásim Khán, having got the district of Garha into his power, gave it to the *Jágírdárs*, and then giving up his pursuit of Açaf Khán went by way of Hindia towards the sacred Mekka, which he had the happiness to reach. And Ḥusain Khán with his own men went after him as far as the fortress of Satwás near the kingdom of Dekkan.

Then all of a sudden Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, sons of Sulṭán Muḥammad Mírzá (who was descended on his father's side from Taimúr, the Fortunate[1], and on his mother's side from Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá[2]), an old man and full of years, to whom the Emperor had given the Parganna of A'zampúr as his *jágír*, raised the standard of revolt in the district of Sambhal[3]. And, after the subjugation of Jhe Khán Zamán, and the Emperor had turned towards the Panjáb against Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, they fleeing before Mun'im Khán, the *Khán Khánán*, plunged into the midst of the district and came to Dihlí, and eventually raised the standard of rebellion in the kingdom of Málwah, [P. 86]. From this place two of the brothers, Sháh Mírzá, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, went and laid seige to Hindia. But Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá went towards Satwás, which was 10 *cosses* distant, and Ḥusain Khán together with one named Muqarrab Khán, a chief of the Amírs of the Dekkan, shut himself up in Satwás. Of stores there were none in the fort, so that they were reduced to eating the flesh of horses, camels, and cows, and the matter touched the life, and the knife reached the bone, and yet no assistance came from any side; still, however much Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain might bring forward proposals of peace, the garrison would not give in. Till, one morning, they put the head[4] of Qadam Khán (Muqarrab Khán's brother, who had been killed at Hindia), upon the point of a lance, and showed

[1] The title is *Çáḥib-i-Qirán*, *i. e.*, Lord of conjunction, *viz.*, of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, called *Sa'dain*. He was descended from the second son of Taimúr, *'Umar Shaikh Mírzá*, father of *Mírzá Báiqrá*, father of *Mírzá Mançúr*, father of *Mírzá Báiqrá*, father of *Wais Mírzá*, father of *Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá*. The sons of *Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá* were (1) *Ulugh Mírzá* (2) *Sháh Mírzá*, (3) *Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá*, (4) *Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá*, (5) *Ma'úd Ḥusain Mírzá*, (6) *'Aqil Ḥusain Mírzá*.

[2] She was daughter of Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, *king of Khurásán*.

[3] The *Jágírdárs* of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, whence they proceeded to Málwah. Briggs' *Ferishta*, II, 226.

[4] Instead of *bar* read *sar*.

it to Muqarrab Khán, and let him know that Hindia was taken, and that his kith and kin and the inhabitants of the place were all prisoners. Moreover they brought his mother, and setting her where he could see her, said: "Since the family and dependants of Muqarrab Khán are in this condition, with what confidence do you go on fighting?" Then Muqarrab Khán, being helpless, and rather a Muqarrab-*ghulám*[1] than a Muqarrab-*Khán*, went and saw the Mírzás. Then, having granted Ḥusain Khán quarter, and got him out under treaty, they at first tried to press him into their service, but when he did not seem to see it, they let him go unharmed. Eventually in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), at the time when the Emperor had gone from Láhór to Ágra, he went, and did homage to him, and was favourably received, and the Emperor gave him in addition to Patiyálí, which was his *jágír*, the Purganna of Shamsábád.

The composer of this epitome, one year before thus, having had the good fortune to go from Badáún to Patiyálí, became acquainted with the aforesaid Khán. And, since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave, and munificent, [P. 87] and of blameless life, and a sunní, and an attendant at the mosque, and a patron of science, and a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to leave his presence, and to go and pay my respects elsewhere. Accordingly I spent the space of 10 years in his society, in these unknown corners and dark recesses, engaged with him in suitable occupations. At last Fortune played me a trick, and struck a fatal blow to this companionship. A strange matter was at the bottom of this separation, and however much I begged his pardon, and employed mediation and intercessions, and, going to Badáún, got even my, now deceased, mother to act as my advocate, it availed nothing; so I hasted to pay my respects to the Khalíf of the age[2]:—

"The heart, which is grieved by any one,
It is difficult to make happy.
A vase[3], that has been broken,
It is difficult to piece together again."

[1] *Khán* is a "Noble", *ghulám* a "slave"; and *Muqarrab-ghulámí* possibly means a "confidential servant" like *Muqarrab-ul-khidmat*.

[2] That is the Emperor Akbar.

[3] Compare above p. 28 of Text.

Finally[1] the Khán Zaman appointed Açaf Khán together with Bahádur Khán to reduce some of the districts of the Afgháns, and fearing lest Wazír Khán should act treacherously towards himself he kept his eye on him. The two brothers,[2] having by means of messages sent backwards and forwards between them determined on flight, and fixed a time, on the night appointed the one fled from the Khán Zamán, and the other parted company with Bahádur Khán, and went 3 *cosses* distance going in the direction of Ágra and Mánikpúr. Then Bahádur Khán pursued after Açaf Khán, and between Jounpúr and Mánikpúr a sharp fight took place between the two parties. Açaf Khán was taken prisoner and Bahádur Khán had him put into the *houda* of an elephant, and set off. Meanwhile Wazír Khán from Jounpúr arrived at the place whither they were taking his brother, and Bahádur Khán's men being scattered in quest of booty, he could not withstand him, so Bahádur Khán gave orders for Açaf Khán to be put to death, as he was, in the *houda*. He received a sword-cut on his nose, and two or three of his fingers (P. 88) were cut off, but Wazír Khán managed to release him before he had received further injury, and the two brothers made for Garha, and Bahádur Khán returned foiled. Wazír Khán arrived at the confines of Láhór, just at the time that the Emperor, having gone in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥakím, had turned aside to enjoy a *qamurgha*-hunt,[3] and at the intercession of Muzaffar Khán he arrived, allowed to do homage, and a *farmán* gracious in its words rebel- issued to Açaf Khán.

In this year Mírza Muḥammad Ḥakím came to that hope is cause of it was that, when Mírzá Sulaimán returned from Kábul, and Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím had got posse and had dismissed the imperial Ámirs to Hindústán, of the sick Ḥasan Naqshbándí had become absolute Prime-mini Khán Kalán was enraged thereat, then Mírzá Sulai at Kábul the field for the fourth time clear, in company with his and was Ni'mat Bégum, hastened to Kábul, and laid seige to it. And án in ór.

[1] Continued from p. 85.

[2] Wazir Khán, and Açaf Khán.

[3] Compare p. 93 note 3.

[4] See page 72, l. 18.

Muḥammad Ḥakím entrusting Kábul to Ma'çúm Kokah (who afterwards raised rebellion, and was the mover of sedition in Hindústán, and was a man of great courage), himself with Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshbandí went to the river Ghorband.[1] And Mírzá Sulaimán, when he found that he could not take Kábul by force of arms, by many artifices contrived to convey Walí Ni'mat Bégum to Qarábágh (which is 10 *cosses* distant from Kábul, and in the neighbourhood of the Ghorband). There she brought forward proposals of peace, and took solemn and awful oaths:[2] and Mírzá [Muḥammad Ḥakím] set out to meet her with a small escort. Khwájah Ḥasan also approved of this conciliatory interview, but Báqí Qaqshál was not pleased with the matter and said: "This woman is a thorough deceiver, and is not fit to be trusted:"—

"Go not out of the way for any blandishments of Fortune
For this old woman
As a deceiver she sits down, and as a traitress
She moves about."

Then Mírzá Sulaimán before Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím arrived at Qarábágh, came by forced marches (P. 89) from Kábul with a considerable force, and lay in ambush in that neighbourhood. It happened that some of the soldiers of Mírzá Sulaimán met with the men of years Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and gave him information of this. So engaged wi... Muḥammad Ḥakím fled, and when he got to Ghorband me a trick, and ... bewildered and fell by mistake into the road to the matter was at ... mountain. Khwájah Ḥasan wished to bring him to Pír I begged his pardo... ḥán Uzbek, governor of Balkh, in order to ask his going to Badáún, ... t Báqí Qáqshál prevented this, and brought the advocate, it availed ... irection of the Capital by way of Panjhar[4] to Jalál. Khalíf of the age[3] ... e to the bank of the river Níláb, till eventually he ... ver Sind,[5] and sent a despatch to the Court. Khwájah "The h... his party arrived at *Balkh*, and after some time he be- It is, ... and his life became bitter (*Talkh*) to him:—

[1] ... the north of Kábul.

[2] That she was acting in good faith.

[3] Means 'Hindu-slayer,' and is so called because slaves brought thither from India die from the intensity of the cold. Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.

[4] Panshar.

[5] The Indus.

"My heart is gone, my soul is fled, my religion lost,
O Ḥasan! worse than this what can I become!"

Mírzá Sulaimán pursued Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákím as far as Kótal-sanjad-darra, and took prisoners some stragglers of his army, and having plundered[1] his baggage, still remained on that spot.

Meanwhile during his prolonged absence Muḥammad Ma'çúm of Kábul attacked Sulaimán's camp, and spoiled it, and defeated his general Qulí Shaghálí, and after this decisive victory proceeded to lay seige to Chaharbágh. Then Mírzá Sulaimán sent Qází Khán Badakshí as ambassador to incite Muḥammad Ma'çúm to terms of peace. This Muḥammad Ma'çúm at first refused, but he could not withstand the persuasions of Qází Khán, because he had been his tutor, and so Mírzá [Sulaimán] received from him a small bribe, for mere form's sake, and returned to Badakhshán.

Now, before Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím's messenger could arrive at the Court, the Emperor had received news of the disturbances at Kábul, and had sent by the hand of a state-messenger Khúshkhabar Khán a saddle, a bridle adorned with jewels, and precious things of Hindústán, and a substantial sum of money to Mírzá,[2] (P. 90) together with a reassuring *farmán*, promising him the assistance of the Amirs of the Panjáb. Mírzá [Muḥammad Ḥakím] hastened to meet the envoy, and fully intended to come [to Court], when Farídún Khán, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchín to bring the disturbance to an end, suddenly arrived, and immediately on his arrival tried to seduce the Mírzá into rebellion, and so changed the aspect of affairs:—

"When the medicine is the cause of the disease, what hope is there
Of the cure of the disease, or of the recovery of the sick man?"

And Ḥasan Khán, brother of Shaháb Khán, who was at Kábul and one Sulṭán 'Alí, a scribe who had fled from Hindústán and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Farídún Khán in representing to the Mírzá that it would be very easy to capture Láhór.

[1] For *táj* read *táráj*.

[2] Muḥammad Ḥakím.

Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khúshkhabar Khán. But the Mírzá through that generosity, which was inherent in his nature, sent privately for him, and dismissed him. But eventually this very year, when the Emperor was *qamurgha*[1]-hunting in the neighbourhood of Láhór, Khúshkhabar Khán was drowned in the river Ráwí and a clever fellow extemporised this verse :—

"*Khushkhabar*[2] is bad news, for never was there
In the world such an ugly fellow as he,
He died in the water, although they say:
And from the water all things live."[3]

But Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím with rebellious intentions went into the neighbourhood of Behra, and set his hand (which was never ready for political affairs) to spoiling and plundering the district. Then, setting out for Láhór, he came by forced marches, and encamped in the garden of Mahdí Qásim Khán, which was situate outside the city on the banks of the river Ráwí. And Fate in an improptu of his, said :—

(P. 91) "Since at this point I leave you as you are,
It hardly matters that we came so far."

And Mír Muḥammad Khán, and all the Atkah-kháns[4] with their *posse comitatus* came into the fortress, and however much Mírzá attacked it, they so repulsed him that they gave him no opportunity to formally invest it. Now, when the reports from the Amírs reached the Emperor, he, leaving Ágrah in charge of the Khán-khánán,[5] and Muzaffar Khán, on the 3rd of Jamádi-l-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974) marched on the Panjáb by way of Dihlí and Sirhind. And Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kábul by the way by which he had come :—

[1] Compare next page, and text, pp. 354, 421.

[2] Means 'good-news.'

[3] Al Qur'án XLI, 31 "And we made from the water every living thing."

[4] That is, to relatives of *Shamsu-d-dín Muhammad Atkah.*

[5] *Mu'nim Khán.*

[6] The fifth month of the Muḥammadan year.

"He that cannot seize the skirt of Fortune by might,
His bootless effort is like dyeing the eyebrows of the blind."

And Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, and Kamál Khán G'hakkar were appointed to go from Láhór in pursuit of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. They went a certain distance and then turned back to Behra.

At this time a letter came from Muḥammad Báqí Tarkhán bin Mírzá Muḥammad 'Isá,[1] ruler of the district of Sindh, containing assurance of his own loyalty, and complaints of the attacks of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, the governor of Bakkar, on the province of Sindh and Láhór. Accordingly a *farmán* was sent to Sulṭán Maḥmúd touching the complaints of Muḥammad Báqí.

During the stay at Láhór a letter came from the Khánkhánán saying that Ulugh Mírzá and Sháh Mírzá, in whose jágír were the parganna of Nahtnúr (?) a dependency of Sambhal, and A'zampúr, had, in conjunction with their uncles Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá,[2] with rebellious designs seized some of the government pargannas; but that, on his going in pursuit of them, (P. 92) they had fled to Málwa.

At this time the Emperor held a *Qamurgha*-hunt[3] at about five *cosses* from Láhór. For a space of 40 *cosses* in every direction they drove the wild game together in a circle, and day by day they contracted the circle, till it became as narrow as the mouth of the fair:—

"The compass drew so narrow the figure of that mouth,
That the circumference of the circle coincided with the centre."

About 15,000 wild animals of various kinds were counted in that arena. The nobles, and afterwards the people generally, were permitted to join in the sport. Afterwards the whole party gave rein to their horses, and dashed into the river Ráwí to swim across, and all the courtiers, with the exception of one or two, of which number

[1] A direct descendant of Chingíz Khán. See *Blochm.* 361.

[2] See above, p. 85 T. note; and Elliot V. 315.

[3] A Turkí word denoting a great *battue;* De Courteille merely calls it *lieu de chasse.*

was Khúskhabar Khán (as has been already mentioned),[1] got safely across. Now, while the *Qamurgha*-hunt was going on, Muzaffar Khán arrived with Vazír Khán from Ágra, and the Emperor wrote a *farmán* entrusting to Áçaf Khán and Majnún Khán the joint guardianship of the districts of Karrah and Mánikpúr—on which subject[2] many a poem was composed.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Khán Zamán, Bahádur Khán, and Sikandar Khán had broken faith and were in open rebellion: and that they had sent persons to fetch Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and had had the audacity to read the *khutbah*, and to strike coin in his name in the district of Jounpúr. And Mulá Ghazálí, a poet of Mashhid, composed this verse:—

"In the name of the gracious and merciful God,
Muḥammad Ḥakím is the heir of a kingdom."

On hearing this news the Emperor confided Mírzá Mírák Razawí, the Khán Zamán's lieutenant, to the custody of Ján Báqí Khán, and entrusting the charge of the affairs of the Panjáb to (P. 95) Kháni Kalán, and the whole *Atgah* family,[3] on the 12th of the blessed month of Ramzán in the year 974 started for Ágra, and went to the fort of T'hánésar,[4] which has been from time immemorial a haunt of infidels. At the lake [called] *Kurk'hét*,[5] which is an assembly place of Kurus and Pándus,[6] (curse on them!) more than 4,000 years ago, according to the opinion of the Hindus, seven or eight hundred millions of persons were killed in a tumult (and they went by way of water to hell-fire). And now every year there is a great assembly there, and the Hindu people, at that place of worship, give away both privately and publicly, gold and silver, and

[1] P. 92.

[2] *Viz.* Akbar's clemeucy towards Áçaf Khán and Vazír Khán.

[3] See p. 49, note 4.

[4] Sanscrit *Sthaneçwara*, meaning 'Lord of the place.' It is a town about 100 miles from Dihlí, where there is a temple of *Mahadeo*.

[5] Sanscrit *Kurukshetra*, *i. e.*, Kuru-battlefield

[6] Abu-l-Fazl, according to Sir H. Elliot, V. 318 *note*, calls the sects 'Gurs and Puris.'

jewels, and linen, and valuable goods: and in accordance with that which has been said, [*viz.*] :—

"Do a good action, and cast into the water :"

they secretly cast gold coins into the water. And bodies of Jogí-s and Sannyásí-s, who are the Hindu devotees, are in the habit of fighting there in their bigotry. On this occasion their fight made a grand show. A number of the imperial soldiers, in accordance with a command from the Emperor, having rubbed their bodies well with ashes,[1] went and fought on the side of the Sannyásí-s (who were scarcely 300 men, while the Jogí-s were more than 500). But for all that many were slain on either side. At last the Sannyásí-s came off victorious.

When the imperial camp was pitched at Dihlí, Mírzá Mírak Razawí escaping from Khán Báqí Khán, in whose charge he was imprisoned, fled and joined his employer.[2] Then Khán Báqí Khán went in pursuit of him for some distance, but eventually, through fear of punishment, attached himself to the insurgents :—

'As for him who became a tale,
His tale never came back again.'

While the Emperor was still at Dihlí, Sháh Fakhr-ud-dín Mashhadí,[3] upon information received from Tátár Khán, commandant of Dihlí, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders, brought Shahább Khán Turkomán (who held the parganna of Bhójpúr in fief, and with whom Amín Díwána,[4] having escaped from Láhór, had taken refuge, and, having been supplied by him with a horse and pecuniary assistance, had gone off (P. 94) to join the rebels) to Court, where he was executed.

[1] In order to disguise themselves, and look like Sannyási-s.

[2] In the 10th year he came to Court to obtain pardon for Alí Qulí Khán, Khán Zamán. When the latter rebelled again, in the 12th year, Mírzá Mírak Razawí was imprisoned.

[3] Son of Mír Qásim, a Músawí Sayyid of Mashhad. He came in 961, with Humáyún, to India. Blochm. 406.

[4] He had been imprisoned for attempting the life of one of the Imperial Generals. Elliot, V. 319.

When the Emperor arrived at Ágra, news came that Khán Zamán, was beseiging Mírzá Yúsuf Khán Mashhadí,[1] who had shut himself up in Shergaṛh (which is generally known by the name of Qannouj). Upon the receipt of the intelligence, leaving the Khán-khánán in charge of Ágra, the Emperor on the 26th[2] of Shavvál,[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), marched towards Jounpúr. And the weather was so hot that the marrow of creatures melted in their bones:—

> 'The air again was so hot that, even in running water,
> The crab through heat laid its breast on the ground,
> Even the moist river, from the mouth of which water ever flows,
> Through fever became dry-lipped, like a bilious person.'

And when the town of Sakít had became the camping-place of the imperial army, news came in that Khán Zamán had raised the siege [of Shergaṛh], and fled towards Mánikpúr, where was his brother Bahádur Khán. Accordingly, from the town of Bhojpúr the Emperor detached a body of 6,000 veteran troopers under the command of Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, Muzaffar Khán, Rája Todar Mal, Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán and Ḥusain Khán (who at that time had arrived from Satwás) to march towards Oudh to oppose Sikandar. At first Munçúr Khán was appointed to lead the vanguard of this division of the imperial army; but, since he had arrived in a most deplorable and poverty-stricken state, on account of the protracted seige he had sustained in the fortress [of Satwás],[4] he went to the parganna of Shamsábád to obtain supplies for his army, and found it so refreshing that some little delay took place in his rejoining the army: consequently Qiyá Khán was appointed in his place.

The author was with the aforesaid Khán on this occasion. And when he passed on from Shamsábád, I remained in that town. (P. 95) The following is one of the marvels, which took place there, to which a number of trustworthy inhabitants of that city

[1] Son of Mír Aḥmad i Razawí. He was a great favourite with Akbar.

[2] The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí has 'Monday the 23rd.' Elliot, V. 319.

[3] The 10th month.

[4] See above, p. 87.

niatreo a nó ,taht ,beneppah ti siht erofed syab wef A .ssentiw erod night, a boy of tender age, belonging to a washerman, fell asleep on a couch on the banks of the river Ganges. Suddenly he fell into the river, and the strong stream carried him as far as the town of Bhojpúr (which is 10 *cosses* distant), and landed him safely on the bank. A relative of the washerman took out the child, and recognizing it, brought it back in the morning to its mother and father:—

'He is the Absolute Omnipotent,
Who ruleth as He wills,
He is, in truth, the Judge,
Who acteth, as it pleaseth Him.'

And, when the imperial camp was pitched at the town of Rái Baréli, news arrived that Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán had crossed the river Ganges and fled towards Kálpí. Consequently the Emperor, directing that the camp, under Khwájah Jahán, should be moved on towards Karah, set off with all speed for Mánikpúr. Mounted upon an elephant he crossed the stream, and at that time there were not with him more than fifteen or sixteen[1] persons. And Majnún Khán, and Áçaf Khán, who were in the vanguard, kept from time to time sending back information concerning the whereabouts of the enemy.

It so happened that Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán, over whose eyes Fate had drawn the blinding iron of negligence, in accordance with the following:—

'When Fate[2] lets down its wings from the sky,
All the prudent become blind and deaf'—

had spent the whole night at a wine-party, and in watching an exhibition of Pátar-dancing,[3] and, their cup being full, they looked on the intelligence of the enemy's advance, which the scouts kept bringing in, as merely an act of rashness on the part of Majnún[4]

[1] The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí, according to Elliot, p. 320, says 1,000 to 1,500 men.

[2] *Viz.*, The Decree of Death: *Dira Necessitas.* With these lines compare the well-known saying: *Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

[3] *Pátar*, in Hindústání means a dancing girl.

[4] He was the fief-holder (*zamíndár*) of Mánikpúr.

Khán (for which they cared no more, than for a measure stuffed with straw); but, as for the Emperor's approach, they had no intimation of it, and indeed never dreamt of such a thing.

On this day the Emperor was mounted on an elephant named *Sundar*,[1] and (P. 96) he placed Mírzá Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khán in the *houda* with him. He took up his station in the centre, and placed Áçaf Khán, and all the Atkas,[2] on the right, and Majnún Khán, and others, on the left. Now the Khán Zamán had given orders for his army to march in the morning. But sunk, as he was, in sleep and the wine, which he had drunk, he was wakened only by the Messenger of Fate. Then, by the exhibition of standards and paraphernalia of majesty, and the glory of the cavalcade, and the pompous beating of kettle-drums, he became certain that the Emperor in person was with the army. Accordingly, he ordered his troops to fall in, and began to draw up his lines. First he dispatched a body of renowned heroes, veterans in service, to oppose the advance of the vanguard of the imperial army. But Bábá Khán Qáqshál, who was leader of the van, with a well-directed shower of arrows repulsed them, and drove them back on the Khán Zamán. At this moment one of the horses of the fugitives rushed with terrific force against the horse of the Khán Zamán, so that through the concussion his turban became loosened from his head, and caught him round the neck like a lasso. At the sight of this occurrence [his brother] Bahádur Khán, planting firmly the foot of desperation, charged Bábá Khán with such fury, that he compelled him to retreat, and sweeping him before him, bore him back on the ranks of Majnún Khán. Then Majnún Khán, and Bahádur Khán, who had returned to the thick of the fray from the pursuit of fugitives, fell upon one another, and showed great courage. But an arrow struck the horse of Bahádur Khán, which reared and threw him to the ground, so that he was taken prisoner:—

> 'When the key of victory is not in the hand,
> One cannot open the door of victory by force.'

[1] From Sanscrit *sundara*, beautiful.

[2] See above, p. 92, *note* 4.

At this juncture the Emperor dismounted from his elephant, and got on horse-back, and ordered that the troop of mountain-formed elephants should charge the ranks of the Khán Zamán: and then the fortune of the day began to waver, and the signs of victory began to decide in the Emperor's favour:—

'The sword of kings doth show such marks,
The great do such deeds as beseem them,
Look at a king's sword, read not the annals of the past,
For, more sooth-saying is his sword—much!'

(P. 97). And an elephant, Híránand by name, on the side of the imperial army, charged an elephant, named Oudyá, on the enemy's side, and came with such force against the head of that animal, that it felled it to the ground. And midst this hubbub and confusion, an arrow struck the horse of the Khán Zamán; and, while he was in the act of pulling it out, another arrow struck it, and it reared up and the Khán Zamán fell to the ground. At this moment an elephant-driver, riding on an elephant named Narsingh, came up; and, although the Khán Zamán kept saying to him: 'I am a great leader, take me alive to the king, and you will get a great reward,' the elephant-driver would not listen, but drove on his elephant, which crushed him with its trunk and feet, and ground his bones to powder, and made his body like a bag full of chess-pieces:—

'The huge-form of elephants dashed [him] crushed to the ground,
An earthquake threw [him] on the surface of the earth:
Through all these tusks, which were weighers-out of evil,
The face of the ground became a [strewed] chess-board.'

After that the turmoil of battle had subsided, Nazar Bahádur made Bahádur Khán ride behind him on the same horse, and brought him to the Imperial Presence.[1] The Emperor did not wish to put him to death, but asked him: 'Bahádur how are you.' He replied, 'Praise is due to God in all circumstances.' And when he asked for

[1] The word for 'Presence' is *Nazar*, with a play on the name Nazar Bahádur.

water, the Emperor gave him some out of his own canteen.[1] But the Amírs did not deem it advisable to spare his life, so they brought about his execution.

And after a time the head of the Khán Zamán was also brought in. And for some time there was a dispute, as to whether it were the Khán Zamán's or no. At this juncture a petty Hindú Ráy, Khán Zamán's *wakíl*, who was of the number of the prisoners, took up the head, and, putting it upon his own, began to lament: 'Alas! alas!' And Khwájah Daulat a eunuch, who had once been in Khán Zamán's service, and had afterwards given in his adhesion to the Emperor, and had attained the title of Daulat Khán, said: "The way to find out whether the head is really that of Khán Zamán (P 98) is this. He used always to chew betel-leaf on the right side [of his mouth], consequently his teeth on the right side will be black." And so they found them. These affairs took place in the twelfth year of the reign, on the Monday in the first week of the month Zí-ḥijjah[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), in the neighbourhood of the village of Maakarwál, one of the dependencies of Pairag[3] now known as Aláhábás. And some, who had formerly thought good to accept service under Khán Zamán, and had therefrom sucked no small advantage, found this *mnemosynon* for the date of his death:—

"When Khán Zamán from the world went to the winds,
The pillar of the sky fell down head over heels,
The date of his death I asked of Wisdom; he said:
Heaven having lost its support, raised a cry of despair."[4]

[1] This word, which is not found in our Dictionaries, recurs at p. 238, l. 8 *infra* of the Text It may be connected with the Hindustani *Karú'á* (Sanscrit *Kuraka*) 'an earthen pipkin.' Or it may have been borrowed, by some means or other, from the Mahratti, in which there is a word *Karoṭí* 'a vessel made of cocoa-nut shell.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] *Prayága* was a holy place on the *left* bank of the Ganges, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Jhusí. It was never a *city* until Akbar made it such, and then not on the left, but on the *right* bank, under the name *Aláhábás* or *ábád*.

[4] The numerical values of the letters of this line are 80 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 4 + 7 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 30 + 20 + 12 + 2 + 50 + 11 + 4 = 975, which is one too many.

And some others with reference to the rebellion of that party said :—

"*The slaughter of two traitors to the salt, without religion.*"[1]

And this date falls short of the correct number by one. And Qásim Arslán was the author of it. And another was said :—

'The slaughter of 'Alí Qulí and Bahádur.'
O my Soul! ask not me, helpless, how it came about!
I asked of the Old-man Intellect "What was the year of their death?"
He heaved a sigh from his heart, and said: "*Two became blood.*"[2]

And of the number of the captives[3] slain [after] that battle was Mírzá Khúshḥál Bég, whom I myself had seen at an assembly in the army of Málwah, in company with Adham Khán and Pír Muḥammad Khán. And, verily, the appearance of the beauty of his person and disposition was by way of being perfection, and the impression of it will never pass away from my heart. The date of his death was found as follows :—

"Khúshḥal, who was the eye of the men of wisdom,
Through the baneful influence of his star revolted from the King,
When he was slain in company with Khán Zamán,
The date came out: *Rose-cheeked, fair-formed.*"[4]

(P. 99). In this year that paragon of the age Mír Murtazá Sharíf Shírází left this deceitful caravansarai.[5] And at first he was buried at Dihlí, in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Mír Khusrau[6]

[1] This line gives 100 + 400 + 30 + 8 + 50 + 40 + 20 + 8 + 200 + 41 + 12 + 14 + 50 = 973.

[2] This gives 10 + 600 + 56 + 300 + 4 + 5 = 975, which is one too many.

[3] See Text, p 100, and Elliot, V. 322.

[4] 20 + 30 + 200 + 600 + 7 + 10 + 3 + 104 = 974.

[5] The world.

[6] A great poet of Dihlí.

(mercy upon him!) But afterwards, when the Çadr,[1] and Qází, and Shaikh-ul-Islám represented to His Majesty that Mír Khusrou was a native of India, and a Sunní, while Mír Murtazá was a native of 'Iráq and a heretic,[2] and that consequently Mír Khusrou would be very much annoyed by his company; for there can be no doubt, but that:—

"To the spirit the presence of the base is a fearful torment"—

the Emperor gave orders, that they should take him up from that place, and bury him elsewhere. And this was a great act of injustice to both of them, as cannot be denied And some one found out the date of the Mír to be contained in the following:—*Knowledge has deserted the knowing* And another combined exactly the same letters into the following:—*The paragon has left the world.*[3]

And in this year one of the friends of the Author, Shaikh Abu-l-Fatḥ by name, brother of Shaikh Sa'd u-lláh, son of Shaikh Badah, who was one of the most powerful nobles of the Court, passed from the world. And his date was found to be:—

"Ab-ul-Fatḥ, that eye of mankind, behold him!
For in this revolving sphere you will never see his like,
When he went from the world, the date of his death
Seek in the words: *Repository of excellencies.*"[4]

And among the circumstances of this time is the following: Mírzá Nizám-ud-Dín Aḥmad (mercy on him!) who was an intimate companion of the Author, and who had a boundless and extreme predilection for myself, said to me personally (and it is written, moreover, in the *Tarikhi Nizámí*),[5] that when, during the time of the rebellion and hostility of Khán Zamán, news-mongers, and especially drug and opium takers, used every day in Dihlí to spread gloomy reports, one

[1] Apparently *Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí;* See p. 71, Text.'

[2] That is a *Shí'ah*, or follower of 'Alí.

[3] 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 7 + 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 200 + 8 + 400 + 5 = 974.

[4] 80 + 800 + 11 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 974.

[5] That is the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. See Elliot, V 321.

day, when they were sitting three or four friends together, it came into his mind to say 'What (P. 100) think you, if we were with one consent to spread a report, that they are now bringing in the heads of Khán Zamán, and Bahádur Khán?' Accordingly they told this news to several persons, so that it became a common rumour. And on that very day, on which this news was spread abroad in Ágra, Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán were actually slain, and the third day one named 'Abd-u-lláh, the son of Murád Bég, brought their heads to Ágra, and thence carried them to Dihlí, Láhor, and Kábul:—

"Many an omen that's uttered in play,
When Fate so decrees, comes true on that day."

And the Emperor, after this victory, would not at first trust any of those who had been led into rebellion by that fellow. He proceeded to Alláhábás, and seizing some who had fled from the Court and joined themselves to the rebellious party, he delivered them over to keepers. And Mírzá Mírak Razawí[1] who had fled from Dihlí, he had thrown under the feet of an elephant, but the elephant only gave him a few rubs with his trunk, so the Emperor, with a view to pleasing the Sayyids,[2] pardoned him. But some others of the inciters of rebellion he brought to execution, and '*What bloodshed took place!*'[3] was found to give the date. And to some of the people of the Khán Zamán, who had advanced far on the road to despair, he granted their lives.

After two days he went to Banáras, and thence to Jounpúr, and remained three days in that city. Then in the course of three or four days, with four or five persons accompanying him, he arrived with great expedition at the banks of the river Ganges, at the ford of Karah and Mánikpúr, where was the camp of the imperial army.[4] He crossed over the river in a boat, and alighted at the fort of Karah.

[1] The Khán Zamán's *Wakíl*, Text, p. 92.

[2] He was a Sayyid of Mashhad.

[3] 3 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 6 + 300 + 4 = 974.

[4] P. 95, Text.

And with regard to killing those of Khán Zamán's party, who have been taken prisoners, when Qází Ṭawáísí (the camp-Qází, who was endued with the qualities of honesty, truth-speaking, and trustworthiness) represented to His Majesty that to kill these people, after the battle was over, and to confiscate their goods and chattels, would not be in accordance with the Holy Law, the Emperor was displeased with him, and (P. 101) chose and appointed in his stead Qází Y'qúb, an inhabitant of Dihlí (who was renowned for his profound knowledge of legal matters, and was son-in-law of Qází Fazílat[1] Shérsháhí, whom they used to term Qází Fazíḥat, and who, for all that, was never at a loss for good sayings, and jokes). He held this office for ten years, when he was superseded, and Qází Jalál-ud-dín Multání was appointed in his stead, as will be narrated in its place, if God, (He is exalted!) will:—

"Put not thy foot into any office, lest thou
Become the butt of placing, and displacing."

Meanwhile the Khán Khánán, who before this had received a *farmán* summoning him from Ágrah, arrived at Court and did homage. The Emperor gave him all the *jágírs* of Bahádur Khán and Khán Zamán, from Jounpúr and Banáres as far as Gházípúr and the fortress of Chunar and Zanániyah to the ford of the river Júsah, and having presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, dismissed him to his *jágírs*. In Zí-ḥijjah[2] of the aforesaid year in the midst of the rainy season the Emperor set out, and in Muḥarram[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-five (975) his Majesty alighted at the Capital.

In this year Muḥammad Qulí Khán Bartás, and Muzaffar Khán, and the force which had been sent against Sikandar Uzbek in Oudh, blockaded him in that fort, and every day skirmishes took place. When news of the death of Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán came to his ears, he utterly lost heart. First he laid before the Amír's proposals of peace, and having engaged them in negotiations, he

[1] *Fazílat* means 'excellence,' by the change of one letter it becomes *Fazíḥat* infamy.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] The first month.

embarked in a boat and crossed over to the other side of the river Sarw. Then, still treating for peace, he requested that some of the Amírs would put off alone from their side, and he himself with three or four persons put off from the other side in a boat, and the treaty and oath was confirmed on both sides, and it was agreed that they should bring him to the Court; but afterwards (P. 102) he would not abide by the terms, but went off to among the Afgháns. The Amírs pursued him as far as Gorák'hpúr, and then wrote a statement of the case to Court: and, when they received a *farmán* ordering them to repair to the Court, they hastened thither, leaving Muḥammad Qulí Barlás in Oudh.

And in this year the intention was formed of reducing the fortress of Chiṭor. Accordingly the Emperor took away Biyána from Ḥájí Muḥammad Khán Sístání, and gave it as *jágír* to Áçaf Khán; and Basáwar and Wazírpúr Mandalgarh he also gave to him, on the understanding that he should proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor set out after him, and travelling by way of Bárí and hunting in Mou-maidánah, proceeded thence towards Súpar. The subjects of Ráí Sargún evacuated the fort of Súpar, and Nazar Bahádur was appointed commandant of that fort, and Sháh Muḥammad Khán Qandahárí to hold the fort of Kotah Baláyah. When the Emperor arrived at the fort of Kákarún, having given to Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and Sháh Bidágh Khán *jágírs* in the district of Málwah, he appointed them to quell the disturbances caused by the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭán, *viz.* Mírzá Ulugh and Sháh Mírzá, who had fled thither from Sambhal. When the Amírs reached Ujjain, the Mírzás hearing the said news left that country, and went to Gujrát to Changíz Khán a follower of Sulṭán Maḥmúd. Thus Málwah fell into the hands of the Amírs without their striking a blow. And Ráná Udai Sing, committing the keeping of the fortress of Chiṭor to one Ráí Jaimal by name (a brave and chivalrous commander, who had been beseiged by Mírzá Sharfuddín Ḥusain in the fortress of Mirt'hah and had cut his way out), himself took refuge in the high mountain ground and impassable jungles in the neighbourhood of Udaipúr Komalmair. Áçaf Khán marched to Rámpúr, which is an inhabited district in that region, (P. 103) and took the fortress by storm,

and ravaged the district. And Ḥusain Qulí Khán marched towards Udaipúr, and ravaged the environs; but the Ráná left that place for some other maze-like mousehole.

The Emperor ordered *Sábáṭs*[1] and trenches to be constructed, and gradually brought close to the walls of the fortress. The width of the Sábáṭ was such that ten horsemen could easily ride abreast in it, and its height was so great that a man on an elephant with spear in hand could pass under it. Many of the men of our army were killed by musket and cannon balls, and the bodies of the dead were made use of instead of bricks and stones. After a length of time the *Sábáṭ* and trenches were brought up to the foot of the fortress, and they undermined two towers which were close together, and filled the mines with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred approached the towers, and waited till the towers should fall, and then they would enter the fortress. By accident, though the two mines were fired at one and the same moment, the fuze of one, which was shorter than the other took effect soonest, and the fuze of the latter, which was longer, hung fire, so that one of the two towers was blown up from its foundations and heaved into the air, and a great breach was made in the castle. Then the forlorn hope in their impetuosity forgetting the second mine stormed the breach at once, and soon effected a lodging. While the hand-to-hand struggle was going on, suddenly the second fuze went off and blew the other tower, which was full, both of friends and foes, from its place and lifted it into the air. The soldiers of Islám were buried under stones, some of 100, and some of 200 *man* in weight, and the stony-hearted infidels in like manner flew about like moths in that flood of fire. Those stones were blown as far as three or four *cosses*, and a cry of horror arose from the people of Islám and from the infidels :—

(P 104) "This stream flowed to Paradise, that to Hell,
Though the blood of Guebre and of an unbeliever both flowed in one place."

[1] A Sábáṭ is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks, strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way is conducted to the fortress. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. Elliot V, 326.

And a happy day was it for the vultures and crows
(Glory to Him who multiplieth food for his creatures !)

Nearly five hundred warriors, most of them personally known to the Emperor, were slain, and drank the draught of martyrdom: and of the Hindús who can say how many! Night by night the infidels mustering in force kept building up the wall of the fortress from the ruins of these towers.

After waiting a considerable time, six months more or less, at last on the night of Tuesday 25th of Sha'bán[1] in the aforesaid year the Imperial troops advancing from all sides, made a breach in the wall of the fortress, and stormed it. The fierce face of Jaimal became visible through the flashing of the fire of the cannon and guns, which was directed against the soldiers of Islám. At this juncture a bullet struck the forehead of Jaimal, who was distinctly recognizable, and he fell dead. It was as though a stone had fallen among a flock of sparrows, for, when the garrison of the fortress saw that their leader was dead, they fled every one to their own houses. Then they collected their families and goods together and burnt them, which is called in the language of Hind *jouhar*. Most of those that remained became food for the crocodile of the blood-drinking sword, and a few of those who remained, who escaped the sword and the fire, were caught in the noose of tribulation. The whole night long the swords of the combatants desisted not from the slaughter of the base, and returned not to the scabbard, till the time for the afternoon *siesta* arrived. Eight thousand valorous Rájpúts were slain. The following line was found to give the date :—

"My heart said : *He quickly took Chítór.*"[2]

After midday the Emperor ordered the sacking to cease, and returned to the camp. He remained there three days, and wrote letters announcing the victory, and despatched them in all directions. Then, having appointed Áçaf Khán to the command of that district, on the morning of Tuesday 25th[3] of the (P. 105) aforesaid month

[1] The eighth month.

[2] 2 + 20 + 300 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 7 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 = 975.

[3] So too the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*; but there is evidently some mistake.

the victorious standards moved towards Ágrah. And by way of performing a vow the Emperor walked the whole way on foot, and on Sunday 7th of the month Ramzán[1] he arrived at Ajmír. There he paid a visit to the holy mausoleum of the blessed bestower of blessings the Saint Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí (God sanctify his tomb!), and having occupied himself in alms, and good and pious works, after ten days he rode off towards the capital. And Mír 'Alá'uddoulah[2], author of the "Biography of the Poets", made this mnemosynon :—

"The Sháh cherishing the Faith, enthroned like Jamshíd,
The Khusrou of his age, Muḥammad Akbar,
Made, without doubt, for the conquest of Chítór
A mortar brazen-bodied, dragon-faced.
For the date there came from the unseen world [the voice] :
'It was altogether *a Chítór taking mortar*[3] '."

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Alwar[4] he took to lion-hunting. And 'Ádil Muḥammad Khán, son of Sháh Muḥammad Khán Qandahárí, who was himself as brave as a lion, went to face the animal [which was rushing upon the Emperor], and both he and the beast were killed. Then the Emperor separated himself from the camp, and went to Nárnoul. There he visited Shaikh Nizám Nárnoulí (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs), and in the fulness of his faith granted him a subsidy, and then continued his journey to the capital. In this year the second marriage of the Author took place at Badáón, and in accordance with: "And verily the latter is better for thee than the former[5]" it turned out

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Qazwíní, with the *nom de plume* Kámí. This book contains notices of about 850 poets most of them flourishing in India during the reign of Akbar. It was begun in 973 A. H., and completed according to a Postcript in 979. But there occur much later dates in it. Sprenger, *Catalogue &c.*, I, 46. Perhaps the Author originally completed his work in 979, but continued to add to it from time to time.

[3] 5 + 10 + 20 + 8 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 + 20 + 301 = 975.

[4] Compare p. 6 note 5.

[5] Al Qur'án XCIII, 4, where however the meaning is: "And verily the Future shall be better for thee than the Present."

most happily, thanks to God !, and I composed the following *mnemosynon* :—

" When to me, through the eternal bounty,
There was union with a moon-faced one,
My intellect uttered the date of the marriage,
The Moon is in conjunction with the sun[1]."

And in this year that model of men of thought, and beau ideal of the Shaikhs who practice perfection, Shaikh 'Abdul-'azíz of Dihlí (God sanctify his spirit !) departed to the other world, and the following *mnemosynon* was recited :—

(P. 106) " The glorious one of the world Shaikh 'Abdul-'azíz,
Whom all the world calls the Pole-star of Dihlí,
Turned his cheek towards the plain of eternity,
And from this narrow defile mounted the steed of his ambition.
I enquired of my heart, what was the day,
It replied, *The Pole-star of Religion is no more*[2]."

And since the Shaikh used constantly to sign himself " The worthless atom 'Abdul-'azíz ", a clever fellow discovered the mnemosynon : *Worthless atom*[3].

In the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) the Emperor sent for the whole Atgah clan and Kamál Khán G'hakkar from the Panjáb, and gave their *jágírs* to Ḥusain Qulí Khán and his brother Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and appointed them to that district. Then Ḥusain Qulí Khán and his brother, having come from Nágor, after the taking of Rintambhor obtained permission to go to the Panjáb ; and the district of Sambhal and Barelí was confirmed to Kháni Kaláu[4].

[1] 40 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 100 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 40 + 5 + 200 + 10 + 300 + 4 = 975. There seems to be a play on the words *mahr*, "marriage gift", and *mihr* "Sun".

[2] 100 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 50 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 4 = 975.

[3] 700 + 200 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 3 + 10 + 7 = 976. The clever fellow was evidently "one too many for him" !

[4] Muḥammad Khán Atgah.

In this year the Mírzás, the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭán Mírzá, who had gone to Gujrát, and taken refuge with Chingíz Khán, having behaved badly and laid hands of spoliation on the *jágírs*, fled from Chingíz Khán, and came to Málwah, and beseiged Muḥammad Murád Khán and Mírzá 'Azíz-ulláh of Mashhad in the fort of Ujjain. Then Ashraf Khán, *Mír Munshí* and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, who with a considerable number of the Imperial army had been appointed to act against Rintambhor, when they heard this news, represented the matter at Court, and received orders to turn aside to Ujjain and undertake the repression of the revolt in conjunction with Qulij Khán, who had been sent after them to join in the reduction of Rintambhor. And at Sarouj Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and at Sárangpúr Sháh Bidágh Khán formed a junction with the aforesaid Amírs, and so a very considerable force was gathered together. Then the Mírzás (P. 107) on hearing this news raised the seige of Ujjain, and went to Mandú, and the great Amírs pursued them. When the Mírzás had crossed the river Narbaddah, they received news that Jahjar Khán the Abyssinian had surprised Chingíz Khán when off his guard at the open space by the gate of Aḥmadábád, and had slain him, so that Gujrát was now free to them. So the Mírzás hastened to Gujrát, and took the fort of Chámpánír at the first assault. And laying seige to the fort of Bhroj, after some time they managed by a ruse to capture Rastam Khán Rúmí, who was shut up in that fortress, and put him to death, and also took possession of the fortress. Qulij Khán, and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán, and the other great Amirs, returned from the banks of the Narbaddah and came to Court; but the *jágír*-holders of Mandú remained where they were.

At the beginning of the month Rajab[1] of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihlí, and occupied himself for some days in *Qamorghah*[2] hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Pálam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Sha'bán[3] he came by successive days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short

[1] The seventh month.

[2] Compare p. 93, note 3.

[3] The eighth month.

time Sábáṭs[1] were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the *Kahárs*[2], of whom there were some seven or eight hundred, drew fifteen pieces of ordnance, carrying balls of five to seven *man* in weight, by main force to the top of the hill Ran, which commands the fortress, and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Ráí Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chíṭor, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Dodá and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the *zamíndárs*, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter. Then Ḥusain (P. 108), Qulí Khán *Khán Jahán*, came and gave assurances to Ráí Surjan and brought him to Court. He delivered up the key of the fortress, and on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwál[3] of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken. And "*Victory*"[4] repeated was found to give the date. Next day the Emperor with a small escort inspected the fortress in person. The fortress he gave in charge to Mihtar Khán Sulṭání. Then leaving the camp under the command of Khwájah Amíná (who is entitled *Khwájah Jahán*), and Muzaffar Khán, he gave the word to march towards Agrah. He himself went forward alone by forced marches with the intention of performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of that dispenser of splendours Khwájah Ajmírí[5]. On Wednesday the 24th of the month Zi-lqa'dah[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) he alighted at the Imperial Capital. And Mír Fárighí, brother of Sháh Fatḥulláh Shírází, composed the following *mnemosynon* for the date of the taking of that fortress:—

"When the Rose of Victory blossomed in the garden of the king's conquest,
The announcer of the date said: *They took the fort quickly*[7]."

[1] See p. 106.

[2] A *Hindústání* word denoting "palanquin-bearers", and so used here for "porters" in general. It is a contraction of the Sanskrit *karmakára* "a hired-labourer".

[3] The tenth month.

[4] *Fatḥ* = 80 + 400 + 8 = 488. Now 488 × 2 = 976.

[5] Mu'ínuddín Chishtí.

[6] The eleventh month.

[7] 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 50 + 4 + 7 + 6 + 4 = 976.

And Múláná Shírí[1] composed the following :—

"When by the fortune of the king the stronghold of infidelity was taken,
Shírí found its year to be : *The infidel-breaking king*[2]."

And in this year the *Hatiyapúl*[3] gate, which is a new gate of Agrah, was completed, and the date of it is :—

"The pen of Shírí wrote as the mnemosynon :—
The Elephant-gate is without compare[4]."

Now the Emperor had had several children in succession born to him, and they had all passed away at a tender age. In this year one of the Imperial wives became with child, and he went to beg the intercession of Shaikh-ul Islám Chishtí living at Síkrí, and he left his Empress at the monastry (P. 109) of the Shaikh. Some time before this the Shaikh had foretold to him the happy birth of a son, and after some days he had gone to visit the Shaikh in expectation of the fulfilment of his promise. On account of this bond of union between them the Emperor built a lofty palace on the top of the hill of Síkrí near the monastry and ancient chapel of the Shaikh. And he laid the foundation of a new chapel, and of a high and spacious mosque of stone, so large that you would say it was a part of a mountain, and the like of which can scarce be seen in any inhabited quarter. In the space of about five years the building was finished, and he called the place Fatḥpúr, and he built a bazaar and baths and a gate, &c. And the Amírs, one and all, built themselves towers and keeps and lofty palaces. And the Author found the date of the commencement of the whole palace, mosque, chapel, &c. to be as follows :—

This chapel is the dome of Islám,
May God exalt the glory of its builder !

[1] See Sprenger, *Cat.* p. 59.

[2] 300 + 5 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 200 + 300 + 20 + 50 = 976.

[3] Elephant-bridge.

[4] 2 + 10 + 40 + 500 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 1 + 7 + 5 + 80 + 10 + 30 = 976.

The Spirit Gabriel gave its date.:
Its like is not seen in the lands[1].

Another:—

"*The heavenly Ka'bah*[2] came down from heaven".

And Ashraf Khán found this *mnemosynon*:—

"It is *second only to the Mosque at Mecca*[3]".

And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his Grace the Shaikh, that he allowed the Emperor to have the *entrée* of all his most private apartments, and however much his sons and nephews kept saying, "Our wives are becoming estranged from us", the Emperor would answer "There is no dearth of women in the world, since I have made you Amírs, seek other wives, what does it matter?"

"Either make no friendship with an elephant-driver,
Or make a house fit for an elephant".

And among the remarkable events of this year is the story of the death of Sayyid Músá (P. 110) of Garmsír, son of Sayyid Mikrí, one of the chief Sayyids of Kálpí in the land of India. It is concisely as follows. Sayyid Músá had come to do homage to the Emperor, and by chance he became infatuated with the Hindú wife of a goldsmith, named Mohiní[4], whose beauty was like gold of purest standard, and the lasso of her pure glance attracted him as her lover, and the bond of love and attachment grew strong on both sides.

"Who is the lover, that the loved one regards not his state?
O Khwájah it is not pain, or if it is there is a cure".

[1] 30 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 10 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 = 976.

[2] 2 + 10 + 400 + 40 + 70 + 46 + 200 + 41 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 60 + 41 + 50 = 978.

[3] 501 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 60 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 200 + 41 = 979.

[4] Meaning in Sanskrit "Infatuating".

When the expedition set out to Rintambhor, Sayyid Músá contrived to remain behind. He took a house within the fortress of Ágra in the vicinity of his beloved on the banks of the river Jumna, near to Mír Sayyid Jalál Mutawakkil, and his affairs tended to madness. Once or twice accompanied by trusty persons of his own he had gone outside his own house, and had fallen either into the hands of the watchman, or into the hands of some goldsmiths of her caste :—

"There is an angel on the battlement of yon round cupola,
Which draws a wall before the desire of the unfortunate."

A period of two years and four months passed, during which they were content with a glance now and then from afar, till one night Sayyid Músá, at a hint from that fascinating lady, threw a lasso, strong as the covenant of the just, and straight as the promise of the liberal, over the cupola of Mohiní's house, and climbed up like a rope-dancer, and so they spent the night together in chaste affection. A poem called *Dilfaríb*, which Sayyid Sháhí, brother of Sayyid Músá, composed, has some verses on that subject :—(P. 111).

"However much the desire of the heart was boiling,
Modesty made a proclamation : Be silent!
Before his eyes the water of life,
But not for a moment the power to drink it.
Their hearts from extreme of thirstiness fevered,
But their lips were sealed through modesty.
One place of retirement, and two persons in love,
Their hearts united, their bodies apart.
They remained two heart-inflaming wounded ones,
In the game of "united yet apart" till morning.
This is true love in my opinion,
Which has driven out of the heart all thought of desire.
When the heart is once dead through desire,
How can love take up its abode therein ?
There is not in this bewildered world
A place for love, save in the purest heart.
Love is the confidant of the pure in heart,
Love is the friend of the sorrowful.

In short, with a hundred caresses and blandishments
They opened a thousand volumes of mysteries.
And when they saw the dawn draw near,
They bade each other adieu."

But at the time of saying adieu it so happened, that the beloved rising from the pillow of sleep, bade farewell to house and home, and despising fair fame and reputation, went with her lover, as the moonlight with the moon, or the shadow with the substance, and said:—

"O thou true and faithful lover,
I am at one with thee, doubt not!
The covenant, that first I made with thee,
That covenant is the same as long as I live.
Rise that we may show a care for ourselves,
And may descend again from the roof.
That, while it is not yet known,
We may steal away before morning."

So they made off from that spot, borrowing swiftness from the wind, and speed from the water, and remained concealed for three days in the house of a trustworthy friend. Meanwhile the relatives of the lady surrounded the house of Sayyid Músá like a ring, and brought claims and litigation. And Sayyid Sháhí, the younger brother of the aforesaid Sayyid (P. 112), who has a sincere friendship for the writer of these pages, and put this story from beginning to end into verse, some of which verses have been quoted above, returned answer to them, and spent the time in 'Perhapses' and "Wouldthats." The lady was informed of that concourse, and her heart being alarmed for Sayyid Músá, lest he should come to any harm at the hands of the Governor, through stress of circumstances parted from that lover, and cheered him with the promise of meeting him again. She herself, through fear of the stain of dishonour, which might cleave to her cheek, returned to her house, and made the following excuse. She said: "On such and such a night, when sleep was firmly settled on my eyes, a person of such heart-ravishing form, that none ever sees the like of it in his dreams, took me by

the hand, and I passed from dream-land to the land of imagination, and that sleep was changed into wakefulness. And I saw distinctly that glorious form, with a crown encircled with jewels upon his head, and two wings of light upon his breast. And over me like one bewildered, confounded, he reciting a charm caused his form to pass, and caught me up on his wings and pinions, and bore me to a certain city, the description of which may perchance have been heard in some fairy-tale, and took and set me down in a high and inaccessible tower full of wonders and strange things of every kind, and in every corner of it were troops of beings of Peri-birth :—

However much that heart-ravishing place
Was, by God! a place of highest joy,
And all that troop of Ḥúri-born beauties
Was standing to do me service;
Yet on account of absence from my friends
My soul could take no rest.
I was dying with longing for my mother,
I was burning with sorrow for my brother.
Every moment in this sorrow-suffering body
Separation from my father kindled fire.
When I had spent three days in that place
In melancholy weeping and soul-burning sighs,
(P. 118) They all saw that I was very much afflicted,
Much broken down through sorrow,
They became aware of my suffering,
And they took pity on my condition.
In the same way that they brought me to that place,
And having brought me gave me over to such sorrow,
So they brought me to my own house,
And delivered me from this suffering and pain."

The silly Hindús believed this beautiful deception. But, although it would have been better to have concealed the matter, yet through spite they kept that Treasure[1] in a ring of iron serpents, and shut her up under lock and key in an upper room. Sayyid Músá through

[1] "Treasure" means "beautiful woman". Treasures are always represented as guarded by serpents. "Iron serpents" mean "chains".

separation was overcome by the catastrophe, and taking the title of 'Disgraced' suddenly took leave of the bride of his senses too :—

"Alas! that love has again tended to madness,
And drawn the line of insanity over the book of wisdom.
The first quill, which the beloved has drawn over the page of blandishment,
Has drawn the line of madness over the letter of her friend."

And, when this fact became as well-known as the sun at midday heat, and stories about it were told in every assembly, and a description of it was in every mouth, that heart-ravisher sent a message by her tire-woman, saying: I myself in the midst of a thousand troubles and annoyances, have altogether escaped from the hands and tongues of my traducers by means of such explanations and excuses, as women know how to make :—

"From the reproach of the people of my time I have escaped,
Free from such a trouble I have sat.
Thou hast set thy foot in the street of madness,
And my trouble thou hast thrown to the winds.
Now, if thou canst find any remedy,
I hope that thou wilt not turn thy face from it.
Act in such a way that this story
Become not notorious in their age.
Viz., thou shouldest go away from my city,
And withdraw thyself from my dwelling-place.
But, with the idea of friendship,
One confidential friend thou shouldst leave;
Then, when he knows my condition,
Each day he may send thee news."

(P. 114). Then Sayyid Músá in accordance with her request, starting in the morning took leave of her, as she was, with every demonstration of grief on both sides. He left a confidential friend there to serve him, and himself set off towards Rintambhor with the fixed purpose of paying his respects to the Emperor :—

"When I go towards thy street, I make one stage of two hundred steps,
When I go out from thence, I make a stage at every step."

But that fair one could not bear the pain of separation, so after some days she came to an understanding with that confidential friend, and said: "Do you to-night, and in the guise of a beggar, raise a cry for alms, and I on the pretext of giving you something will come out of the house, and will go out of this city with you." So at the appointed time, under the pretext she had suggested, she left the house of her father and mother, and trusting her affairs to her modesty, which was her safeguard, she turned her face to flight:—

"As soon as grief for him became my friend,
I turned my face towards the road to non-existence.
Sweet is wandering to one,
Who has such a companion."

The preparations had been made beforehand. For three days they remained hidden in the city, and then with joyful hearts set off towards Fatḥpúr and Biyánah. As luck would have it, inasmuch as God (He is glorious!) willed it not, suddenly in the midst of the road some of the relatives of that Beauty appeared, like an unexpected misfortune, and recognizing her by her charms, which were as evident as the light of day though she herself was veiled, took hold of her firmly by the skirt:—

"Who brought news of sorrow? who gave a warning of misfortune?"

The patrols of Pahluwán Jamál, who at that time was police-magistrate, came up, and a great hubbub ensued. The fugitive fair-one was handed over to her relatives, and her companion in flight was sent to prison. (P. 115) When he had from the close confinement suffered long in misery and hardships, he managed somehow or other to effect his escape. News of these events was brought to the camp to the hapless and wandering Sayyid. Then he, who through sickness caused by separation had become as thin as a new moon, or a ghost, on hearing this news became desperate, and turned his thoughts to death, and even made preparation for self-destruction; but he came to the conclusion that Death could not at any time be very pleasant, so rending the collar of patience he desired to go to Ágrah.

His affectionate brothers, and sincere friends kept an eye on him, whether he would or no, restraining him sometimes by good advice, sometimes by force and threats and reproaches and abuse. At last, when the Imperial camp arrived at the Capital, and Sayyid Músá, who had before been merely wounded, was now consumed [by love], and however much he strove was unable to catch a sight of his beloved, because they kept her guarded in a strong place, one Qází Jamál by name, a Hindí poet of Sivakanpúr, one of the dependencies of Kálpí, between whom and the Sayyid there existed a bond of the closest friendship, took his case very much to heart. So one evening at the hour of prayer he extricated that sitter in a corner of the hall of chastity[1] from the dark cell, and set her beside him on a charger head-tossing like the piebald steed of Fate, and wind-footed and prancing like the racer of the inconstant World, and along the bank of the river Jumna galloped as hard as he could up stream. The relatives of the woman came after him, and the inhabitants of the city who were spectators of the scene shouted in front of him. The horse stuck fast, like an ass in the mud, in the pits and canals, which had been made for purposes of irrigation, and like a chess-man he knew not how to move in stale-mate. Then the beautiful lady fell into despair, and throwing herself out of the saddle on the ground said to Qází: "Save your own life by flight, and take my greeting to my lover, and say to him this impromptu :—(P. 116).

I have made every effort ; but Fate says :
The business, which is another's, is out of thy power."

When Sayyid Músá received this message, he shut himself up in a place which he had within the fortress of Ágrah, and his spirit melted by vexation and despair, and his soul, like a heavenly bird, went forth in flight, and escaped from the four-walled prison of temperament, and was freed from the bond of friend and of enemy, while with his tongue he uttered thrice the following :—

" From the Beloved my heart has found a thousand lives,
A friend better than that it is impossible to find.

[1] That is *Mohiní*.

O God! turn this sorrow to the profit of my broken and desolate heart.

Strike the dagger on my breast,
Cast also my head far from the body.
Throw open the door of this dark house,
Throw open the window also."

When he had despatched his baggage from the temporary lodging to the permanent habitation, they carried his empty corpse with its empty hands to its resting place in order to commit it to the earth. Both men and women made great lamentation: and it so happened that they bore his bier under the very window of that fair one. She, since at this time she was kept a prisoner, with a chain like her tangled tresses on her foot, remained bewildered and stricken on the roof of the house from morning till evening, and setting the seal of silence on her ruby lip, gazed on the bier of that martyr to love. Afterwards being powerless and restless, she uttered a cry, and threw herself just as she was from the lofty roof, and the chain broke from her foot. Like a mad person, with arms and feet naked she ran direct to the resting place of that traveller, who never tasted the joy of union. Her demeanour changed from time to time, sometimes silent, at others crazy, she dropped the head of bewilderment on the collar of sadness, and symptoms of decline became manifest in her:—(P. 117).

"Awake! with a view to the last sleep,
Like a camel at 'Id[1],' or a butcher's bullock.
The apple of her chin became through destiny
Withered like an apple of last year."

Her father and mother seeing her in this case at once despaired of her life, and forgave her delinquencies:—

"No one takes tribute from a ruined village".

And after that a total derangement, such as takes place in the pulse of persons on the point of death, became apparent in her whether

[1] The festival at Mecca, at which camels were sacrificed.

in motion or at rest, every moment like one mad, and at war with herself, she would sit in a corner disconsolate, and beat her breast with a stone. Then making the pronunciation of the name of Sayyid Músá the practice of her lips and the amulet of her life, in the presence of the pious Mír Sayyid Jalál, who was the religious leader of the day, she recited the confession of Islám, and cast herself on the dust of her pure lover, and surrendered her soul to her beloved[1], as Sayyid Sháhí the author of that poem points out:—

"When the moon heard of this event,
She came suddenly towards us in her wandering:
She took upon her lips the confession of faith,
She became a Musalmán before a congregation.
When she obtained dignity from the religion of Islám,
She put on the *Iḥrám*[2] for the pilgrimage of eternity.
When love became conjoined with her beauty,
It burnt that taper as though it were a moth.
She uttered a cry through affection and love,
She took 'Músá' on her lips, and gave up her life.
In one moment those two princes of love
Became martyrs of the dagger of love.
So that in the midst of the garden of paradise
They might be hidden from all mankind.
Those two spiritual companions
Went away from this transitory world.
From the pain and grief of separation they were freed,
Concealed from all they sat together.
O Sayyid why dost thou weep?
Why dost give up thy heart to mourning?
Forget all this misadventure,
Strive after fortitnde, and be still."

(P. 118) Praise be to God for the gift of Doctrine, and Faith! The author begs leave to observe, that although in strict accordance with his promise of conciseness, there was no room in this story for

[1] The Creator.

[2] The pilgrim-dress, see Burton's *El-Medinah* and *Meccah* iii, 123.

indulgence in high-flown language, still what could he do! For the language of love carried the reins of my pen irresistibly out of the grasp of my control, and prolixity has been the result. Forgive me!

"Listen O ear to the story of love,
The melody of love from the scratching of the pen.
My business is love, and my friend is love,
The sum-total of my days is love.
What can I do? this is in my temperament,
From eternity my Destiny is this.
For this purpose have they created me,
For this purpose have they drawn me forth."

My hope from Court of the Creator, who pities his creatures, is that he will not make me a liar in this my boast; but that he will make me live in the pain of love, and in that same pain make me to die:—

"The man, who but for one day has his heart-pain,
To him and to me alike may there be good fortune!"

A somewhat similar event had taken place prior to this. It was as follows: One of the sons of a Shaikh of Gwályár, who was related to Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, and was renowned for his remarkable equity and purity, became enamoured of a singing girl in Ágra:—

"In the darkling west of her tresses she mustered
A hundred caravans of moons, and of planets.
In the skirt of union and separation she bound
The ill-fated and the happy-starred alike.
In the circle of her tresses she hid
The turban of the circling sphere."

This came to the ears of the Emperor, and he gave that singing girl to Muqbil Khán, who was one of his courtiers. Then the son of the Shaikh having lost the desire of his heart, went one night to the guarded castle, whither his rival had carried his beloved and imprisoned her, and throwing the lasso of determination, climbed

up and carried her off. The Emperor commanded Shaikh (P. 119) Ziyá'uddín, son of Shaikh Muhammaud Ghous, who now has succeeded to his father on the pathway of spiritual direction and guidance, to bring back that relative of his and that house-devastating woman by means of persuasive advice and friendly counsel. When they came into his presence, the Emperor requested that they would unite them in marriage, but Shaikh Ziyá'uddín and the others forbade. So the disconsolate lover, being unable to endure his grief, killed himself with a stroke of the dagger, and obliterated his name from the register of existence. And a great dispute arose among the learned men with respect to his interment and burial. Shaikh Ziyá'uddín said that in accordance with the tradition : "He who loves and is chaste, and conceals his love and dies, dies a martyr", he was a martyr to love, and he ought to be committed to the dust just as he was :—

"I am a martyr to the dagger of love,
With the blood of my eyelids besmeared.
Commit me to the dust just as I am,
Full of blood, and wash me not."

But Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, the chief Çadr, and other Ulamás and Qázís, who were controllers of the *çadr* court, said that having died unclean and stained with adultery, he was not resting in love ; but God knows best ! And on account of the fate of her lover that singing girl went into mourning, and tearing the skirt of patience, clothing herself with a winding-sheet upon his grave, elected to sweep his tomb, till after some days having gone to the unveiling in the house of non-existence, they two were perfectly united :—

"When the Fair-ones lift up the veil,
The Lovers expire at the sight of such majesty[1]."

[1] Or as Falconer has well rendered the lines of Ḥakím Sanáí :
"Ah ! when the Fair, adored through life, lifts up at length, he cried
The veil that sought from mortal eyes immortal charms to hide
'Tis thus true lovers fevered long, with that sweet mystic fire,
Exulting meet the Loved-one's gaze, and in the glance expire."

And in this year Shaikh Gadáí Kambóí of Dihlí, who was a retired financier, and through the foolish flattery of the knaves of the day had become a very idol in self-conceit and pride, departed this life. And '*You are dead you great hog*[1]' was found to give the date.

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven (977), when the news of the taking of Chítor and Rintambhor became spread abroad on all sides (P. 120) and in all directions, and Rám Chand the ruler of Bhat'h found that his fortresses could no longer hold out, and that they were short of water, he began to consider seriously what would be the result of continued opposition, and before matters came to such a pitch that he would be obliged to capitulate, sent the key of the fortress of Kálinjar with valuable presents to Court. This fortress he had bought for a considerable sum of money from Bijlí Khán, the reputed son of Bahádur Khán Sarwání. The Emperor committed this fortress to the charge of Majnún Khán Qáqshál, who had a *jágír* in that neighbourhood. He also sent a conciliatory farmán to Rájah Rám Chand, and gave him the *pargana* of Arail (which is near to Jhosí, and Piyág known as Ilhábás) together with its dependencies as *jágír*.

On the seventeenth of the month Rabí'ulawwal[2] of this year, when seven hours of the day had passed, the auspicious birth of the Imperial Prince Sulṭán Salím took place at the abode of Shaikh Islem Chishtí at Fatḥpúr :—

> "You would say that a star had come to the earth,
> That Joseph had come a second time to the world.
> On the crown of his head through wisdom
> There shone a star of eminence."

The Emperor set out with all expedition from Ágrah, and in the excess of his joy ordered all prisoners to be released, and for seven days held high festival. The poets presented him with congratulatory *qaçídahs*. Of that number was Khwájah Ḥusain Marwí, who recited a *qaçídah*, of which each first hemistich contains the date of the Emperor's accession, and each second hemistich the date of happy birth of the Imperial Prince, the refuge of the world. He received two *lacs* of *tankahs* in money. The Qaçídah is as follows :—

[1] 40 + 200 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 20 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 50 = 977.

[2] The third month.

Praise to God for the pomp and glory of our king!

(P. 121) A pure pearl from the ocean of justice is come to the shore:

A bird from the nest of pomp and bounty has alighted:

A star from the pinnacle of glory and beauty is manifested:

A rose of this sort they have not shown on the ground of the garden.

A tulip of this sort has not opened in the tulip-bed.

The nurse of the spring-cloud, through the tenderness of excellence,

Made the grass the companion of the rose, the pearl that of the jewel.[1]

The Sun[2] said: 'It is right that for that Piece-of-moon

It should make an ear-ring of Zohrah for the adorning of beauty: 5

The coming of a son adds to the adornment of a king, perhaps

The incomparable Lúlú[3] would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl.

All hearts were glad that again from the heaven of justice and equity

The world once more revived, through the Sun of the days of spring.

That new-moon of the mansion of power and bounty and pomp came down,

And that shoot of the desire of the soul of the king bore fruit.

The king of the realm of fidelity, the Sultan of the palace of purity,

The taper of the assembly of the heart-broken, the desire of the heart of the hopeful,

The noble the perfect Muhammad Akbar, Lord of conjunction,

The renowned king, seeking and attaining his desire, 10

The perfectly capable sage, the most just of the kings of the world,

Noble, loftiest, a sage without a rival in the world.

[1] The Rose and the Jewel represent the Emperor, the Grass and the Pearl his wife.

[2] The Sun is the Emperor, the Piece-of-moon is his wife. Zohrah: Venus. The Empress was to be adorned by having a child, which is represented by the ear-ring.

[3] The royal Pearl is the Emperor. *Lúlú* also means Pearl, it is used figuratively for the baby.

From his speech the meaning of the ecstatic state is understood:
(P. 122) And from his perfection the building of religion and of the world is firm.
Shadow of God's bounty is he, worthy of crown and seal,
A religion-protesting king is he, noble pivot of the world.
At times from onslaught of fury he takes pardon on his tongue,
At times with the tongue of the spear he says to the enemy, Flee!
Know that the fourth heaven is the censer in his assembly,
Know that Arcturus is the spearman of his cavalcade.
Whenever his victorious cavalcade passes, the whole world
Cries out "Happiness" on the right hand, "Wealth" on the left.
O the power of the pen, which like running water
Goes over black and white day and night!
O thou like the work of the Eternal, thou Sun of kingdom and religion,
Thou who glorifiest the step of eminence, Shadow of God.
O prince of the lofty standard, wise of heart, and Saturn-throned,
O prince of lofty centre, just-one of exalted family.
Lord of the wealth of the world, king of sea and land,
To thy friends thou art kind, mindful of the generous.
King of the dawn of justice and truth, moon of the evening of pomp and dignity,
Quick as lightning in decision, strong as mountain to bear burdens.
O mine of justice and bounty, fountain of grace and liberality,
Precious and beauteous, nourisher of religion, and chaste.
Protector of the religion of the Prophet, O eraser of marks of evil.
(P. 123) Prince of the lofty standard, a mine of bounty, and mountain of weight.
Illumination of the mansion of existence, pearl of the sea of bounty,
From the desire of the pinnacle of hearts a falcon hunting lives.
At thy bounty how can a single drop remain before the cloud for shame,
Compared with thy nature "Bounty" is not applicable to the spring-cloud.
O King I have brought a string of precious pearls,
A present which is become precious, seek it out and listen.

None has a present better than this, if any have one at all,
If any have any, tell him "Come", anything he has tell him "Bring".
Each verse of the poem of Marwí, it is sufficient if it be without mistake[1],
Whichever [verse] you try you will find the purpose twice:
The first half gives the year of the king's Accession,
From the second bring out the Birth of the Light of the Eye of the world.[2]
That the reckoning of the days and months and year may last,
And that that number may be illustrious on account of the year and month and day:
When our king comes to an end, may our prince endure
Days without number, and years without count."

And that Shaikh of nations, Shaikh Ya'qúb Çírfí of Kashmír composed a *qaçídah* of the same kind. But what was the good! Another person carried off the reward. And some one else made the following *mnenosynon*: "*The royal pearl of the sea of Akbar*"[3] and another:—

"From the rising of good-fortune a prosperous king appeared."[4]

On Friday the 12th of the month Sha'bán[5] the Emperor set out to pay a vow of thanks for the rising of (P. 124) this star of prosperity, and went on foot from Ágra to Ajmír, travelling six or seven *cosses* each day. After fulfilling the rites of the pilgrimage he returned, and in the blessed month of Ramzán[6] he encamped outside Dihlí,

[1] They are correct, only sometimes a *wáw* or a *yé* must be struck out.

[2] The ½ half of line 12 gives 8 + 20 + 30 + 40 + 7 + 13 + 50 + 39 + 40 + 70 + 50 + 10 + 40 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 5 = 963. The second half of line 6 (omitting *yé*) gives 36 + 36 + 31 + 31 + 80 + 7 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 17 + 2 + 4 + 200 + 300 + 1 + 5 + 6 + 1 + 200 = 977. *Ex uno disce omnia.*

[3] 4 + 200 + 300 + 6 + 7 + 200 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 = 978. But read *shah*, instead of *sháh*, and we get the correct date 977.

[4] 316 + 271 + 380 = 987. But read *rú*, instead of *rúé*, as the metre requires, and we get the correct date 977.

[5] The 8th month.

[6] The 9th month.

and spent some days in visiting the tombs of the saints of God, and then crossing the river Jumna he returned to the metropolis hunting as he went.

In this year the Emperor had Mírzá Muqím of Içfahán together with a certain person named Mír Ya'qúb of Kashmír put to death on the charge of being *Shí'ahs*. The facts are as follows. This Mírzá Muqím had been several times to Lak'hnou to pay his respects to Ḥusain Khán, and the Khán (who is now deceased) had received him with kindness and favour, on account of the great respect he had for the Sayyids, and had made him administrator of his government. Afterwards the brothers and relatives of the Khán impressed upon him the idea, that this Mirzá was a violent and zealous *Shí'ah*, and utterly alienated his feelings from the Mírzá, who now went to do homage to the Emperor and was favourably received and appointed *Wakíl* at the court of Ḥusain Khán governor of Kashmír. At that time a number of zealous *Shí'ahs* had in their bigotry wounded Qází Ḥabíb, who was a zealous *Sunní*. It happened that the said Qází was still living when Ḥusain Khán of Kashmír on the decision of the Muftís ordered the assassin to be put to death. Mírzá Muqím, on his own responsibility, handed over the Muftís on the charge of "Why did they issue a mandate for the execution of that person, though he might be deserving of punishment?" to a certain person, who was a violent and furious bigot, and he put to death three or four of them. Now when Mírzá Muqím and Mír Ya'qúb, the wakíl of Ḥusain Khán, brought the daughter of Ḥusain Khán to Court as a sort of present, this story was represented to the Emperor, and these two persons upon the decision of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and other Ulamás, who were his family, were brought to the just punishment of their wicked deeds in the plain of (P. 125) Fatḥpúr. And a portion of this story has been inserted in the history of Kashmír of which the author of these pages has written an epitome.

In this year on the dismissal of Ḥusain Khán the Emperor gave the *parganna* of Lak'hnou as *jágír* to Mahdí Qásim Khán, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and had come to the fortress of Rintambhor, and had an interview with him there. Ḥusain Khán was exceedingly indignant with Mahdí Qásim Khán on account of this, and reciting the verse "This separation between me

and thee[1] ", began to look forward to the Day of the Resurrection[2]. And in spite of his being married to the daughter of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and in spite of her affection for him, he married a daughter of his own uncle Ghanazfar Beg. After a time he left her in helplessness, and the daughter of Mahdí Qásim Beg at Khairábád with her brothers, and set off from Lak'hnou with the intention of carrying on a religious war, and of breaking the idols and destroying the idol-temples. He had heard that the bricks of these were of silver and gold, and conceiving a desire for this and all the other abundant and unguarded treasures, of which he had heard a lying report, he set out by way of Oudh to the Sawálik mountains. The mountaineers, as is their custom, immediately abandoned their positions, after a slight resistance, and took refuge in the high and dangerous mountains. When Ḥusain Khán arrived at the place where Sulṭán Muḥammad, nephew of Pír Muḥammad Khán had been martyred, and which is a burial-place of martyrs, he read the *Fatiḥah*[3] for those pure spirits, and built a *çuffah*[4] over the dilapidated tombs of those martyrs. Then he ravaged the country as far as the district of Wajráíl, which is part of the territory of Rájah Ranká, a powerful *zamíndár*. Thence he marched two days' journey as far as Ajmír, which is his capital, and is a very mine of gold and silver, and silk and musk, and all the productions of the country of Tibet, when on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, from the effect of the neighing of the horses, the beating of the drums and the shouts (P. 126) of the men the clouds collected and so much rain fell that neither corn nor fodder was to be procured, and famine stared the army in the face. Although Ḥusain Khán, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, and excited their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to support him, and so, whether he would or no, he was obliged to retreat. As soon as they

[1] Al Qur'án xviii. 77.

[2] Viz., to right him.

[3] Al Qur'án I.

[4] A raised bench of wood, earth or stone, upon which people might recreate themselves with conversation and quoting poetry. Barton, *El-Medinah* and *Meccah* ii, 143.

began to retreat, the unbelievers seized the passes and showered down on them stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones, so that most of the bravest and most experienced of his warriors drank the draught of martyrdom. And the rest, who had been wounded, five or six months later through the effect of that pernicious poison obtained their desired release from this dwelling of pleasure which leaves a bitter taste behind it. And the date of their death is given in a riddle, *viz.* :—"*Tasteless bitterness*[1]".

Ḥusain Khán returned to Court and requested that Kánt and Golah in the skirts of the mountains might be conferred upon him as *jágír*, in lieu of the one he had held before. This he did with a view to taking vengeance on the mountaineers. His request was graciously acceded to. Several times he made incursions into the skirts of the hills, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, in this expedition were poisoned by the bad water of the country and departed from the world without fighting. After some years Ḥusain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrance of his friends, made another attempt against the hill-country, and gave the chattels of existence to the wind, as will be narrated in its proper place, if God, He is exalted, will.

About this time the author, after taking leave of Ḥusain Khán[2], went from Lak'hnou tọ Badáún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muḥammad, whom I loved from my very soul; nay I valued him more than my own life, for he had acquired many excellent qualities, and angelic dispositions had become his moral habit (P. 127). Three months hardly had elapsed before that mandate of good, which includes a hundred evils, by consecutive moves of the pieces, carried off both him and the pupil of my eye 'Abdu-l-Laṭíf, who was the earliest first-fruits of the garden of my life and existence,[3] from the bed to the grave, and changed me from a very prince of happiness to a monster in my own city: "Verily we belong to God, and verily we return to Him[4]":—

[1] *Talkh* "bitter" gives 1030, take *mazah* "taste," = 52, away from it, and you get 978.

[2] He was a great friend of his. See above.

[3] His first-born.

[4] Al Qur'án II, 151.

"How long will Fate put the scar of grief on my heart!
Before one scar is healed It put on another.
Every wound which inclines a little to amelioration,
It leaves that wound and makes a worse wound
If my grief puts its back under a thousand mountains,
It puts a thousand fresh mountains upon it".

What can one do? "This is not the first phial that has been broken[1] in Islâm." And this poem I wrote as an elegy on him, on account of the degree to which, through the wound of his loss, my heart has been, and is, and will be burnt until my appointed day. It is as follows:—

"O Lord! this day what a day it is has fallen on me,
And what a soul-wasting calamity it is that has shown itself to men.
There is no one whom the cry of my despair has not reached,
Yet no one comes to my cry of despair.
My moon at the end of life went behind the veil of invisibility,
See from this pregnant-one of darkness what a woe has been born to me.
My star of joy and hope was dashed to the ground,
After this my heart with what hope shall it be glad?
Although my foundations were firm in patience, yet
The torrent of grief came and threw me from my foundations.
(P. 128) That person, whom I remember a hundred times in a day,
Alas! that he does not remember me once in a year.
Unjust heaven how many sorrows has it given me!
On whom shall I take vengeance, who will give me satisfaction?
I know not the state of my heart, what shall I say? what do?
The remedy for my heart-pain of whom shall I seek? what shall I do?

[1] Read *kusirat*, not *kuthirat*.

O Fate! alas that thou hast made my heart wounded and desolate!
My content of heart thou hast utterly scattered.
O Jewel, that in my hand was hidden for others,
Thou hast openly carried it out of my sight and hidden it.
My Cypress thou hast carried from the garden to the prison of the tomb,
Thou hast made the garden a prison to me sorrow-stricken.
My Yúsuf thou hast given to the paw of the wolf,
Ah! me thou hast made a recluse in the cell of care.
In the dark *clay* thou hast put my new-born *rose*[1],
Why hast thou made my day just like dark night?
In a word that person, from whom was all my scope and aim,
Thou hast carried away, and left me without scope or aim.
That brother, who came to this strange city,
Thou hast made his grave in the desert beside strangers.
The season of the rose is come, and the *place* of Muhammad is in the dust,
It is my *place* that through vexation I should lay my hand in the dust.
Finally, O mine Eye! what hast thou seen that thou art gone from the world?
That with thine eye covered thou art gone from my moist eye?
(P. 129) To my dark eye there was light from thy face,
The light is gone from my heart since thou art gone from my eye.
Thou wast to my eye like the signet of a ring,
In the end thou hast dropped from the ring like a signet-stone.
My heart for no cause is glad in the world,
A pity, in thousand pities, thou art gone sorrowful from the world.
Thou pure spirit wast sore vexed at this halting-place,
Thou tookest up thy baggage, and departest from this halting-place of sorrow.

[1] Playing on the words *gil* 'clay' and *gul* 'rose'.

On thy heart from worldly matters there was no burden,
All at once from worldly matters joyful and glad-hearted thou departest.
From the cradle I was to thee, companion and friend, every moment,
Why to the tomb art thou gone companionless and friendless?
Thou art gone, and grief for thee will never go from this bewildered heart
Sorrow for thee will never go from my heart, as long as my life goes not for sorrow for thee,
Who is there that will tell me any news of thee?
Shall any give news of the departed soul to the body[1]?
News of the rose, that has dropped through the injury of autumn,
Who is there, in short, that will tell it to the bird of the garden?
Where is there a messenger who my sorrow and grief face to face
One by one before thee gracefully will tell?
Who shall tell to you my words with his tongue, and then
For my consolation bring back the words from your tongue?
I am strait-hearted, rosebud-like, and there is none present,
(P. 130) Who will repeat to me a single letter from thee, O thou rosebud-mouthed.
There are a hundred knots and tangles in this heart for love of thee,
Who will tell to thee of this heart full of knots and tangles.
Thou art gone afar, and there has come no one from thy country
Who should tell me anything of thy state.
I go, and on the top of thy tomb I take my station,
That I may hear an answer from thee, and salute thee.
I say, O thou unfound jewel what is thy state?
With thy body wounded and helpless, what is thy state?

[1] He calls himself 'the body', and his deceased son 'the soul'.

Thou art in the sleep of death, and without thee a confusion[1] hath arisen,
Awake, and lift up thy head from this sleep, what is thy state?
Through separation from thee thy friends are in a very bad condition,
O thou who remainest separate from thy friends, what is thy state?
Thy friends through *distance* from thee are *near* to death,
Far from company of companions what is thy state?
Thy place was once in the Prayer-niche[2], and now I see
The niche left empty of thee, what is thy state?
Without thee I drink the blood of my liver, ask me for once
"In this drinking of blood what is thy state?"
Over thy *clay* a hundred fresh *roses* have blossomed from my tears,
Under the *clay* O thou fresh *rose* what is thy state?
In such a woeful habitation who is nigh thee?
The solacer of thy day, and friend of thy dark night who is he?
(P. 131) O I am fallen far away from thy fair cheek,
And I am fallen through thy absence into a hundred kinds of calamity.
Thou art in the desert, while I remain in this strange city,
O God! where art thou, and I am to what place have I fallen?
Thou hast not gathered thy whole weight of roses, and I know not now.
Why upon thee hath fallen a hundred hillocks of thorns and briars.
I knew not the worth of thy presence, and this is the requital,
That the day of retribution hath met with thee.
I would have spent my soul in thy behalf, but what can I do?
For thy business hath fallen under God's absolute decree.

[1] *Qiyámat* means "Resurrection", also "Confusion".
[2] See Burton's *El-Medinah* and *Meccah*, ii, 64.

Thy date was: He said, When the cypress fell,
'*That erect cypress how suddenly it fell from its place*[1]!'
O Qádir wailing and crying doth not profit,
Strive after prayer, for the turn is come for prayer.
Ask of God, that his affairs be all laudable,
And that God may be satisfied equally with him and thee.
O Lord! may his passage be into thy garden of Paradise,
May the tower of the highest Paradise be his resting-place.
When into the garden of Paradise he passes unveiling his beauty,
May Houris and boys be on his right hand and his left.
In the dark night, when he purposed the journey to the other world,
May the light of Islám be the lamp of his dark night.
If there is no one who lights a lamp on his tomb,
(P. 132) May the light of the mercy of God be the taper on his tomb.
Since he has taken away his bosom from the bride the old women of Fate,
May the fresh heavenly brides be in his bosom.
Since after death no friend was with him,
May the mercy of God moment by moment be his friend.
The drops of tears, which men shed over him,
May each drop become a pure pearl, and be devoted to him.
To all eternity may his abode be the pinnacle of heaven,
This prayer from me, and may from Gabriel come: Amen!

And in this year the building of the tomb of the late Emperor, which is heart-delighting, paradise-like, was completed. It is at Dihlí on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mírak Mírzá Ghiyás eight or nine years to build. Its magnificent proportions are such that the eye of the spectator gazing on it admits it only with wonder.

On Thursday the 3rd of the month of Muharram[2] in the year nine hundred and seventy-eight (978) there took place in the house of

[1] 51 + 60 + 15 + 60 + 200 + 6 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 20 + 5 + 7 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 80 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

[2] The 1st month.

Shaikh Salím the rising of the star of prosperity and happiness, the Prince Murád. And a royal feast just like the former one was prepared. And Múláná Qásim Arsalán composed a *qiṭ'ah*, of which the first hemistich of each verse gives the date of the birth of those two princes, the first that of the first, and the second that of the second:—

"*The first prince, that shining moon*[1],
Rose like a moon from the pinnacle of glory.
That second son of king Akbar[2]
Came down like a descending constellation from heaven."

Also there is another *mnemosynon* of the same kind:—

"From the pure light, like Sultán Salím there descended,
The standard of Sháh Murád bin Akbar the just[3]."

And Khwájah Ḥusain Marwí composed a *qiṭ'ah* of seven verses, in which each first hemistich (P. 133) gives the date of the birth of the first prince, and each second hemistich the date of the birth of the second:—

"This sky gave two princes to the king[4],
The face of both was better than the sun[5].
The first of them was second to the king of the world,
The second of them was a heart-stealer of lofty power.
The one through good luck to the king on the throne
Brought the news of a hundred open doors.
The other was cause of peace and security,
The sun gave him from the moon a sleeping-cradle.
The news that a king is born arises from the first,
And of that the first hemistich gives the answer.
From the second hemistich of each verse
Find thou the birth of the second prince.

[1] 7 + 30 + 10 + 50 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 5 + 10 + 51 + 400 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 6 = 983.

[2] 51 + 10 + 40 + 80 + 200 + 57 + 5 + 20 + 202 + 5 + 300 + 6 = 978.

[3] Each of these lines gives 977.

[4] This line gives 977.

[5] This line gives 976.

May there be to that king, and to that prince,
The pomp of Alexander, and the glory of Afráshyáb."

On the 20th of Rabi'lákhir of this year the Emperor departed from Fathpúr, where he had remained twelve days, and then went towards Ajmír with the intention of paying his vows. He laid the foundations of a fortress in the environs of that pure city, and ordered a lofty palace to be built by the great Amírs. On Friday the 4th of Jamádi'l Ákhir marching thence he came in the course of twelve days to Nágor. And he ordered the great tank of that city to be dug out, and distributed the work among the Amírs, and he named it *Shukr-taláo.*[1]

In this year Chandarsín, son of Máldeo, ruler of Márvár, came to do homage to the Emperor And Ráí Kalyán Mal, Rájah of Bíkánír came together with his son Ráí Singh, and brought his daughter as a gift, so that she was admitted into the Imperial Ḥaram. The Emperor gave the father leave to return to Bíkánír, but the son he took along with him. On the journey he hunted wild asses, animals which he had never before met with, and then, with a view to visiting the tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs, that mine of salt, treasury of sugar, and unique one of his age, the honoured Shaikh Farid (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), he went towards Ajodhan, which is generally known as Pattan. There Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khán, who was the *jágír*-holder of that place, made a great feast, and offered suitable gifts and presents (P. 134) : and indeed such profuse hospitality is recorded of but few others. This is a *mnemosynon* for the date :—

" *The Sháh and the Prince are honoured guests.*[2]"

Thence he went to Láhor, where he was the guest of Ḥusain Qulí Khán. And then reciting " Return is best " he went back by way of Ḥisár Fírozah to the city of Ajmír, and thence by successive marches he arrived at Fathpúr.

[1] 'Thanks-tank.' The Hindustani *Taláo* is a corruption of *Taláb.*

[2] 40 + 10 + 5 + 40 + 2 + 50 + 50 + 70 + 17 + 57 + 4 + 300 + 5 + 6 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah, who for a long time had given up military service and lived in retirement, through the intervention of his wife Náhíd Bégum, whose mother was wife to Mírzá 'Isá Tarkhán, ruler of Tattah, was at this time graciously received: and the Emperor having presented him with a standard and kettledrum, and given him a *jágír* in Multán, and having written to Sa'íd Khán Moghúl, ruler of Multán, in his behalf, and having sent with him his nephew Mujáhid Khán, who was a very brave and daring soldier, appointed him to take Tattah. He entered Multán, and keeping nearly 400 horsemen in his own *jágír*, sent some to Sulṭán Muhammad, governor of Bakkar, with this message: "You have often said that if I came here, I should need no other help but yours, now I have promised to take Tattah and deliver it over to the Emperor. This was represented at Court, and in full reliance on your co-operation the Emperor had appointed me to this kingdom. And now the moment for rendering assistance is come." He wrote in answer: "If you come by way of Jaisalmír to reduce Sind, I will send you assistance; but I will not let you pass by way of Bakkar, for I have no confidence in you." Muḥibb 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán set off by the other route, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd collected his army and sent it to oppose them. Muḥibb 'Alí Khán came off victorious in the engagement which ensued, and after the defeat besieged the Bakkar-ites in the fortress of Mánélah. That fortress (P. 135) he took on terms of capitulation and quarter. Then Sulṭán Maḥmúd sent the remnant of his army, consisting of gunners and archers, from the fortress of Bakkar to engage Muḥibb 'Alí Khán. They met with the same fate as before, and then retreated to the fortress and there made a resolute stand. But, since the crowding of people within the fortress was very great, the air became fearfully contaminated, and a terrible pestilence came on, so that 1,000 persons, more or less, died every day. At last in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who was an aged decrepit and imbecile old-man, himself succumbed, and the fortress fell into the hands of the Emperor. Then he sent Mír Gesú from Fatḥpúr to examine the stores and treasures of the place.

In this year Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, came from Jounpúr, and brought with him Iskandar Khán Uzbek, who had escaped from

the Afgháns, and obtained pardon for him. Both of them the Emperor presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and a robe of honour, and a horse with a gilded saddle, and to Iskandar Khán he gave Lak'hnou as *jágír*. Iskandar being appointed to help the Khán Khánán received permission to return to Jounpúr. He arrived at Lak'hnou, and after some time on the 10th of Jumadi-'lawwal[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty (980) he laid his head on the pillow of mortal sickness, and departed this life :—

"What need of joy or sorrow, for happiness or misery,
For while you wink your eye you see neither one nor the other ?"

And in this year Jamál Khán, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badáún, who was a person of decided beauty, and one of my old bosom friends, being at Sambhal with Khán Kalán on the feast of Qurbán,[2] was attacked with bowel-complaint, and having been administered a mouthful of areca-nut by an ignorant hand fell sick and died. And this is the *mnemosynon* which was found for the date :—(P. 136)

"A hundred sighs for the youth and beauty of Kamál Khán.[3]"

And the Shaikh of nations Shaikh Yaqúb Çarfí of Kashmír invented this *mnemosynon* :—

"He gave up life on the Feast of Qurbán.[4]"

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-nine (979) the royal palace at Ágra, and another palace in the new town of Fatḥpúr were finished. And Qásim Arsalán composed the mnemosynon :

Two buildings like the highest heavens have been completed
In the time of the reign of the Lord of Conjunction of the seven climes.
One is in the city of the metropolis Ágra,
The other in the district of Sikrí abode of Shaikh Salím.

[1] The fifth month.
[2] The 10th of Zi-l-ḥajjah. See Burton III, p. 280 seq.
[3] Gives 928 (!).
[4] Gives 977 (!).

Heaven for the sake of the date of these two lofty palaces
Has written with its ancient pen: *Two highest paradises*[1]."

And towards the end of the blessed month of Ramzán[2] of this year Shaikh Salím Chishtí of Fatḥpúr (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and a high master of the different stages of advancement in the knowledge of God, a little of whose history will be written in the sequel to this epitome, if God, He is exalted! will) passed from the abode of transient pride to the abode of lasting glory. And one *mnemosynon* for his death is "*Shaikh i Hindí*[3];" and another:—

"The date of the death of Shaikh Islám [is]
The Shaikh of sages, and *the Shaikh of princes*[4]."

In this year a dreadful event happened to the compiler of this epitome. It is briefly as follows: When Kánt and Golah became the *jagír* of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khán, and I, in accordance with the decree of fate, remained some time in his service, and became *Ç adr* of that province, and had the responsibility of ministering to the faqírs, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the shrine of that illustrious luminary, that Shaikh of nobles, that marvel of truth and religion, Sháh Madár (God sanctify his glorious tomb!) at Makanpúr one of the dependencies of Qannouj, I, this son of man who have imbibed my mother's crude milk, through the nature of my disposition which is compounded of innate carelessness (which is the cause of (P. 137) wrong-doing and repentance) and of radical ignorance (which conduces to presumption and damage, and has descended to me from the father of all flesh) wilfully closed the eyes of my intellect, and gave it the name of love. So I was captured in the net of desire and lust, and the secret contained in the ancient writing of fate was revealed, and suddenly in that shrine I committed a terrible piece of impropriety. But since the chastisement as well as the mercy of

[1] 4 + 6 + 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 = 979.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979.

[4] Both expressions *Shaikh i ḥukamá*, and *Shaikh i ḥukkám*, contain the same letters; and in each case the sum of the numerical values of them is 979.

God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) was upon me, I received punishment for that transgression, and chastisement for that sin even in this world, for God granted to some of the relatives of the beloved to overcome me, from whom I receive nine sword-wounds in succession on my head and hand and back. They all merely grazed the skin except one on my head which penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached the brain, exposing me as a brainless fellow, and another partially severed the sinews of the little finger of my left hand. I became unconscious and took a journey to the other world and came back again. I hope that at the Resurrection the future may also turn out well!

"Whatever calamity fortune hath inflicted,
I must say the truth, it was less than my deserts.
I never paid Him thanks for His goodness,
Until He certainly threw me into sorrow and woe".

I met with a skilful surgeon in the town of Bángarmou, and in the course of a single week my wounds were healed. In the midst of that pain and sickness I made a vow, that if I should recover from that accident, I would perform the pilgrimage of Islám. And to this moment I am still waiting to perform this vow, if God (He is exalted!) will, and I hope that He will prosper me to attain this felicity before I pay the debt of death and a breach is made in the building of hope: "And this would not be too difficult for God[1]."— "Some there are who have made good their promise, and others are waiting:[2]"—

"In this turquoise palace of ancient foundation,
The son of man is wonderfully apt to err:
Gratitude is not his habit,
His business is only neglect of worship.
Although he passes his whole life amid mercies,
He never knows their value until they be lost."

[1] Al Qur'án XIV 23, XXXV, 18.
[2] Al Qur'án XXXIII, 23.

(P. 138). Thence I went to Kánt u Golah. There after performing the ablution[1] I was again thrown on a bed of sickness. And Ḥusain Khán, may God (praise to Him! He is exalted) grant him to attain to the eternal paradise! treated me with the kindness of a father or a brother beyond all mortal capacity; and when through the excessive cold the wound became ulcerous, he made me a plaster of pungent wood of the tamarisk-tree[2], and made me eat a tamarisk sweet-meat. Thence I came to Badáún, where another surgeon reopened the wound in my head, and I was near to death's door. One day between sleep and wakefulness:—

"It was not sleep, but it was unconsciousness"

I saw, that a number of apparitors carried me up to the heavens. And in that place there was a book and a tribunal, and the writers were busy, and a number of constables were present (as in a king's court on earth), and staff in hand kept hurrying about. And one of the writers taking a leaf in his hand looked at it, and said: "This is not he". At that moment hunger opened my eyes, and so I became conscious of my wandering, and a saying, which I used to hear from the mouths of people in the days of my youth came true: "Yea the world of possibilities is wide, but the power of the First Cause is predominant, and God is predominant over his works."

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badáún, and so many Hindús and Musalmáns perished in the flames as to exceed all computation. Carts filled with the charred remains were driven down to the river, and none could tell who was a Moslem and who an infidel. Many to escape being burnt rushed to the ramparts of the fortress, and men and women on account of the heat of the flaming fire threw themselves down from the top of the wall. Others escaped with burns and scars. Water on that fire (P. 139) acted like oil of naphtha. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. Before this catastrophe a half-witted fellow came from the Doáb, and I took him into my house, and associated

[1] *I. e. ghusul-i çaḥḥat*, the first bathing after sickness.

[2] *Ckoḍ i gaz.*

with him. He said to me in private: "Flee out of this city." I said: "Why?" He said: "A terrible visitation is about to happen to it." But since he was a frequenter of taverns I did not credit him:—

"Why do you ask about Badáún and its distracted state,
For it is a revelation of the verses about '*The punishment of fire*[1]'?"

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) the conquest of Gujrát took place. The substance of the affair is as follows. Gujrát had fallen into the greatest confusion, and had been broken up into different petty governments, so the Emperor issued an order for the assembling of the army and made a firm determination to reduce that country to subjection. On the 20th of Çafar[2] he set out from the Capital, and on the 15th of Rabi'lawwal[3] the city of Ajmír became the abode of the imperial cavalcade. After visiting the sacred mausoleum of that Summary of the line of Chistis, the saint Mu'ínuddín Chistí (God sanctify his tomb, and their tombs!), the next day he proceeded to circumambulate the tomb of Mír Sayyid Ḥusain Khang-sawár, and this verse was composed in his honour:—

"Thanks to God that a clear light hath shone into the heart
From Ḥusain bin 'Alí bin Ḥusain bin 'Alí."

And he went up to the top of that hill. Then he sent forward Mír Muhammad, Khán Kalán, with 10,000 horse as vanguard, and himself by consecutive days marching arrived on the 9th of the month Jamadi'lawwal[4] at Nágor. During the night of Wednesday the second of this month the birth of the prosperous Prince Dániyál took place at Ajmír in the house of one Shaikh Dániyál by name, a holy sojourner. This good news was brought to the Emperor at two days' journey from Nágor. (P. 140). The Emperor named

[1] Al Qur'án II, 120, &c.
[2] The second month.
[3] The third month.
[4] The fifth month.

him Dániyál after the said Shaikh Dániyál. The following is the *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"One said, *May he be a keeper of the Law of the Prophet.*[1]"
And the word Sharí'at[2] "The Law" will do just as well.

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Mírt'ha, news came that a Rájpút at Sarohí having come as an ambassador had struck Kháni Kalán with a *jamd'har*[3], which is the name of a weapon well-known among the people of Hind. The weapon pierced his breast and came out at the shoulder-blade, but the wound was not mortal. The Rájpút was sent to Hell. The wound in the course of ten or fifteen days healed over, and continued to do well. When the Emperor arrived at Sarohí a body of 100 or 50 Rájpúts, as is their hereditary custom, some in idol-temples and some in the palace of the Rájah of Sarohí bound themselves to die, and went forth to fight, and were slain to a man. In this engagement Dost Muḥammad, son of the late Tátár Khán governor of Dihlí, whom they call Tátárcheh, became a martyr. While the Emperor was at this place he appointed Rái Singh of Bíkánír governor of Joudhpúr, in order that he might go by way of Gujrát and prevent any harm being done to any one by Ráná Kíká ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair[4]. And Mán Singh, son of Rájah Bhagawan Dás he sent with a well appointed army in the direction of I'dar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí[5], who had gone in that direction with all his family and relatives. In the beginning of the month Rajab[6] the Emperor encamped outside Pattan, and gave that place as *jágír* to Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha, brother of Sayyid Maḥmúd. Mán Singh having spoiled the remnant of the army of the Afgháns rejoined the Emperor bringing much booty.

When Sher Khán obtained news of the Emperor's approach (P. 141), he raised the siege of Aḥmadábád, in which he had for the

[1] 51 + 90 + 200 + 300 + 200 + 70 + 50 + 12 + 2 + 1 + 4 = 980.
[2] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 = 980.
[3] Sanscrit *jamd'hara* "death-bearer", a large dagger with a basket hilt.
[4] See p. 102.
[5] See Briggs, *Ferishta* IV, pp. 156 and 165.
[6] The seventh month.

space of six months been besieging I'timád Khán, a *ghulám* and absolute *vazír* of Sulṭan Maḥmúd Gujrátí, and the army of the Afgháns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaffar, son of Sulṭán Maḥmud Gujrátí, whom I'timád Khán had kept continually in confinement, so as to keep the power in his own hands, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Sháh Munçúr *vizír* (whose history will be narrated, if God will), and he was granted a monthly allowance of 30 rupees. After some years he escaped and regained his government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rájah of Súratha, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Chúnágaṛh to A'zam Khán. But on the road he laid violent hands on himself, and killed himself with a stroke of a razor. Subsequent events will be narrated in due course.

The next day I'timád Khán, and Sháh Abu Turáb, and Sayyid Ḥámid Bokhárí, and Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajíh-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian, and Jajhár Khán the Abyssinian, and the other Amírs of Gujrát, came one and all and were granted an interview with the Emperor. And I'timád Khán brought the key of the city of Aḥmadábád. The Emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own to be employed in guarding his harem. On Friday the 14th of Rajab he pitched his tents on the banks of the river of Aḥamadábád, and the Khuṭbah[1] was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Khán Bárha and Shaikh Maḥmud Bokhárí brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bán[2] the Emperor set out from Aḥmadábád in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Muhammad Ḥusain Mírzá, who had seized Bhroj and Barodah and Súrat. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, who was the leading man among the Amírs of Gujrát, seized this opportunity, and escaping from Aḥmadábád, fled to Aḥmadnagar. And, since it was impossible to put any confidence in I'tímád Khán, the Emperor committed him to the charge of Shahbáz

[1] See page [1].

[2] The eighth month.

(P. 142) Khán Kambo. On the 6th of Sha'bán the Emperor arrived at the fort of Cambay. On the 14th of this month he arrived at the town of Barodah, and committing the government of Gujrát entirely unfettered into the hands of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, he dismissed him to Aḥmadábád[1].

On the 17th of Sha'bán news arrived, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá had put to death Rastam Khán Rúmí in the fortress of Bhroj, and that he was intending to pass within eight *cosses* of the Imperial camp. On this account the Emperor, leaving the camp, in which was the young prince Salím, under the guardianship of Khwájah Jahán, and Shajá'at Khán and several others of the Amírs, and having sent Shahbáz Khán to fetch Sayyid Maḥmud Bárha, and Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram and the rest of the Amírs, who had been appointed to go towards Súrat, he took with him Malik-ush-Sharq Gujrátí as his guide, and set off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain. When the Emperor with 40 horse arrived at the banks of the river Mahindrí, night had come on. News was brought that Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain had alighted in the town of Sarnâl on the other side of the river. So the faithful companions of the Emperor endeavoured to conceal themselves. During the night the Amírs, who had been sent to Súrat, were enabled to form a junction with the Emperor. Mán Singh was appointed to lead the vanguard, and with 100 men crossed the river. Then Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, who had a force of 1,000 horse, when news came to him of the rapid approach of the Emperor, evacuated the town of Sarnál by another road, and drew up his army in the plain with the intention of making a determined stand. Mán Singh advanced in one direction by the broken ground and shallows on the banks of the river Mahindrí, and the Emperor by another road. At last a collision between the opposite parties took place. Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá charged like a battering-ram against Bábá Khán Qáqshál and his troops, and made them fall back for a considerable distance, and some were killed on both sides. (P. 143). At this moment a son of Rájah Bhagvant Dás[2], named

[1] Capital of Gujrát

[2] Son of Rájah Bihárí Mall

Bhunpat[1] met with his death in that conflict. Then the enemy, taking courage, charged the imperial army, which was in position on uneven ground closely hemmed in on either side by a growth of prickly-pears.[2] Three of the enemy pressed forward in front of the rest. One of them attacked Rájah Bhagvant Dás, who struck him with a hand-pike from behind the prickly-pears, and compelled him to retire wounded. The other two made a rush at the Emperor, who was in front of his men; but they could not stand his blows, and had to retire, and Maqbúl Khán a *ghulám* of Sarkh Badakhshí went in pursuit of those two fellows. Then the imperial army made an attack on all sides on Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, which he was not able to withstand, and so took to flight. Many of his men were killed in this conflict, and innumerable were the slain. After he had gained the victory, as night was coming on, the Emperor ordered the pursuit to be abandoned. So Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá with a few followers managed to reach Sarohí[3] by way of Aḥmadnagar. Thence he came to Nágor, where he again engaged the Amírs, and being put to flight he passed by Dihlí and returned once more to the district of Sambhal. The issue of the event will be recounted in its proper place,[4] if God, He is exalted, will.

On the 18th of Sha'bán[5] the Emperor returned, and rejoined the imperial camp at Barodah. Thence he set out with the object of reducing the fort of Súrat. This fort had been built by Khudáwand Khán, Wazír of Gujrát, on the bank of the river[6] to oppose the Portuguese in the year nine hundred and forty-seven (947). After the death of Chingíz Khán (P. 144) the Mirzás had seized it. And when Gujrát was conquered, the Mírzás, having shut up their families and dependants in their place, and having entrusted the absolute government of it to one Hamzabán by name, chamberlain

[1] Sanskrit *Bhuvan-patí* 'world-protector'. His other sons were Rájah Mán Singh, Mádhú Singh, and Pratáb Singh.

[2] *Az-zaqqúm*, a tree said in the Qur'án (XXXVII, 60) to grow in the midst of Hell. It is the *euphorbia* of the ancients.

[3] In Rájpútána.

[4] Text p. 149.

[5] The eighth month.

[6] Taptí is the name of the river.

to the late Emperor, who had fled from the service of the present Emperor and gone over to the enemy, scattered themselves about the district and kept laying the foundation of rebellion. But, when news of the defeat of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá reached the garrison of that fort, Gulrúkh Bégum, daughter of Kámrán Mirzá and wife of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá, took with her her son Muzaffar Ḥusain (who is now honoured with the dignity of being son-in-law of the Emperor), and made for the Dakkan. And Sháh Qulí Khán *Maḥram*[1], who together with Qádiq Muḥammad Khán and others had previously been appointed to besiege the fort, went a considerable distance in pursuit of the Mirzá's men, and then came back with part of his baggage and effects which they had succeeded in capturing. Now before the arrival of the Emperor in person, he had sent Rájah Todarmal to thoroughly reconnoitre the fort, and with instructions to submit to H. I. Majesty an accurate statement of the results of his investigation. He represented to the Emperor that the fort might be taken as easily as possible in a very short time. Accordingly on the 18th of the blessed month Ramzán[2] the Emperor encamped at one *cos* distant from the fort, and proceeded to surround it, as the halo surrounds the moon. He distributed[3] the entrenchments [among his forces] and by perpetual assaults he reduced the garrison to extremities. In the course of two months he threw up immense mounds and high batteries, and the gunners and artillerymen kept up such a fire from under cover of them, that not an individual of the garrison of the fort dared to show his head. On the other side of the fort, which was contiguous to a tank of water he built a palace, and throwing up dams in its vicinity he cut off the water-supply from the besieged. Then the inhabitants of the fort sent out one Múláná Nizám-ud-dín by name, a student of the art of rhetoric, (P. 145) to sue for quarter on the score of their weakness, defeat, and misery. Through the intervention of the Amírs

[1] So called because the Emperor, from good-will towards him, admitted him into his female apartments (*ḥaram*). See further in Blochm., p. 306.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] *Bakhsh kardah* seems to mean "having distributed," (like *taqsím namúdah*) but the author does not specify among whom. The reading of the Lak'hnou lithographed edition is the same.

he was admitted to an audience, and the petition of the people of the fort attained the grade of acceptance, and he was dismissed to announce to them the joyful news. The Emperor appointed Qásim 'Alí Khán Bakkál, and Khwájah Doulat Názír to go and re-assure Hamzabán and all the besieged, and to bring them to an audience. And a number of orthodox clerks were appointed to write down the names of the men, and to make an inventory of the property, so that everything was brought before[1] His Majesty.

Out of the whole number of the people, the Emperor, after a severe reprimand and admonition, gave over to the keeper of prisoners a few others as well as Hamzabán, who during the time of the siege had let fall some rude words, and impolite expressions. All the others he freely pardoned. This victory took place on the twenty-third of the month Shawwál[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). And Ashraf Khán *Mír Munshí* composed this *qiṭ'ah* :—

"The country-subduer Akbar Ghází,[3] without dispute
There is no key of the forts of the world like his sword.
He has taken by assault the fort of Súrat,
The victory was gained only by his auspicious arm.
The date of the victory is *He has taken a wonderful fort*,[4]
But to the fortune of the Sháh of the world such things are not wonderful."

The next day the Emperor went to inspect the fort, and gave orders that its breaches and ruins should be repaired and rebuilt. During this inspection he came across some large cannon, and immense pieces of ordinance. They had been brought by sea by Sulaimán Sulṭán the Emperor of Turkey, when he came with a large army intending to take possession of the ports of Gujrát; but afterwards on account of some adverse circumstances that army retired, and those cannon from that time were left behind (P. 146) on the river

[1] For this expression compare Text, p. 275, l. 6, and 292, l. 4 *infra*.

[2] The tenth month.

[3] *Ghází* means one who fights against infidels, not *victorious*.

[4] 70 + 3 + 2 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 980.

bank. At the time of the building of Súrat Khudáwand Khán Wazír brought most[1] of them into the fort, and the remainder the Governor of Júnágaṛh dragged into that fortress. The Emperor commanded that they should be removed from there, where so many were of no use, and be carried to the fortress of Ágrah.

They say that the reason for Khudáwand Khán's building this fort was, that the Portuguese used to exercise all kinds of animosity and hostility against the people of Islám, and used to occupy themselves in devastating the country, and tormenting the pious. At the time of the commencement of the building they ceased not to throw the builders into confusion, firing continually at them from their ships, but they could not prevent them. The architects skilled in geometry and expert in subtleties carried the foundations of the centre of the fort down to the water, and also dug a moat of the same depth, and on the two sides of the fort which adjoined the land they built a wall of stone, adamant, and burnt brick. The length of the wall was thirty-five yards, and the breadth of the four walls of the fort was fifteen yards, and their height as well as the depth of the moat was twenty yards. The centres of each two stones were joined with iron clamps, and the interstices and joints were made firm with molten lead. The battlements and embrasures were so lofty and beautiful that the eye of the spectator was astonished at them. On the bastions which overlooked the sea they made a gallery, which in the opinion of the Europeans, is a speciality of Portugal and an invention of their own. The Europeans were very much opposed to the building of that *Choukandí*,[2] and endeavoured to prevent it by force of arms. But at last they resorted to peaceful measures, and agreed to pay a round sum of money, if they would leave off building the *Choukandí*. But Khudáwand Khán through his love and zeal for (P. 147) Islám gave the reins to his high spirit, and would not consent, and in spite of the Christians soon carried out his purpose of completing the building.

The very same day the Emperor delivered over the fort to the command of the son of Qulíj Khán, and on the 14th of Zí-qa'dah he returned to Aḥmadábád.

[1] One seems compelled by the context thus to render *kama* 'all'.

[2] See Elliott V, p. 503 notes.

During the time of the siege several events took place. First of all, Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, who had been a wanderer for ten years, and had at last fallen into the hands of Bahár-Jiv, Rájah of the district of Baglána,[1] was bound and brought into the imperial presence. The Emperor was content with handing this ill-conditioned fellow over to the keeper of prisoners, after he had given him a severe reprimand. Next, while at the halting-place of Bahronch the mother of Chingíz Khán[2] came and demanded justice, and sued for retaliation against Jahjár Khán the Abyssinian, who had basely slain Chingíz Khán. After the circumstances had been investigated the murderer confessed, and the Emperor had him thrown under the feet of an elephant. Next, while the siege of Súrat was actually in progress, Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá after his defeat went from the station of Sarnál to the confines of Patan, and joined Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá. Here they thought of a plan for raising the siege of the fort of Súrat. Their scheme was as follows: Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá was to go towards Hindústán with a view to stirring up rebellion, while Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá together with Shér Khán Fúládí were to lay siege to Patan, so that the Emperor becoming uneasy concerning their movements should be obliged to come to Aḥmadábád. Meanwhile Sayyid Aḥmad Khán had shut himself up in Patan, and made a brave resistance. Then Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán with all the renowned Amírs, who were the fief-holders of Málwah and Chandérí, went to the assistance of Sayyid Aḥmad Khán. And Rastam Khán and 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khán, and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárí of Dihlí came to Aḥmadábád, and together with A'zam Khán returned to Patan. Then (P. 148) Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá, and Sháh Mirzá, and Shér Khán Fúládí raised the siege, and falling in with them at 5 *cosses* from Patan they fought so fierce a battle that the memory of it will remain on the volume of history. The right wing of A'zam Khán attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and also threw their left wing into confusion, and the Amírs doing all that valour could require of them stood their ground firmly until the breeze of victory fanned the

[1] The Text has incorrectly *Yaklána*. See Blochm., p. 323, and Brigg's *Ferishta* IV, p. 614.

[2] The late king of Gujrát.

prosperous banner of the Emperor, and they dispersed the enemy like flakes of scattered clouds, and the soldier pursued in quest of plunder. But Khán i A'zam[1] with a few men did not move from his post, when suddenly like an unexpected calamity Shér Khán Fúládí (who was a great opium-eater, and had been delayed for a whole watch at the latrines through constipation, which like a hand-grip, is a necessary evil with opium-eaters) arrived with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen, more or less, on the empty field after both sides had done fighting, and attacked Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárí, who was still engaged with a few of the enemy, and confusion returned and Shaikh Muḥammad became the rose of the garden of victory[2] :—

"He made a pen of his sword from the point to the hilt,
It wrote in blood the dictum: *He was not.*"

Meanwhile Khán i A'zam moved from his place, and charged those men on all sides, so that Shér Khán having contrived to rejoin his friends took to flight. When they asked him, "Why did you kill the son of your superior?" he replied, "We heard that of the number of the leaders of the Moghuls Sháh Budágh Khan and one other through excessive valour would not leave the battle-field, under the impression that it was they, we attacked Shaikh Muḥammad; but certainly if we had known who it was, we should never have taken a step towards killing him." Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá went towards the Dakkan, (P. 149), and Shér Khán took refuge in the fortress of Júnágarh, of which place Amír Khán Ghorí was governor. This victory took place on the 18th of the blessed month of Ramzán[3] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). A'zam Khán leaving the fort of Patan in the old manner in charge of Aḥmad Khán Bárhah went to Súrat, and paid his homage to the Emperor. And Quṭb-ud-dín, and the other Amírs, having managed to hunt out of the jungles and forts Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian (who had escaped from those to whom he had been given in charge as prisoner, and fled to Aḥmad-ábad[4] and joined the enemy, and after

[1] Another name for A'zam Khán.

[2] Was slain.

[3] The ninth month.

[4] Another reading is *Aḥmad-nagar*. Comp p. 164, l. 11 Text.

his flight had laid the foundation of rebellion, and seized several places), and having left stations and patrols in that district, at the time that the imperial camp came from Súrat to Maḥmúdábád joined the Court.

Towards the end of the month Zí-qa'dah[1] of the aforementioned year Aḥmadábád became the place of the imperial residence. The Emperor stayed in that place ten days, and having conferred the government of Aḥmadábád on A'zam Kháu, and having given the other cities to the other Amírs of the Atgah-clan,[2] and having presented Muzaffar Khán with two and a half *cosses* as *jágír*, and having given away Sárangpúr, and Ujjain, and the whole of the district of Málwah, on the day of the Festival of Qorbán he marched out from Aḥmadábád, and in the month Muḥarram[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981), moving from station to station, arrived at Ajmír. At this place he received a letter from Sha'íd Khán containing news of the capture of Mirzá Ibráhím, and of his departure from a world full of trouble and degradation. And on the 2nd of Çafar[4] in this year the metropolis was once more glorified and adorned by the return of His Imperial Majesty.

The following is a compendium of the adventures of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá. He went first from Gujrát to Mírat'h with the intention of stirring up rebellion and revolt in that kingdom. He plundered a caravan which was going to Agrah (P. 150), and came to Nágór, in which place Farrukh Kháu, son of Khán-i Kalán, shut himself up. The Mirzá plundered some of the houses in the suburbs, and having stayed there one day went off to Narnoul. When he had arrived within 20 *cosses* of Narnoul it happened that Rái Rám and Rái Singh, who had been entrusted with guarding the road to Gujrát, taking about 1,000 horsemen with them set off by forced marches from Jodhpúr to Nágór. Then Farrukh Khán set off in their company in pursuit of the Mirzá, and alighted at K'hatoulí. The Mirzá fled without leaving any mark or trace, and so got off. When the Musalmáns in the camp were keeping the fast, they halted

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] See above p. 49, *note* 4.

[3] The first month.

[4] The second month.

by the side of a great tank in that neighbourhood with the intention of breaking fast, then the Mirzá, having gone some distance and returned, on the second night of the blessed month of Ramzán[1] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980) taking them quite unawares made a night-attack on them, and attacking them suddenly on both flanks rained a shower of arrows upon them. They on their side seized their shields and did not waver, but fought manfully. And he, since he could not prevail, and his men did not amount to 700, found himself in difficulties, and retreated. In that dark night many of his soldiers becoming scattered were taken prisoners in the villages and wildernesses, and were put to death on the spot where they were taken. Of this number a 100 men fell into the hands of Farrukh Khán, and became food for the sword. And others were wounded and after a hundred troubles managed to reach the Mirzá. But through the disgracefulness of their wicked enterprise their affairs nowhere prospered. So the Mirzá with 300 men, ravaging the country as he went, crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and came to the *pargana* of A'zampúr, which had formerly been his *jágír*. He thought that, since Sambhal was in its rear, a fortress like Mount Kumáún, and in front a moat like the Ganges, if he were to take refuge there and settle himself in that place, many men would return to him (P. 151). But this idea of his was not realized, and the imperial Amírs hemmed him in on every side, and the meaning of the [Arabic saying] "Expectancy hinders advance[2]" became manifest.

Ḥusain Khán[3] Mahdí Qásim Khání at that time, before the publication of the news concerning Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá and his going towards Dihlí, went to Kánt-u-Golah, which was his *jágír*, with the intention of quelling the insurgents of Badáún and Patyálí. Meanwhile Makhdúm-ul-mulk Múláná 'Abd-ulláh Sulṭánpúrí, and Rájah Bahár Mal, who was *wakíl* and absolute *wazír*, wrote a letter to him from Fatḥpúr informing him, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Such seems to me to be the meaning of *At-ṭalabu raddu-ṭ-ṭaríq*; but I am not sure.

[3] He was sister's son and also son-in-law to Mahdí Qásim Khán. (Blochm., p. 372). For this reason he is called *Mahdí-Qásim-Khání*.

having suffered defeat on two occasions had arrived in the vicinity of Dihlí, and that, since the Emperor was absent from the Capital, his lordship would do well to hasten thither as quickly as possible. In accordance with this request he proceeded in that direction, but when he had arrived on his march at the village of Oudh, in the *pargana* of Jalésah[1], news came in that Rájah Awésar, who had continually infested the roads since the accession of the Emperor, and had kept up rebellion in the vicinity of Ágrah, had now become a regular brigand. Moreover that he had already had many severe encounters, and obstinately fought skirmishes with some of the renowned Amírs, and had slain many excellent men, and was now hidden in the jungle of the village of Nouráhí in the *pargana* of Jalésah. At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzán[2] in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting, suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst on them, and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The Rájah with the help of the villagers[3] had erected crows'-nests in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks[4] for arrows and musket-balls, and some were martyred, and others were wounded. At the very beginning of the battle-moil (P. 152) a musket-ball struck Ḥusain Khán below the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle and spent itself on the head of his horse. He became faint and nearly fell from his saddle, but with great presence of mind he grasped the pommel of his saddle and kept his seat. I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and in front thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by fasting, but I seized his bridle wishing to draw him under the shelter of a tree, where he might be safe from the shower of arrows. When there he opened his eyes and contrary to his usual custom shot a glance of anger at me, and querulously made signs as much as to say, "What are you holding my reins for? You had better go down into the battle." So they left him in that state

[1] Elliot and Blochmann *Jalesar*.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] Comp. p. 10, *note* 2.

[4] The word used here seems to be the Hindí *bishai* = *bikhai*, Sanskr. *vishaya*, object.

and went down and joined in the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too weak to number them. Eventually, in accordance with [the promise] "Al-Islám shall conquer, and not be conquered," towards evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small handful of religious warriors, and the infidels company by company and crowd by crowd took to flight, but not before our soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, and yet through weakness they could not make an end of one another. Some of the servants of God showed such fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy war, and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I on the contrary was so weak, that I took a single draught of water to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs:—

"Never does Heaven regard my affair,
Nor make me happy in granting me a single wish.
It moistens not my lip with a drop of water,
Except it rain my eye-blood on my bosom."

After this victory Ḥusain Khán returned by forced marches to Kánt-u-Golah, and strengthened those places. At the same time Ibráhim Ḥusain Mirzá, arrived in the neighbourhood of the *pargana* of Lak'hnou, which is (P. 153) fifteen *cosses* from Sambhal.[1]

In spite of that wound [Ḥusain Khán] riding in a litter advanced to Báns Baréli in order to force the Mirzá into action, and from that place he reached Sambhal in one day by a forced march. When the Mirzá became assured of this bold stroke of his, he did not see the advantage of fighting, but retreated by way of Amrohah, in the neighbourhood of Lak'hnou, and put a distance of fourteen *cosses* between us and him. But, if he had attacked Ḥusain Khán in his wounded state, God knows what would have been the issue! It was one of the mistaken pieces of policy on the part of the Mirzá, that he did not attack Ḥusain Khán when he was in this weak state.

[1] Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mirzá. Elliot V, 505.

Mu'ín-ud-dín Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Sambhal, with a considerable force, and various other Amírs, *jágír*-holders of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fortress, when they heard at midnight the roll of the drums of Ḥusain Khán, thought that the Mirzá was upon them, and were quite overcome with fear. But, when from the extremity of the fort the cry arose that it was Ḥusain Khán coming to their assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. The next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ulláh Tarín[1], who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-islám Fatḥpúrí, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of them together with Tolak Khán Qúchín[2] and Bég Núrín Khán and Raḥmán Qulí Khán and Kákar 'Alí Khán and the other Amírs of the *jágír* of the neighbourhood of Dihlí, who were come to repulse the Mirzá, should wait for us in the *pargana* of Áhár on the bank of the river Ganges, and that when a junction should have been effected, we should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon. Ḥusain Khán exclaimed "Good God! The Mirzá came to this neighbourhood with a small party of horse, while you with an army twice or four times as large as his (P. 154) were at the fortress of Sambhal; and you twenty or thirty Amírs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of Áhár, which is a regular rat-hole. This will give occasion to the Mirzá to become bold and to ravage the imperial territories. Now there are two courses open to us, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges, and under cover of that old fortress must intercept the Mirzá, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mirzá, while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects." But they could not agree upon any course until Ḥusain Khán, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the Amírs at Áhár, and inveighed loudly against their shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them out, and in turn held a council with them. "The enemy," he said, "is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just like a

[1] Another reading is *Afghán Turbaní*, and Elliot (Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí) *Turbatí*.

[2] See p. 54, *note* 2.

hare appearing in the midst of a camp, if you move briskly we shall be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, and the glory of the victory will be yours." They replied: "In accordance with the written instructions of Makhdúm-ul-mulk and Rájah Bahár Mal we have driven the Mirzá out of the neighbourhood of Dihlí, and compelled him to make for Sambhal. Now Mu'ín-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, commandant of that district, and the *jágír*-holders of that neighbourhood are responsible for the matter. But we are merely ordered to defend Dihlí, and not to wage a war against the Mirzá, a course in which various dangers are to be dreaded.[1] Meanwhile intelligence arrived that the Mirzá had plundered Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Choubálah was marching rapidly on Láhór. Then Ḥusain Khán, being convinced of lack of loyalty on the part of the Amírs, (P. 155) hastily separated himself from them, and went by forced marches to Gaḍha Muktésar in order to capture the Mirzá:—

"Take up thine abode with the favorites of fortune,
Flee, swift as an arrow, from the unfortunate."

The only ones of the imperial Amírs who supported him were Turk Subḥán Qulí and Farrukh Díwánah; but while he was at this place the Amírs of Akhár wrote him a letter, saying: "Do not be in a hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." And they came more by compulsion than of free will, and the verse[2] of the glorious word: "Thou lookest on them as united, but their hearts are divided" exactly fits the case of those people. The Mirzá, like the rook on a cleared chess-board, came into the heart of the country, plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he arrived at the village of Páyal, the Mirzá's men committed such atrocities on the Musalmán people and their families as cannot well be described. For instance, twelve virgins in that village were ill-treated to such a degree that they died. Other towns were treated in just

[1] They meant, doubtless, that they were not sure how far they might be pleasing the Emperor, if they proceeded to extremities with the Mirzá, whose wife Gulrúkh Bégum was a daughter of Kámrán Mirzá and consequently the Emperor's first cousin. But see the result, p. 161 Text.

[2] Al Qur'án LIX, 14.

the same way. Ḥusain Khán advanced gradually in the track of the Mirzá, with the Amírs in his rear, till they came to Sarhind. At that place they turned refractory and took the opportunity of all remaining behind. But Ḥusain Khán not being content [to remain] with the force that he had, which did not number 100 men, left Sarhind by rapid marches, together with the two [Amírs mentioned above], and arrived at Lúdiyánah. There intelligence arrived that on the Mirzá's reaching the environs of Láhór, the garrison had shut the gates against him, and that the Mirzá had passed on thence and gone to Sher Gaḍha and Jahní.

Now Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who was beseiging Nagarkot and the fort of Kangrah, heard of the Mirzá's doings, and having made an agreement with the Hindús (P. 156), and received from the people of Nagarkót five *man* of gold as a *douceur*, after reading the *khuṭbah* in the Emperor's name, set out from that place with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán and Masnadi 'Álí[1] Fattú, a *ghulám* of 'Adalí, Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, Rájah Bírbar, and other Amírs, and pursued him as far as Sankrah. When Ḥusain Khán heard news of this, under the influence of that madness which so often attacks the wits of poor mortals, he swore an oath that he would not touch food until he came up with Ḥusain Qulí Khán. He crossed the river Biyáh at the ford of Talwandí, and went by forced marches to Sher Gaḍha a dependency of Jahní. There he paid a visit to his reverence Shaikh Dá'úd Qádirí Jahní-wál, the greatest Pole-star, the master and asylum of sainthood (God sanctify his tomb!). When food was served, he excused himself from eating on account of his oath. The Shaikh observed that it was easy to atone for an oath, but silly to distress one's friends. The Khán immediately called for a slave, and set him free,[2] and thus atoned for his oath. He then partook

[1] *Masnadi 'Álí* is an Afghán title. It was given to Fattú Khán, or Fatḥ Khán. He seems to be the same Fatḥ Khán whom Sulaimán Kararáni put in charge of Rohtás in Bihár (Text, p. 77). Blochm. p. 502.

[2] Al Qur'án V, 91. "God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths ..... the expiation of such [an oath shall be] the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate food as ye feed your families withal; or to clothe them; or *to free the neck;* but he who shall not find [wherewith to perform one of these three things] shall fast three days."

of food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his private fields furnished grass and corn for the horses. In the morning he left the place.

Three days after this I came from Láhór to Sher Gaḍh, and attended his reverence for four days, seeing and hearing such things as had never entered my imagination, and the mystery of the saying, "When they desire the remembrance of God &c." became manifest. And I extemporized some verses, which I presented, and they were accepted. The verses are as follows:—

"O! the stock of thine origin is free from water and clay,
(P. 157) Thy pure spirit like the Prophet is the mercy of the worlds.
Thy mighty name is David, through the impression of it,
Like Solomon, spirits and men come under thy signet.
"*There is the face of God*",[1] I could not understand for years,
I saw thy face, and the pupil of the eye of truth became clear."

I requested to be allowed to renounce the work and burden of worldly affairs, and to choose for myself the office of sweeping the monastery. But he would not permit it, and said that I ought now to go to Hindústán. So I took leave in such a desolate state of mind and distraction of heart, as may no other ever experience, and prepared to depart. At the moment of departure lamentation involuntarily burst forth from my sorrowing soul, and when this came to the ears of his reverence, although no one is properly allowed to remain in that monastery more than three days, he kept me there a fourth, and told me things, the sweetness of which still remains in my heart:—

"I go homeward from this door,
But my heart is without choice:
I lament so much that you would think
I was going to a foreign country."

And a few of my own adventures I propose (if God will) to recount in the appendix to this book.

[1] Al Qur'án II, 109 "The East and the West is God's: therefore, whichever way we turn, *there is the face of God*: Truly God is Omnipresent, Omniscient."

One stage from Tulambah[1] Ḥusain Khán wrote a letter to Ḥusain Qulí Khán, saying: "Since I have come 400 *cosses* by forced marches, if you would let me be a participator in this victory, and postpone the battle one day, it would be only friendly." Ḥusain Qulí Khán said "All right!," and sent the courier back. But that very day, as quickly as ever he could, outside the fortress of Tulambah, which is within 40 *cosses* of Multán, he commenced the attack. The Mirzá had gone on a hunting expedition, and was quite unaware of his approach. Some of the Mirzá's men were preparing to march, and others were quite unprepared and (P. 158) dispersed about, and not drawn up in any regular order of battle. Mas'úd Ḥusain Mirzá, younger brother of Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, took the initiative, and attacked the force of Ḥusain Qulí Khán, but his horse stumbled on the uneven ground, and he fell to the ground and was taken prisoner. When Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain returned from hunting, all chance was gone, and however bravely he fought and charged repeatedly it made no difference, and so, seeing that he could do nothing, he turned his reins and fled. The day after the victory Ḥusain Khán arrived at Tulambah with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Ḥusain Qulí Khán showed him the battle-field and recounted to him each man's exploits. Ḥusain Khán then said: "Since the enemy has escaped with his life, you ought to pursue him and take him prisoner, for the business is not yet complete." Ḥusain Qulí Khán replied: "Since I have come by forced marches from Nagarkót, and my army has been subjected to great exertions in the mountain district, and is not in proper condition, this victory is enough for me, now let other friends have a turn." Ḥusain Khán now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardships and forced marches of 500 *cosses* had cleared a way for him, so he took his leave, and pressed forward. Some of his men, who were worn out with fatigue, he sent with the elephants and drums to Láhór, and taking but a few men with him he continued the pursuit of the hapless Mirzá. There was but a short distance between him and the Mirzá, when one night the latter with 400 horsemen halted on the banks of the Biyáh and Satlij, at the point where the two streams unite. The Jhíls, who are a low

[1] *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí* has here Talwandí, Elliot V, 508. Comp. Text, p. 156, l. 6.

class of Multán peasants, assembled and made a night attack on him, and poured a shower of arrows (P. 159) upon him. The Mirzá with a party of men, some of them wounded, and some of them disabled and in a miserable plight, did what he could to beat off their assailants. But, in accordance with the proverb[1] :—

"A shout is enough for a conquered army,"

the Jhíls came off victorious. Suddenly during the encounter an arrow, by the decree of God, struck the Mírzá on the back of his head and came out at his throat. Then since all was over with him he changed his dress, and his men left him and fled scattered in all directions. But wherever they went, they became marks for the arrow of fate and went to retribution. One or two old servants of the Mirzá dressed him in the garments of a Kalandar[2] and endeavoured to get him into some place of safety. In his extreme weakness they brought him for refuge to spend the night in the abode of a hermit Dervish, Shaikh Zakariyá by name, who openly applied a molifying ointment to the wound of the Mirzá, but secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'íd Khán at Multán : —

"Wherever an ascetic dwells,
There treachery is found."

Sa'íd Khán sent a *ghulám*, Doulat Khán by name, to bring in the Mirzá a prisoner, and wrote a dispatch and sent it to the Court at the time that the Emperor was coming to Ajmír on his return from Gujrát. When Ḥusain Khán heard of the capture of the Mirzá, he hastened to Multán, and saw Sa'íd Khán. Ḥusain Khán made some difficulty about seeing the Mirzá and said : "If when I see him I should *salám* to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court; and if I do not, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirzá will say to himself, 'This *Qulqachí*,[3] when he received quarter at the siege of Satwás, thought good to make *saláms* without number; now

[1] Roebuck I, p. 294.

[2] A wandering Musalmán ascetic.

[3] This word occurs again p. 191, l. 20 Text.

that evil days are fallen upon me, he treats me cavalierly'." When the Mirzá heard of his ceremonious words, (P. 160) he said : "Come and see me without obeisance, for I waive that." Still he made his *salám*, when he went to see him. The Mirzá said with sorrow: "I had no intention of rebellion and revolt, but when it became a matter of life and death, I took my own course and threw myself into a foreign country, but even there I was not left alone. Since by fate's decree this defeat was destined to come upon me, would that I had been defeated by you, who are my co-religionist, that it might have brought you into notice, and not by this Ḥusain Qulí Khán, who is an alien in religion and sect!" Ḥusain Khán then returned to Kánt-u-Golah, and there he heard that the Mirzá after a short respite had died in prison at Multán :—

"He counted a few breaths, and became helpless,
Destiny smiled that he too was no more."

Ḥusain Khán went from Kánt-u-Golah to the Court. And Ḥusain Qulí Khán came from the Panjáb and brought with him Nas'úd Ḥusain Mirzá with his eyes blindfolded, and a number of other prisoners of the followers of the Mirzá, to Fatḥpúr. They numbered nearly 300 persons, and he brought them prisoners before the Emperor, with the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs drawn over their faces. Some of them were put to death by various ingenious tortures, and the remainder were let go free. Ḥusain Khán had taken prisoners and taken with him some 100 of the followers of the Mirzá, men of determination (who had attained the rank of Khán, and after the defeat on the way to Multán had taken refuge with Ḥusain Khán). Now, when he heard at his own house the news [of the savage treatment of the prisoners], he gave these men leave to quit his *pargana*. Ḥusain Qulí Khán mentioned this body of prisoners, when he was in attendance on the Emperor. Ḥusain Khán sent a representation to Court that, since he had received no orders from the Emperor to put them to death, he had released that band of prisoners, and so had performed a gracious act which might be attributed to His Majesty. The Emperor (P. 161) forgave him, and imposed no penalty on him for the act. At this time Sa'íd Khán came from Multán to pay his homage to the

Emperor, and brought with him the head of Mirzá Ibráhím Mirzá, which he had had dissevered from his body after his death. And this became the foundation of his favour as a courtier:—

"Every bit of dust, which the wind blows away,
Was once a Fáridún or a Kaiqabád[1].
Sweet it is to practise fate's agriculture,
To sow[2] a Faridún, and reap a Kháqán[3]."

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) Nagarkót was taken by Ḥusain Qulí Khán. The following is an epitome of the history of the event. The Emperor from his youth up had shown a special predilection and inclination for the society of various religious sects, such as Brahmans, and musicians, and other kinds of Hindús. Accordingly at the beginning of his reign a certain Brahman musician, Gadáí Brahmaindás by name, whose whole business was perpetually to praise the Hindús, and who was possessed of a considerable amount of capacity and genius, came to the Court. By means of conversing with the Emperor and taking advantage of the idiosyncrasies of his disposition, he crept day by day more into favour, until he attained to high rank, and was honoured with the distinction of becoming the Emperor's confidant, and it became a case of "Thy flesh is my flesh, and thy blood my blood." He first received the title of Kab Ráí[4], meaning Prince of Poets, and afterwards that of Rájah Bírbar[5] meaning "Renowned Warrior." When the Emperor's mind became alienated from Rájah Jai Chand, commandant of Nagarkót, who was in attendance at the Court, he appointed that fortress as *jágír* to Bírbar, and having imprisoned Jai Chand, he wrote a *farmán* to Ḥusain Qulí Khán, ruler of Láhór, to seize Nagarkót and hand it

[1] Comp. Hamlet I. 5.

Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
O, that the earth which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expell the winter's flaw!

[2] There is a play on the words *Kishtan* to sow, *Kushtan* to kill.

[3] The meaning is, to kill a hero and so gain the favour of an Emperor.

[4] Sansk. *Kabi Rája.*

[5] Sansk. *víra-vara* best warrior.

over to Bírbar. Ḥusain Qulí Khán, with the other Amírs of the Panjáb such as Mirzá Yusuf Khán, and Ja'fir Khán son of Qazáq Khán, and Tattú Masnadi 'Álí &c., first took by assault Dahmírí, and Gwályár, and Koltah an exceedingly lofty fortress, and reduced that district (P. 162). Then, leaving there a force to occupy the district, he passed over a very difficult pass with elephants, horses, camels, and his whole suit, and large cannon, and immense mortars, and laid seige to the fortress of Kángṛah. I myself in the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, when I went to Nagarkót, had occasion to cross that pass, and it is scarcely an hyperbole to say that the foot of the ant in those rugged places would slip through fear. Then Bidhí Chand, son of Jai Chand, thinking that his father had died in prison, shut himself up in the fort. The temple of Nagarkót, which is outside the city, was taken at the very outset. It is a place whither *lacs*[1] and *lacs* of men, or rather *krors* and *krors* of men, assemble at fixed periods, and bring ass-loads and ass-loads of gold and silver coins, and stuffs and merchandise and other precious things, store-fuls without number, as offerings. On this occasion many mountaineers became food for the flashing sword. And that golden umbrella[2], which was erected on the top of the cupola of the temple, they riddled with arrows, many of which may be seen hanging there to this day. And black cows[3], to the number of 200, to which they pay boundless respect, and actually worship, and present to the temple, which they look upon as an asylum, they let loose, and the Musalmáns killed them all. And, while the arrows and bullets were continually falling like drops of rain, through their zeal and excessive hatred of idolatry they filled their shoes full of blood, and threw it on the doors and walls of the temple. So many Brahmans, sojourners in the temple, were killed, that both friends and strangers heap a thousand thousands of curses on the head of Bírbar, who reckoned himself a saint among the Hindús (curse on them!). So the outer city was taken. Then they threw up mounds and batteries and opened a fire of great guns on the palace of Bidhí

[1] *Lac* = 100,000.

Kror = 10,000,000.

[2] *Chatar*, but property *chatta* or *chatti*.

[3] Called *Yaks*.

Chand. In this bombardment nearly eighty persons lost their lives[1]. Bidhí Chand by a hundred artifices (P. 163) managed to effect his escape, and got off in peace, but the fortress was within an ace of being taken. At this juncture news arrived of the disturbances caused by Mirzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, and how that he was making for Láhór: moreover the army of Ḥusain Qulí Khán was suffering great hardships. For these reasons and causes he concluded a treaty with them. They paid as tribute five *man* of gold according to the weight of Akbar Sháh, which was one year's revenue of the temple, and much stuff and precious things of all kinds. And in the month Shavvál[2] of this year he read the *Khutbah*, and stamped coin in the Emperor's name is that district, and having put all things straight he built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gateway of Rajah Jai Chand.

Then Ḥusain Qulí Khán set off to oppose the Mirzás. When he arrived at the village of Chamárí he received the honour of paying his respects to that paragon of pilgrims, that offspring of renowned saints Khwájah 'Abd-ush-Shahíd, grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár[3] (God sanctify his spirit!), who promised him victory, and gave the Khán his own dress as a present. The result of this prayer was, that having arrived by forced marches at Tulambah[4], he gained the glorious victory which my historical pen has already narrated:—

"We are deeply wounded in our hearts,
It will not be without its effect,
Be sure, on all those
For whomsoever we pray in sincerity."

In this year also Sulaimán Kiraráni, ruler of Bengál, who gave himself the title of *Ḥazrati A'lá*, and had conquered the city of Katak-u-Banáras, that mine of heathenism, and having made the stronghold of Jaganát'h into the home of Islám, held sway from Kámrú[5] to

[1] By one shot. Ṭabaqát i Akbarí, Elliot V, 358.

[2] The eighth month.

[3] See p. 57.

[4] The Text has sometimes *Tulambah*, at others *Tulabnah*.

[5] That is *Kámrúp* in Assam.

Oṛisá, attained the mercy of God. His son Báyazíd succeeded him; but in the course of five or six months he was slain by the Afgháns, and his brother Dá'úd bin Sulaimán attained the sovereignty.

In this year, or in the year preceding, that remnant of the saints, and essence of the pure, that illuminator of the thoughts of the heart, and examiner into the secrets of sin, that attracted pilgrim, the righteous (P. 164) in his acts, Shaikh Nizám-ud-dín Ambit'hi[1]-Wálí (God sanctify his spirit!) attained translation from this miserable caravanserai to the eternal habitation. A summary of the events of the life of that possessor of Perfection and Ecstasy will be inserted (if God will) in the account of the Shaikhs of the period.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981) the Emperor mounted a dromedary, to go and quench the fire of rebellion in Gujrát and to settle the affairs of those disturbances, and by forced marches went in the course of nine days from Fatḥpur to Aḥmadábád, and fought a battle with the army which was beseiging A'zam Khán in the fortress. He came off victorious, and returned to the Seat of the Khálifate.

The following is an epitome of those events. When the Emperor came the first time after giving Aḥmadábád to Khán-i A'zam, the rebels raised a general revolt in that place and followed each his own devices. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk[2] Gujrátí taking all the Abyssinians with him seized Aḥmadnagar and that neighbourhood; and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá came from the Dak'hin and first of all endeavoured to reduce Súrat; but Qulíj Khán shut himself up in that place and succeeded in keeping him at bay and repulsed him. So he retired on Kambháyat[3] and took possession of that place. A'zam Khán marched himself against Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. Several engagements took place between the two opposed forces between Aḥmadnagar and I'dar, and the claim of victory was put to the arbitration of the sword. And he commissioned Nourang Khán, son of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán together with Sayyid Ḥámid to go toward Kambháyat against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá. Muḥammad Ḥusain

[1] *Ambit'hí* is a town in the confines of Lak'hnou. Vol. III, p. 15 Text.

[2] Comp. p. 152.

[3] That is *Cambay*.

Mirzá in many fierce encounters showed time after time the greatest obstinacy and valour, but at last he suffered defeat and fled and joined Ikhtiyár Khán. (P. 165) The sons of Shér Khán Fúládí, and the son of Jahjár Khán Ḥabshí also helped to swell his numbers and to turn the balance of power in his favour. Their intention was to go by forced marches by a different route, and so reach Aḥmadábad. Khán-i A'zam outstripped them and got there first. Then he sent for Quṭb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán from Bahroṇch, and not having full confidence in some of his men he shut himself up in the fortress. Then the Gujrátees with a force of nearly 20,000 men, consisting of Moghuls, Gujrátees, Afgháns, Abyssinians, and Rajpoots came and besieged him. Skirmishes took place every day, and Fázil Muḥammad Khán, son of Rashíd Khán-i Kalán was slain in one of those encounters. Khán-i A'zam kept sending daily dispatches to the Court, and urging the Emperor to come to his assistance. Accordingly he issued orders to the Díváns to supply with necessaries those Amírs who had gone with him on the former expedition, and to pay ready money from the imperial treasury to those soldiers who had served in the last campaign, which had lasted a whole year, and were now without accoutrements. To Ḥusain Qulí Khán he gave the title of Khán Jahán, and appointed him, with the Amírs of the Panjáb, to that province, and Sa'íd Khán he appointed to Multán, and sent them to their respective destinations. Shujá'at Khán he sent forward with camp equipage, and set out himself on Sunday the twenty-fourth of Rabí'us sání[1] mounted on camels fleet of foot and swift as the wind, and passing by way of Basáwar and Todah accomplished 100 *cosses* in two days. On the 26th of that month he arrived at Ajmír, at the blessed shrine of that Bestower of Splendour[2] (may the peace of the mighty God be on its inhabitants!), and attained the honour of paying a visit to that honoured shrine, and afterwards on the same day he continued his march. At the village of Báliyánah he reviewed the army, and settled the distribution of the forces. He gave Mirzá Khán,[3] son of the late Khán Khánán Bairam Khán, the

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chisti.

[3] See Elphinstone, p. 513, note.

command of the centre. (He is now the Khán Khánán and has been appointed to subdue the Dak'hin.) And (P. 166) Sayyid Maḥmúd Khán Bárha and Çádiq Muḥammad Khán and others he associated with him. The command of the right wing he gave to Núr Muḥammad Khán-i Kalán, that of the left wing to Wazír Khán, and that of the vanguard to Muḥammad Qulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwánah. He kept under his own command 100 horse, all veterans and picked men out of thousands. His whole force did not consist of more than 3,000 horse.

On Tuesday the 3rd of Jamáda'l- avval they arrived at the village of Karí, 20 *cosses* from Aḥmadábád. A detachment of the enemy issued from the fortress, and drew themselves up across the line of march of the emperial force. A battle took place, and in the twinkling of an eye the enemy became food for the sword and were annihilated. Since the Emperor had given no orders for the taking of the fortress, they pressed on 5 *cosses* further, and when the imperial cavalcade came up, they halted there to rest. Then the Emperor distributed arms to the men from his private armoury, so that all might be fully armed. Áçaf Khán was sent in advance to open up communications with Khán-i A'zam. At this time the enemy were steeped in the sleep of negligence. When they heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed in confusion to mount their horses, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá with two or three horsemen rode to the banks of the river to find out what it meant. It happened that Turk Subḥán Qulí had also gone down to the river from our side with two or three men. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá asked him: "My lord, what army is that?" "The imperial army" he replied. The Mirzá said, "My scouts informed me to-day that they had left him fourteen days' march off at Fatḥpúr. If this be the imperial army, where are the elephants which always accompany it?" The other replied, "How could elephants (P. 167) travel a distance of 400 *cosses* by forced marches in nine days!" Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá commenced the attack with the army in battle array, after sending Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk with 500 horse against Khán-i A'zam to prevent his making a sally from the fortress. The imperial army crossed the river, but Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá anticipated them, and with

1,500 Moghuls belonging to Fidáí (who had already attained the title of Khán, and was on the look out for further promotion and *jágírs*, and was a man of great determination) charged the vanguard, where Muḥammad Qulí Khán and Tarkháu Díwánah were stationed, and swept them before him. The Abyssinians and Afgháns together charged the left wing, which was under Wazír Khán, and the warriors on both sides having come into contest a hundred lives were worth but a barley-corn :—

"Down to the fish[1] and up to the moon went
The foot of the standard and the knob of the tent.
The air became blue, and the ground black ;
The river boiled at the sound of the drums.
With his finger he directed the army to the plain,
An army that knew no bounds.
The royal bow came to the string,
One said *Take*, and the other said *Give*."

The battle raged so furiously that the event will be remembered for revolutions of generations and ages. Now, when the Emperor saw that his vanguard was giving way, he raised the cry "*Yá Mu'ín!*"[2] which at that period, and on that day, was his battle-cry, and making a desperate charge broke the ranks of the enemy, and dispersed them in the direst confusion : and many heads were scattered to the wind. Saif Khán Kokah at this juncture charged the ranks of the enemy, and plunged into that whirlpool from which he never rose again. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá did all that mortal endurance is capable of in that valley of strife and gallantry, and was not even wounded. But at last his spirit exhausted itself, and his horse being wounded he fled from the field. His path happened to be intercepted by a hedge of thorns, which he endeavoured to make his horse leap, when suddenly (P. 168) inexorable Fate seized his reins, and dragging him from the saddle threw him to the ground. One Gadáí 'Alí by name,

[1] In old Persian poetry the world is said to be supported on a *fish* ; but, according to Indian notions, upon a *tortoise*.

[2] "O Helper!"

a Turkí who had been hotly pursuing him, immediately sprung upon him and took him prisoner and brought him to the Emperor. He with his usual kindness and good nature contented himself with reprimanding him, and delivered him over to the charge of Rái Singh. Meanwhile Wazír Khán was contending manfully with the Abyssinians and Gujrátees, and in this hand-to-hand contest displayed his hereditary valour. When the enemy heard of the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, they turned their backs on the field of battle, and valuing dear life more than the chance of conquering kingdoms saved their lives by fleetness of foot. At the same time Khán-i Kalan performed his part in the action by utterly defeating the sons of Shér Khán Fúládí. And so the field was cleared of all trace of the enemy:—

"Thy servants in the field of battle are like tailors,
Though they are not tailors, O King conqueror of realms!
By the ell of the spear they measure the stature of thine enemies,
That they may cut them up with the sword, and sew them with arrows."

After the victory was gained, the Emperor ascended a hill which skirted the field of battle, and applied himself to investigating the individual acts of prowess of the combatants, when suddenly Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk, who had been employed in keeping Khán-i A'zam from joining the Emperor, when he heard the news of the defeat of the Mirzás, left off blockading the city and made his appearance on the open plain. Great commotion was observable among his men, and a great hubbub arose, so the Emperor ordered a body of men to discharge arrows at them. They raised a terrific shout of "*Yá Mu'in!*" and stretched on the dust of death the band which was marching in advance of Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. Now Ḥusain Khán was of the number of the very foremost in the conflict, so that the Emperor presented him with his own crescent cimeter which was the most renowned of cimeters. And Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk (P. 169) having broken his bridle fled with one rein, till his horse fell into a bed of

prickly-plants, like an ass into clay, and the swift-footed steed of his life also lost its footing, and became the spoil of the Turk of Avenging Death. Sohráb Bég Turkmán, who was pursuing him, came up and seized him. At this juncture Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk said: "Young man you seem to be a Turkmán, now Turkmáns are followers of the blessed 'Alí and of his friends.[1] I am a Sayyid of Bukhára, spare me." Sohráb Bég replied: "How can I spare you? You are Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk. I recognized you and have been pursuing you headlong." With that he alighted from his horse and struck his head from his body. Meanwhile some one else went off with his horse, so he tucked up the head in his skirt and walked off with it to the Emperor, and obtained favourable notice. Nearly 1000 heads fell on that battle-field and the Emperor ordered them to make a minaret out of those heads,[2] that it might serve as a warning to rebels. At the very time that the turmoil of battle with Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk ceased, the servants of Ráí Singh made Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzá descend from the elephant, and dispatching him with a blow with a hand-spear sent him to the world of non-existence. And they sent his head and that of Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk to Ágrah:—

"Why dost thou tell the story of eloquence?
Hear a tale from Death,
That he may tell to the careless, deaf, and blind:
To whom I have given, from whom taken strength;
How I have bound the hands of kings;
In what fashion I have laid low palaces.
That he may tell thee how I break heroes,
Head and body and neck.
That when thou hast heard, through pride of power
Thou mayest not set thy heart on this faithless life."

At this time Khán-i A'zam came out of the fortress and paid his submission to the Emperor, who embraced him, and treated him with the greatest attention, and enquired with kindness after his welfare

[1] That is, are *Shí'ahs*, not *Sunnís*.
Comp. p. 10.

and that of the other Amírs (P. 170). The Emperor remained five days at the dwelling of I'timád Khán. He sent Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, with his son Nourang Khán towards Bahroṇch and Chánpánír to exterminate Sháh Mirzá; and Khán-i Kalán he appointed to the government of Patan, and Wazír Khán to Dúlaqah and Dandúqah. And Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Lashkar Khán Bakhshí he sent off by way of I'dar towards Ágrah and Fatḥpúr, to reduce the district of Ráná Udai Singh; and the town of Badnagar[1] was taken by them. On the 16th of Jamáda'l avval[2] he himself marched from Aḥmadábád and encamped at Maḥmúdábád one of the dwelling places of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Gujrát. And from Dúlaqah he gave Khán-i A'zam and the other Amírs permission to leave that quarter. Mírzá Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Alí Qazawáni received the title of *Áçaf Khán*, and was appointed *Díwán* and *Bakhshí* of Gujrát. On the 3rd of Jamáda's-sání[3] the Emperor arrived at Ajmír, and while staying at Sángánír he appointed Rájah Todarmal (who had remained at Ágrah with a view to fitting out 1000 vessels and boats) to go and examine into the state of the revenues of Gujrát. On the 7th of Jamáda's-sání the imperial cavalcade arrived at the metropolis. The whole time of his going and coming did not occupy one month and a half.

On the 25th of this month the rite of circumcision was performed on their imperial highnesses the Emperor's sons. And on the 22nd of the month Rajab[4] the prince Sulṭán Salím received the tablet of instruction from the hand of the God-fearing Mulána Mír Kalán[5], the traditionalist of Herát (who was an angel in human form, and had been instructed by his reverence the paragon of traditionalists Mírak Sháh bin Mír Jamál-ud-dín), and learnt the lesson "In the name of the gracious and merciful God. The Merciful-One taught the Qurán."[6]

[1] *Barnagar*, Elliot V, 369.
[2] The fifth month.
[3] The sixth month.
[4] The seventh month.
[5] See Vol. iii, p. 151 Text.
[6] Al Qurán LV, 1.

(P. 171) In this year the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khán, who had been appointed governor of Sárangpúr, and appointed him prime minister, and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. And the Emperor ordered the debts of Shaikh Muḥammad of Bokhára, who was killed in the battle of Patan, and of Saif Khán, who fell in the last battle of Aḥmadábád, to be paid out of the public treasury. They amounted to a *lac* of rupees.

And in this year the Emperor presented a sword to Rajah Todarmal, when he brought with him a clear balance-sheet of the accounts of Gujrát. Then he sent him in conjunction with Lashkar Khán *Bakhshí* (whom most of the people of Hind call Shér Khán) to attempt the conquest of Bengál in the service of Mun'im Khán, the Khán Khánán. To Shahr-ulláh Kambúí of Láhór he gave the title of Shahbáz Khán, and appointed him *Mír-bakhshí*, and this rhyme was sealed with his name :—

> "By the blessing of the favours of the Lord of Conjunction
> I have reached *Shahbáz Khán*-hood from servitude."

At this time Mír Muḥassan Razwí returned from an embassy to the Dak'hin, and brought suitable presents from the rulers of that country. On the 16th of Shavvál of this year the Emperor determined on a pilgrimage to Ajmír intending to pray for assistance in the conquest of Bengál. At the village of Dáir, which is four *cosses* from Fatḥpúr, his reverence the refuge of direction, and possessor of saintship, Khwájah 'Abd-ush-shahíd,[1] grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár (may God sanctify his tomb !), made intercession for the release of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín, but was refused. Although the Emperor did not neglect any marks of due honour and respect, and publicly even read the *Fatiḥah*,[2] still his reverence felt much grief at the refusal, and went away much saddened. At 7 *cosses* from Ajmír the Emperor alighted, and on the 12th (P. 172) of Zí-c'dah[3] he was honoured with the privilege of paying a visit to the blessed burial-place.

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.
[2] Al Qurán I. See Sale *in loco*.
[3] The eleventh month.

On the 17th of this month took place the entrance of the earth-illumining sun, which is the greatest heavenly body and the light-giver of the world, into the constellation of Aries[1] :—

> "The body of the Sun, when it comes from the Fish to the Ram,
> The white horse of day makes the black horse of night white of foot."

And because of the dignity of this day, which he observes every year and passes in joy and gladness, he held a high feast in the ancient fashion, and distributed the sum of a *lac* of rupees to every class of person present at the assembly. On the 23rd of the month Zí-qa'dah the Emperor marched out of Ajmír (which in grandeur may vie with Constantinople itself), and arriving at his capital he set on foot preparations for an expedition to Bengal, and gave orders for the building of boats. Of that number one boat was lion-prowed, and another crocodile-prowed. And verily only sea-going vessels have such beam and draught.

Towards the end of the month Zí-ḥajjah of this year the Author by reason of destiny, which is a chain round the foot of decision, having parted with Ḥusain Khán, and come from Badáún to Ágrah, was introduced at Court by Jamál Khán Qurchí, and the late Galen-like physician Ayn-ul-mulk.[2] And since in those days the chattles of learning had considerable currency, I was dignified with the honour of a conversation the moment I came, and was enrolled in the number of the attendants at his assemblies. The Emperor made me dispute with sages, who boast of their depth of science, and who admit no uninitiated into their presence, and was himself the arbiter. By the grace of God, and the strength of my natural talent, and the sharpness of my intellect, and the courage, which is inherent in youth, I overcame most of them. When at the time of presentation they described me as follows: (P. 173) "This worthy of Badáún has broken the head of Ḥájí Ibráhím Sirhindí," the Emperor desired

[1] The vernal equinox, the *nourózi jaláli*, the beginning of the 19th year of the *Iláhí*, or era of Akbar.

[2] See Vol. iii; p. 164 Text.

that I should be presented at once, and his commands were issued to that effect. Shaikh Abd-un-Nabí, the *Chief Çadr*,[1] was very much offended with me because I had not made use of him to obtain my introduction. He used to take the opposite side to myself in disputation, but the proverb came true "He that is bitten by a snake takes opium," so that enmity by degrees turned into friendship.

About this time Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, son and heir of Shaikh Mubárak of Nágór, the star of whose knowledge and understanding was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

In this year a lofty college and high and spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmír. And the cause of this was as follows: His Majesty's extreme devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city, and so he ordered a palace to be built at every stage between Ágrah and that place, and a pillar to be erected and a well sunk at every *coss*. Ever so many hundreds of stags' horns, which the Emperor had killed during the course of his life were placed on these pillars as a memorial to the world. And *Míl-sháhh*[2] "Mile-horn" gives the date. Would that instead of these he had ordered gardens and caravansarais to be made!

In this year at the instigation of Shahbáz Khán Kambú the custom of branding[3] the government horses came into practice. And with one stroke of the pen he commanded the appointment of tax-gatherers throughout the whole empire, and that lands should be held directly from the Crown, as shall be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In the latter part of the month Çafar[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the Emperor embarked on board the crocodile-prowed vessel with the intention of conquering Bengál. The reason for this journey was as follows: When Sulaimán Afghán Kararání died, who from the time of Islím Sháh had held the district of Bengál and become quite independent, his son Báyazíd succeeded him for a time, but on account of his bad conduct after a short

[1] He held the office from 971 to 986.

[2] 40 + 10 + 30 + 300 + 1 + 600 = 981.

[3] See Blochmann *Áín* 55, p. 139.

[4] The second month.

(P. 174) space of time he was murdered by the contrivance of his brother-in-law Hansú and other Amírs. Then Dáúd the younger son of Sulaimán, who was his heir, took upon himself the title of king, and omitted the custom observed by Sulaimán of sending messages to inform the Emperor of his accession to power, and to assure him of his loyalty. News of the death of Sulaimán reached the Emperor at the fortress of Súrat, and he immediately issued a *farmán* to the Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, who was at that time at Jounpúr, to chastise Dáúd and conquer the kingdom of Bengál. The Khán Khánán levied a large army, and having seized two *lacs* of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute settled the matter peaceably, and returned. Dáúd, who was then at Hájípúr, at the instigation of Katlú Khán, governor of Jagannáth, by cunning management in exciting his cupidity for an elephant, got Lodí into his power and imprisoned him. He had been governor of Orissa, but had since taken a hostile course and had assumed independent and absolute authority in the Fortress of Rohtás. They tell the story that one day Dáúd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodí with 10000 horsemen of Sulaimán's formed the design of putting down Dáúd. But Dáúd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodí's followers. By his crafty management he got Lodí into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodí, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dáúd. He said: "Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I give you one piece of advice, which if you act upon, you will prove victorious. And that is (P. 175), that you place no reliance upon that peace which I effected not long ago by means of two *lacs* of rupees. The Moghuls will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war on them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow." Dáúd thought that he had an evil design in what he said, and proud of the hollow peace which he had made with the Khán Khánán, but which was no better than a mirage, he put the devoted Lodí to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity When the Khán Khánán

heard this news, his loaf fell into the butter[1] and he turned towards Patnah and Hájípúr. Then Dáúd began to recognize the worth of Lodí, and repented of having put him to death; but what was the good of it!

"The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do!
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do!"

Having repaired the wreck and ruin of the fortress of Patnah, without even drawing his sword, or a single arrow being fitted to the bow, he shut himself up in the fortress. But on account of his drunkenness and injustice his people deserted from him, until the Emperor at the aforementioned date appointed Mírzá Yúsuf Khán to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and left Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán in charge of Ágrah, and himself set off by river. The following *rubá'í* was composed on the occasion:—

The justice-distributing and religion-protecting Emperor
The world-conquering Jamshíd Muḥammad Akbar,
Sat on the bank of the sea; like Sikandar[2]
Both sea and land became subject to him.

The Emperor took his eldest son with him. The face of the water was hidden by the number of boats and vessels (P. 176). And through the congratulations of the *Khárwáhá*, who are a sort of sailors used to the river, and through their shouts and cries in the language peculiar to them, the birds of the air and the fish of the water were well nigh made to dance. And such a spectacle presented itself as no words can possibly describe. Every day the Emperor used to disembark and occupy himself in hunting, and at night he would cast anchor, and would spend it in searching into science and poetry, and in recitals and repetitions.

[1] Roebuck's Proverb, p. 54. The proverb means "He was in luck."

[2] Alexander the Great is said to have sailed down to the ocean, and to have launched a boat on it—referring to his going down the Hydaspes. See Arrian VI, 3 and Thirlwall's Hist. Vol. VII, p. 34, Chap. LIV near the beginning.

On the 23rd of the month Çafar mentioned above the Emperor encamped at Payág, which is commonly called Illáhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with a desire to obtain the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter Hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree :—

> " Although he committed the crime for the sake of reward,
> He went to Hell all the same by that road of water."

He laid the foundations of a great building, and left the name of that city *Illáhábád*. From Banáras he sent Shér Bég Tawáchí in a very swift vessel to the Khán Khánán. And on the second of the month Rabi'-us-sání[1] from a place called Yaḥyápúr, one of the environs of Jounpúr, which is the meeting-place of the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadí,[2] he had the boats of the Prince, with the ladies of the harem, and the judges and justices, towed against the stream of the Gowadí and sent to Jounpúr. He himself went up the river two or three days' journey, and then returning in accordance with a request of the Khán Khánán in the greatest haste towards the Ganges, he gave rein to his river-drinking crocodiles. At this halting-place news arrived of the death of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Bakkar, and of Muḥib 'Alí Khán's having taken possession of that kingdom. On the 16th of the aforesaid month the army arrived by land at the environs of the city of Gházípúr, and at this halting-place (P. 177) I'timád Khán, *Khwájah Saráí*, came to the Emperor from the Khán Khánán and related at length the state of the army of the Khán Khánán, and pressed him to make as much haste as possible. On the seventh of this month Sayyid Mírak Ispahání a man learned in charms, who after the defeat of Khán Zamán[3] had lived at Jounpúr, at the instigation of Naqíb Khán studied a great book of sor-

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Often called *Gumti ;* but the name is properly *Gumati, i. e.*, "having-cows."

[3] See p. 99.

tilege, and when he had selected the letters and arranged and compounded them, the following verse came out as the omen :—

"With quickness Akbar through royal fortune
Will take the kingdom out of the hand of Dáúd."

And it so happened that it turned out just in that way. And on his return, when he was encamped at Jounpúr, the afore-mentioned Sayyid hastened to do homage to the Emperor, and offered him another omen. And this verse also came true :—

"The news of the victory suddenly comes,
The head of Dáúd comes to the Court."

The compiler of this epitome was at that time a friend of his, and I asked leave of him to study that lore, and he consented. But he said that this lore was a special privilege of the Sayyids, and that there was a certain condition attached to the matter, which was fundamental, and the observance of which was indispensable. At last I found out that this indispensable condition was the embracing of the doctrines of the foolish Shí'ah-s ! This sort of omen like all omens is a forgery and an invention, for any one who has a little thinking power can invent the like of it, as came to my own experience and was seen by me. And in those days, without the favour of the instruction of the Sayyid, I practised it myself. The wiser Jámí tells us :—

"The augur of the time, drunk and a stranger,
Sets forth his books in this way :
Not fearing the things of the next world,
And not asking about the things of salvation,
Having written some letters, by their side
And below them written some numbers,
Having conceived in himself an empty imagination
Entirely devoid of the ornament of wisdom,
(P. 178) A trouble to man, and a plague to men of science,
What is their *jafar*,[1] O *Ja'fari* Çádiq, ?

[1] *Jafar* means "charm," "sortilege." *Ja'fari Çádiq* is one of the Imáms, see p. 36, *note* 2. There is here a play on the two words of similar sound.

Ja'fari Çádiq is angry with you,
To the Çádiq-s there is a reproach from the liars.
It is better that the people of dignity and pomp,
Who have not their equals in the world,
Although [these augurs] are for wisdom the talk of the world,
Should not buy this tinsel of those asses.
Those jewels which the excellent have strung,
Those sciences which the learned have sung,
In the ear of their mind are but wind,
Their nature is pleased at the removal of such,
They call them all old and shrivelled [and say],
How in a dried up thing can there be any *fresh* taste ?'
I know not what you mean by this '*fresh*'—
Who calls the taste of new wine '*fresh*'?
The pretender who boasts of '*freshness*'
Let him spin his warf and woof '*afresh*.'
The old he has lost, and has not got the new,
The old he has dropped, and has not reached the new."

On the 20th of the month Rabí'-us-sání[1] the Emperor encamped at Jousá, and there news arrived from the Khán Khánán, that 'Isá Khán Niyází, one of the great Amírs of the Afgháns, who is generally known as Shujá'at, had made a sortie from the Fortress of Patna with war-elephants and a considerable force, and had joined battle, and been slain by the hand of a *ghulám* of Lashkar Khán's. And at this time Muḥammad Ma'çúm, son of Háshim Khán the brother of Shaháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán (who was himself in the army of the Khán Khánán, and his son with the Emperor in the fleet) used every day to bring news from that army, and bring information from his father to the Emperor. By this means he rose to high favour, and the Emperor gave him the title of Khán—till at length what insurrections and rebellions did he not raise, what sword did he not draw, and what fruit did he not reap! as shall be related in its place, if God (He as exalted!) will.

On the 10th of this month the Emperor encamped at the town of

[1] The fourth month.

Romní,[1] one of the dependencies of Bhojpúr, an old halting-place. From this place he sent Qásim 'Alí Khán Baqqál to the Khán Khánán with a view to asking him what he advised to be done. (P. 179) He quickly returned, and brought news from thence. When the Emperor asked him about Ḥusain Khán, and his brother Kúchak Muḥammad Khán (who had been appointed to help the Khán Khánán), he, on account of his badness of heart and malevolence of disposition, and among other things on account of a grudge which he had against him at Badáún caused by the contiguity of their *jágírs*, said: "The brother of Ḥusain Khán, Kúchak Khán, remains in the service, but Ḥusain Khán himself has gone from Kánt-u Golah to the neighbourhood of Lak'nou and Oudh, and is hovering round and harrying the Banjár-s.[2]" The Emperor was very much vexed at this bad assistance on the part of Ḥusain Khán, and the effect of his disloyalty soon became evident. For, on his return, the Emperor would not admit him to Court, and took away his *jágír*. At last he took his own course, and went to Mountains of the North, where he made war with the infidels, and was wounded. Disabled by this wound he came to Ágrah, where he gave up his soul to the Beloved, as shall be afterwards narrated, if the glorious God will.

On the 16th of this month the Emperor encamped at the halting-place of the Khán Khánán near to Panjpahárí, two or three *cosses* distant from Patna, where are five high towers close together, which the Indian infidels of former times had raised of baked bricks. The Khán Khánán presented him with caskets full of pearls, and brought as presents precious things and valuable silks, which were beyond all computation. From this place the Emperor dispatched with Khán-i 'Álam into the midst of the raging stream 3000 fully equipped horsemen in boats with such ornamentation and display, that at the sight of it the eye was rejoiced, and filled with all stores and munitions necessary for taking the fortress of Ḥájípúr, from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. And Rájah Kachítí,[3] whose army and

[1] *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí* (Elliot V, 376) has Domní.

[2] A tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain. They are usually left unmolested by belligerents.

[3] *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí* (Elliot V, 377) has *Gajpati*.

strength was such, that for the space of two years he had kept the Khán Zamán uselessly employed in jungle-cutting and fighting, (P. 180)—and even yet that jungle is not as clear as it ought to be—was appointed to go to the assistance of Khán-i 'Álam with a following numerous as ants or locusts, and a multitude of horses and mares. Then they joined battle having surrounded Ḥájípúr both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the waterside to view the battle. But, when on account of the distance and the thick smoke it became no longer visible, he placed some experienced soldiers in a boat, and in the afternoon sent them towards Ḥájípúr to obtain definite news. Then the garrison of the fortress set in motion against them 16 boats full of warriors. After a severe struggle this handful of men came off victorious against that great host, and joined Kháni 'Álam. On the other side Fatḥ Khán Bárha with a strong body of Afgháns was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, and these he sent into the fort for Dáúd to see, that they might prove to him a warning and a scare. And this *mnemosynon* was composed and presented to his Majesty :—

"The umbrella of the King of religion for the conquest of Patna,
When it threw its shadow over the district of Patna,
On the spur of the moment the Munshí of thought
Wrote for its date : *Fatḥ-i bilád-i Patnah.*[1] "

The next day the Emperor mounted the Panj-pahárí to get a comprehensive view of the fortress of Patna, and he reconnoitred it on all sides. And the Afgháns, making a last stand determined to fight to the death, kept firing great gun shots, which from a distance of 3 *cosses* fell into the camp (!). And one shot passed over the head of the author, who was in the tent of Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán Jokán Bégí, governor of Biyánah and Bajúnah, and God (He is exalted!) protected me, and gave me some days respite ; but I do not know how long this respite will last :—

[1] "The taking of the town of Patna." 80 + 400 + 8 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 400 + 50 + 5 = 982.

(P. 181) "However much I have wandered about the world of form,
Adam was sorrowful, and his descendants helpless.
Every one in his own degree is a victim to sorrow,
To none is given a passport [of exemption]."

After the fall of Ḥájípúr, Dáúd, although he had 20,000 horsemen and fierce war-elephants without number, and powerful artillery, fled shaking with terror, and on the night of the 21st of this month he got into a boat, and making a free choice of flight set the road to Gour as the goal of his cowardice. And Sarhor[1] Hindí Bengálí, who had been the instigator of the death of Lodí, and had received the title of Bikramajít,[2] placed his treasures in a boat, and followed him. And Gújar Khán Kararání (who had the title of *Rakn-ud-doulah*) sent the elephants forward, and himself made precipitately for the plain. Great numbers through fear cast themselves into the river, and were drowned in the deluge of death. Another body, like madmen, threw themselves to the ground from the tower and walls of the fortress, and filled up the deep moat with their corpses. Another section were crushed under foot by the elephants in the narrow parts of the streets. When the fugitives arrived at the river Panpan, Gújar Khán sent the elephants over by the bridge which they had constructed over it, and proceeded on his way. But through the crush of people the bridge broke down, and many renowned leaders of the Afgháns throwing away their baggage and arms cast themselves naked into the river, and never lifted again their heads from the whirlpool of death. Later on in the evening the Emperor heard of the flight of Dáúd, and entered the city of Patna, and took 56 elephants in the city as spoil. The following hemistich gives the date :—

"The kingdom of Sulaimán passed from Dáúd.[3]"

He left the Khán Khánán in charge of the place, and himself went off in pursuit of Gújar Khán, who had all the elephants of Dáúd

[1] *Ṭabaqáti Akbarí* (Elliot V, 378) has *Srídhar*.

[2] Sansk. *Vikrama-ditya*.

[3] 40 + 30 + 20 + 60 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 7 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 983.

with him. He swam over the river Pánpan on horseback, and arrived at Daryápúr on the bank of the Ganges distant 26 *cosses* from Patna. (P. 182) He hastened on by forced marches, and about 400 elephants fell into his hands, but Gújar Khán escaped. Shahbáz Khán *Mír Bakhshí*, and Majnún Khán, who had followed him, went 7 *cosses* beyond Daryápúr, and brought word that Gújar Khán had crossed a small river called Balbhúnd, and that many of his men had been drowned.

On the 21st of the afore-mentioned month the Khán Khánán came by water to Daryápúr, and brought all the shipping with him. The Emperor remained 6 days at this place. He gave him 10,000 horsemen as an additional reinforcement to the Amírs who were with him, and all the boats which had come with him from Ágrah, and having increased the allowance of the army in the proportion of 10 : 30 or 10 : 40, and committed the whole management of the province of Bengál to him, the Emperor left that place and returned to Ghiyáspúr, which is on the banks of the Ganges.

On the second of the month Jamáda'l-avval[1] of the afore-mentioned year the Emperor appointed Mirzá Yúsuf Khán to the command of the world-traversing camp, and sent Muzaffar Khán with Farhat Khán to reduce the fort of Rohtás, with orders that after he had taken it, he should leave the post of guarding it to Farhat Khán, and himself return to the Court.

On the 3rd of this month the Emperor came to Patna, and arranged the affairs of the place, and took a general view of the buildings of Dáúd. And one of the remarkable things is, that in that kingdom there are some houses called *chappar-band*, fetching 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each, although they are only covered with wood. And on the 6th of this month he went to Jounpúr, where he remained one month. He placed that place and Banáras directly under the royal exchequer, and gave the management of them to Mírzá Mírak Razwí, and Shaikh Ibráhím Síkrí Wál. On the 9th of Jamáda's-sání[2] he set out for Dihlí the capital. (P. 183.) He encamped at Khánpúr, and while staying there Qází Nizám Badakhshí (who was the wisest of the wise of Badakhshán and Transoxiana, and from

[1] The fifth month.

[2] The sixth month.

the world of purity and the path of Ṣúfíism had attained many high degrees, and has left behind him a description of a portion of it, by the intervention of Fírúzah Kábúlí (who was one of those born in the house of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and has great experience as a student of all kinds of knowledge, and writing, and musical intervals, and whose mental stature is wanting in nothing) came and did homage. And "*The learned Badakhshí*" gives the date. Qází Nizám was presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and 5,000 rupees in ready money. And on account of his lofty understanding and readiness of wit he by degrees attained the title of Qází Khán, and afterwards that of Ghází Khán; and then he rose to the command of 3,000 men, while Fírúzah, who was originally in more honour than himself, and was a jewel by birth, having beat a disgraceful retreat declined from what he was, and his business became reversed.

While encamped at this place a message came from the Khán Khánán to the effect, that when Dáúd fled from Patna he went to Garhí, and having strengthened that fortress and committed it to honoured persons devoted to himself, hastened towards Tándah. Immediately on the arrival of the Imperial army fear overcame the garrison, and without striking a blow, they evacuated it and fled.

In the month Jamada'l-ákhir, while the camp was at Shérgarh (otherwise called Qannouj) a book called *Singh-ásan Battísi*, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rájah Bikramájít king of Málwa, and resembles the *Ṭuṭí-námah*, was placed in my hands; and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation [redacted] prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned Bráhman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a sheet (P. 184), containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it *Námah-e Khirad-afzá*,[2] a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.

[1] 4 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 4 + 600 + 300 + 10 = 982.

[2] 50 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 4 + 1 + 80 + 7 + 1 = 989. The title means "The book of mental recreation."

At this time while at Karáúlí his reverence Khwájah 'Abd-ul-shahíd (God sanctify his spirit!) arrived on his way to Samaqand with a view to taking leave. He said:[1] "I wish to carry this handful of bones to that spot." He bound a sword round the Emperor's waist, and again[2] prayed for the release of Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, but was refused. He was very much vexed and said: "What more can I say! He has lost his *Justice* and *Mercy*, I pray God that he may lose also the gift of *Faith*."[3] As soon as he arrived at Samarqand he was gathered, as he said he should be, to his honoured father (God sanctify their souls!)

On the 20th of Jamáda's-sání' while halting at the town of Iskandarpúr news was brought, that Dáúd having left Tándah (which is situate on the other side of the river Ganges opposite to Gour), without striking a single blow had gone towards the extreme desert and had arrived at Orissa, and that the Khán Khánán had taken possession of Tándah. When the Emperor was 3 *cosses* distant from Ágrah he turned towards Dihlí the Metropolis, and at the beginning of the month Rajab[4] that mighty city having become the tent of his prosperity, he spent some days in visiting the blessed shrines. At this time Ḥusain Khán, who had come near to Patyálí and Bhongoun with the express purpose of paying homage, was not admitted to the presence, and his Majesty ordered Shahbáz Khán, *Mír Bakhshí*, not to allow him to come within the rope which was stretched round the Emperor's tent. So he determined to become a Kalandar, and gave away to students and worthy people, and those who waited at the shrine of the late Emperor, and the people of the monasteries and schools, whatever he possessed in the way of elephants and camels and horses and other military stores. And "Alif! what hast thou?"[5] came true in his case:—

(P. 185) "For all this magnificence of the created world[6]
Is as nothing in the opinion of religious enthusiasts."

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.

[2] Compare p. 174.

[3] The three words are *Aman*, *Imán*, and *Imám*.

[4] The fifth month.

[5] To be stripped as bare as the letter *alif* is proverbial.

[6] Lit. of "be! and it was." Somewhat similarly the Creator is often called in post-biblical Hebrew "He who spake and the world was."

When this matter was reported to the Emperor, he becoming anxious to show him respect, sent him a present of a shawl from his own wardrobe, and one of his own quivers and arrows, and gave orders, that he should keep for one season more the pargannas of Kánt o Golah, Patyálí &c., (which was a *jágír* worth 1 *kror*, 20 *lacs* of rupees), and that the tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that after he had put his troop on the footing required by the *dágh omaḥallah*, he should receive a suitable *jágír*. So he, who through his extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, and though exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it, was not able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of circumstances, at length arrived at his *jágír*, and kept close to the northern mountains, and so left the Court, that his return is still *in nubibus* :—

> "Give gold to a soldier, and he dies for you ;
> Withhold your gold, and he will go forth into the world."

In the beginning of Sha'bán[1] the Emperor left Dihlí for Ajmír. While staying at Nárnoul Ḥasan Qulí Khán, Khán Jahán, waited upon him. Also Khán-i A'zam arrived by forced marches from Aḥmadábád. At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazán he arrived within 7 *cosses* of Ajmír, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettle-drums of Dáúd's, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence the Khwájah Mu'ín (God sanctify his glorious tomb !). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and çúfíism took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And *dirhams* and *dínars* were showered down like raindrops.

At this time the Emperor appointed Ṭayib Khán, son of Muḥammad (P. 186) Ṭáhir Khán *Núri-farághat* the commandant of Dihlí, with a body of tried warriors to go against Chandar Sen, son of

[1] The eighth month.

Máldeo, who was oppressing the faithful in the neighbourhood of Joudpúr and Síwánah. On the arrival of this army he withdrew into the jungles, which were full of mango-trees, and fled.

In the middle of the blessed month of Ramazán the Emperor, dismissed Kháni A'zam to Gujrát, and arrived by continued forced marches at Fatḥpúr at the end of this month.

In this year he sent Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Jalál Khán Qúrchí, and several others of the Amírs to reduce the fortress of Síwánah,[1] which was held by the grandsons of Máldeo. Jalál Khán, who was one of the privy counsellors, was the most complete master of mirth and wit, and it was not easy for any one else to acquire such a hold on the Emperor's disposition by force of companionship, as this man did. He fought manfully, and attained the grade of martyrdom. And in his case the saying came true: "He enjoyed this world, and won the next." When Shahbáz Khán Kambú came there, he in a very short time got possession of the fortress.

In this year the Emperor sent Mír Gesú Bakáwal [Begí] to examine into the affairs of Sulṭan Maḥmúd of Bakkar, and to guard the fortress of Bakkar.

In this year there was in Gujrát both a general pestilence and also a dearness of grain, to such an extent that one *man* of *jawárí* sold for 120 *tankas*, and numberless people died.

And in this year Khwájah Amína, the absolute Wazír, surnamed Khwájah-e Jahán, answered the summons of God at Láhór at the time of the return of the army from Patna. And Çabúḥí a poet in the height of his pomp and greatness composed this *rubá'í*:—

"Thy door is Alexander's wall to people of merit,
Why do they say 'O Gog!' when thy army it is.
(P. 187) In thy generation all the signs of the Day of Judgment are manifest,
Thou art Antichrist, and Khwájah Amína is thy ass".[2]

Although he was a very by-word for stinginess to such an extent

[1] In Rajputana about 60 miles N. W. of Joudpúr.

[2] *Al-masíḥ-ul-dajjál*, the false Christ, is according to Musalmán tradition the one whom the Jews call *Ham-Máshíaḥ ben Dávíd*. He is to appear first between Iráq and Syria, and to be riding upon an ass. See Sale's *Prelim. Disc.*, Sec. iv.

that he used to eat up the remains of his evening meal, still in the line of getting things done for those who made petitions to the Emperor, whether they were strangers or friends, his equal was not to be found in the world. Whenever he wished to accomplish an affair for any one of the courtiers, he used to settle it for a bribe of gold, at the same time he caused to be given to himself by the Emperor a páshá-tail, a kettle-drum, and the titles of Khán and Sulṭán, and whatever *jágír* he asked for he got it as a gift. And whatever man of learning or excellence came from Transoxania, or Khorasán, or 'Iráq, or Hindústán, he caused him to be endowed with a heavy sum of gold from the imperial treasury. Through his exertions also the Amírs were able to afford a great expenditure, and even to the other courtiers he allowed pecuniary assistance to each in proportion to his state. For instance, for Ḥáfiz Tashkandí, who was one of the disciples of Rashíd Mulá 'Içám-ud-dín Ibráhím Asfaráyaní (?) (who was without equal in the line of Arabic erudition, and who wrote a commentary on the Surah-e-Muḥammad[1] (peace be upon him !) from which his Çúfí ecstasy may clearly be recognized) he obtained from the Emperor and the Amírs about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. Eventually he went to Mun'im Khán, Kháu Kháuán, with perfect appointments, and thence he started well supplied with gold to go to the sacred Makka in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven. When he returned home he died.

Among the witty sayings is the following. Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind, who was proud and rude, and quarrelsome and contentious in argument, at one of the Emperor's select assemblies at the time of the presentation of the *Tafsíri Ḥáfiz* by Mírzá Mufliz, who was a master of religious philosophy,[2] asked "How is *Múśa*[3] declined?" and (P. 188) "what is the root of the word?" It so happened that the Mírzá could not manage to answer as he ought to have done, and so to the people, brute-beasts as they are, the superiority of Ḥájí Ibráhím became an acknowledged fact. And this is but one of the many injustices of the time :—

[1] Al Qurán XLVII.

[2] See Blochmann, p. 541, *note*.

[3] Moses.

"On account of their love of quarelling some people
Have lost themselves in the street of hopelessness.
Every science, they have learnt in the college,
Will ruin and not profit them in the grave."

And when the Emperor asked the Qází's son Shukr, whom he had made Qází of Mat'hura, "Why do not you join in the discussion?" he answered: "If Ḥájí Ibráhím were to ask how to decline *'Iśá*,[1] what answer should I give?" His Majesty very much applauded this speech. This sort of thing has gone on for ten years, from that time to this, and all this assembly of arguers and disputants, whether honest enquirers or sham, consisting of more than[2] a hundred people, not one of them now sees[3] [the light of the sun], but all their faces are under the veil of "Every soul tasteth death[4]":—

"The grass is grown on the site of their dwelling,
It is as though they were gone to a *rendezvous*.
Of the tribe of dreg-drinkers none but us remain,
Bring the wine, for we are the only survivers—that's something!"

And now, when in conformity with [the Arabic saying] "A favour, when thou hast lost it, thou recognizest," I call to mind these my companions, a blood-stream of sorrow flows from my woe-begone eyes, and one laments and wails and says: "In this abode of sorrow would that they had remained a few days longer, for in any case they were an advantage! But now all personal intercourse with them is precluded":—

"To be in a prison in the company of friends
Is better than to be in a garden with strangers."

But as for me this crushed gnat, this copied picture, what cure have I, save the wound of disappointment and secret wail, may God forgive the past, and have mercy on the future:—

[1] Jesus.

[2] Comp Text p. 226, l. 1, and 234, l. 1.

[3] Comp. *οἱ βλέποντες*.

[4] Al Qurán iii, 182; xxi, 36; xxix, 57.

"Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and best (P. 189)
That Time and Fate of all their Vintage prest,
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to Rest".[1]

In this year an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the *raiyats*. All the *pargannas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation would produce one *kror* of *tankas*, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called *Krorí*, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers, so that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the neighbourhood of Fathpúr. One *kror* was named Ádámpúr, another Shespúr, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets. Officers were appointed, but eventually they did not carry out the regulations as they ought to have done. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *Krorís*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *krorís* were brought to account by Rájah Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindús in the country of Kámrúp, who having dedicated themselves to their idol, (P. 190) live for one year in the height of

[1] Omar Khayyám, transl. Fitzgerald, p. 5. The recension quoted by our Author gives the following:—

"Alas! for my friends are all gone from hand,
One by one they are become low at the foot of death.
They became weak-headed in the wine-party of life,
And became drunk one moment before us."

luxury, enjoying everything that comes to their hands; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol. The whole country, with the exception of those held immediately from the Crown (*Khálisah*-lands), were held by the Amírs as *jágír*: and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leasure to look after the troops, or to take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but of really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbáz Khán,[1] the *Mír Bakhshí*, introduced the custom and rule of *dágh u mahall*, which had been the rule of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-din Khiljí, and afterwards the law under Shér Sháh. It was settled that every Amír should commence as commander of twenty (*Bísti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, &c., as had been ordered; and when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100 (*Çadí*), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels in proportion to their command (*manṣab*), according to the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of commander of 1000 (*Hazárí*), or 2000 (*Dúhazárí*), or even of 5000 (*Panjhazárí*), which is highest command; but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be degraded. But notwithstanding this new regulation the condition of the soldiers grew worse, because the Amírs did as they pleased. For they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers' clothes, brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their *jágírs* they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. (P. 191) Hence while the income and expediture of the *manṣabdár* remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless

[1] On the text of this passage see Blochmann, p. 242, *note* 2.

soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers and cotton-cleaners, carpenters, and green-grocers, both Hindú and Musalmán, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a command, or were made *Krorís*, or *Aḥadís*, or *Dákhilís*[1] to some one; and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the Emperor himself in his special audience hall that they were weighed in their clothes with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from 2½ to 3 *man* more or less; and after inquiry it was found that they were all hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, "With my eyes thus open I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." After some time had passed away His Majesty divided the Aḥadís into *duaspah*,[2] *yakaspah*, and *nímaspah*, in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees:—

"Lo! see all this in my day, but ask no questions."

And this bazaar became much frequented, but the shop of real military-service[3] was deserted. But notwithstanding all this His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not very necessary, and the Amírs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers.[4]

In this year Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, sent Ráját Todar Mal with orders to go in pursuit of Dáúd towards Orissa, and Majnún Khán Qáqshál to go towards (P. 192) G'horág'hát, and went himself to Kutak Banáras, in which strong fortress Dáúd was endeavouring to shut himself up, and commenced operations against him. Majnún Khán at G'horág'hát fought first of all against Sulaimán

[1] On these two terms see Blochm., p. 231.

[2] That is, having respectively one horse, two horses, and a half share in a horse.

[3] *Kash* = *Kamar* "girdle." Thus *Kashbandí* = *Kamarbandí* "military service."

[4] Turkí خواجه means a servant, but not a royal one.

Manklí the *jágír-dár* of that district, who was distinguished for the number of his forces, the greatness of his pomp, and his excessive valour. Him he cast into the dust of death; and the Qáqshál party took so many of the enemy that they were unable to carry them off; and the wives and families of the Afgháns fell into their hands. Then Majnún Khán asked the daughter of Sulaimán Manklí in marriage for his son, who at the present time in the service of the Emperor ranks among the Amírs. Next making war in the neighbourhood of G'horág'hát with the sons of Jalál-ud-dín Súr (who once on a time had had the *khuṭbah* read, and coin struck in that district) they with the assistance of the *zamíndárs* of that district defeated him, and pursuing him to Tándah took possession of Gaur. Mu'in-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí and Majnún Khán kept guard over Tándah, and awaited the news of the Khán Khánan's victory, until after the defeat of Dáúd, [and] the publication of the news of the Khán Khánán's return, the Afgháns retired into the jungles and effectually hid themselves.

Rájah Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of of Dáúd, in conjunction with Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Muḥammad Qulí Khán, and Muḥammad Qulí Khán Toqyái,[1] and Muzaffar Moghúl reached Gwályár[2] a dependency of Bengál by continuous marches from Madáran. Dáúd went 10 *cosses* forward from that place and gathered a large force together [at] a place called Daríṅkasárí,[3] and fortified Rohírpúr[4]. Meanwhile Junaid, uncle's son of (P. 193) Dáúd (who was renowned for valour and bravery, and had formerly served under the Emperor, but had fled from Ágrah to Gujrát, and from Gujrát came to Bengál), arrived at the confines of Ríṅkasárí[5] and wished to form a junction with Dáúd.

[1] Perhaps this ought to be *Toghái* which is the name of a Chagtái tribe.

[2] It should probably be *Gwálpárah* (note by Editor). Elliot, p. 385 has *Gowálpára*.

[3] Probably a corruption of *dar Ríṅkasárí*, "in Rinkasarí". Elliot, V, p. 385, has *Díṅkasárí*. The confusion between ر *R*, د *D* and ز *V*, as also between other letters which resemble one another is frequent in MSS, and printed editions, especially in the case of proper names.

[4] This ought to be Harpár, see Blochm., p. 375.

[5] Here the word seems to be spelt correctly.

Rájah Todar Mal sent Mírzá Abu-l-Qásim, who is surnamed Tamkúr[1], together with Nazar Bahádur to attack him. But these two were defeated by him and returned with broken reins to the Rájah. Then the Rájah went in person to oppose him, and he being unable to withstand him took refuge in the jungle. Thence the Rájah went to Medinípúr, where he remained some days. At that place Muḥammad Qulí Khán Barlás fell sick, and passed to the world of eternity. His loss was a great cause of weakness to the Imperial forces. Then he returned from Medinípúr to Madáran.[2] At this place Qiyá Khán Gang, being offended with the Amírs without any just cause, retired to the jungle Rájah Todar Mal wrote an account of his doings to the Khán Khánán, and remained at Madáran. The Khán Khánán sent Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Lashkar Khán, *Bakhshí* (who was once called 'Askar Khán and afterwards Astar Khán), with others to the assistance of the Rájah. They join the Rájah at Bardwán. Then he went off alone, and pacified Qiyá Khán, and brought him back. Afterwards he marched by way of Madáran and came to Bajhórah[3]. While at Borchín news arrived that Dáúd had left his wives and family at Katak Banáras, and was busy making preparations for war. The Khán Khánán came in haste to oppose him, and formed a junction with the Rájah. The Afgháns surrounded their camps with a moat, and fortified it.

(P. 194) On the 20th of Zí-l-qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Bajhórah, and Mangalúsí[4] elephants were arranged on both sides. Such a tremendous battle took place, that the tongue of the pen is unable to do justice to the description of it. When the elephants of Dáúd (all of which were fed on good grass and were madder than can be imagined) were put into motion, the Khán Khánán ordered the swivel guns, and cannon which were mounted on carriages in front

[1] Another reading is *Ghamgín*, Elliot, V, p. 385 has *Namakí*. Blochm., p. 470 give *Namakín*.

[2] In Jahánábád, a parganna of the Húglí district, between Bardwán and Medinípúr Blochm., p. 375.

[3] See Blochm., p. 375. Elliot, V, p. 386 has *Jitúra*.

[4] The elephants of Mangalús were famous for their great size, and their white colour. See Vüller's Dictionary.

of the line, to open fire upon them. Upon this some of the renowned elephants, which were advancing, turned tail, and some of the veteran leaders of the Afgháns were mown down by the cannonade. At this juncture Gújar Khán, who was leader of the advance guard of Dáúd, made a sharp attack on Khán-i-'Álam, and Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh, and Kanjak[1] Khwájah, and Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Chogán Bégí, and Mírzá 'Alí 'Álam Sháhí, who composed the vanguard, and in the first charge put them to flight and drove them in on the *Altamsh*[2]-corps, of which Qiyá Khán Gang was the leader Khán-i 'Álam, leader of the vanguard bravely held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh*-corps was thrown into confusion, and driven back on the main-body,[3] where the Khán Khánán with the other mountain-like Amírs had stationed himself, and the main-body was thrown into utter confusion and rout. However much the Khán Khánán exerted himself to stay the panic, and restore order, it was all in vain. At this moment Gújar Khán came up, and showered blow upon blow on the Khán Khánán, who being without a sword was obliged to parry the cuts of Gujar Khán's sword with his whip (P. 195), till at last the horse of the Khán Khánán being frightened by the elephants became unmanageble and bolted with him. He went at full speed for 3 or 4 *cosses* on the pretext of collecting the fugitives, and the Afgháns pursued him part of the way. Then Qiyá Khán Gang and some others of the archers[4] surrounded the Afgháns on every side, and pouring showers of arrows upon them, riddled their ranks like a sieve. The affair had reached such a pitch that neither friends nor foes had any longer strength left in them to move, when suddenly from the bow of destiny an arrow reached a mortal part of Gújar Khán, who was riding at full speed, and brought him to the ground. His soldiery seeing themselves without a leader fell into utter confusion, and turned their backs on the field, and many of them were slain. At this moment the standard-bearer

[1] Another reading is *Kajak Khán Khwájah* Perhaps the name is *Kíjak*.

[2] A Turkí word meaning "sixty." It is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general. De Courteille, *Dict Turk.-Orient.* p. 31.

[3] *Ghúl*, a Hindí word.

[4] This word اوچي is Turkí.

of Khán-i 'Álam[1] brought his standard to the Khán Khánán. Soon after this event news of the death of Gújar Khán reached Mun'im Khán[2], and he turning his horse rallied some of his men and poured a shower of arrows on the enemy, whose souls like moths began to flit from their emptied bodies. Rájah Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khán, and the other Amírs, who had taken their stand on the right of the Imperial army attacked the left of the enemy, of which Ismá'íl Khán Abdár, surnamed Khán Khánán, was leader. At the same time Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Páyandah Muḥammad Khán Moghúl and other leaders of the Imperial left attacked the right wing of the Afgháns, where Khán Jahán, commandant of Orissa, was stationed. On both wings they drove the enemy back on the main-body, where Dáúd was stationed with the other chief Amírs of the Afgháns. His elephants were so irritated by the arrows that they turned round on his own ranks and threw the whole line into confusion. At this moment the standard of the Khán Khánán shone from afar as a sign of victory, and news of the death (P. 196) of Gújar Khán reached Dáúd, and his resolution was shaken, so that:—

"To save what he could he gave his body to flight,
He was content to receive his soul as spoil.[3]"

and most of mountain-like elephants moving like clouds he gave to the wind, and that proverb became true "*one soldier* flees, and it is all over with the *soldiery*."

The Khán Khánán remained some days at this place to heal his own wounds, and those of his men. And Lashkar Khán, who had been mortally wounded, joined the host (*lashkar*) of the Father of all flesh[4]. Meanwhile Dáúd in his flight had reached Katak Banáras,[5] so the Khán Khánán sent Rájah Todar Mal, with Sháhim Khán Jaláír, and Qiyá Khán, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán, and

[1] He had just been killed. See above.

[2] The Khán Khánán.

[3] This expression is common in Persian for "escaping with one's life" the Hebrew expression Jer. xxi, 9, &c.

[4] *I. e.*, died

[5] In the centre of Orissa. *Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí*. It is commonly known as *Cuttack*.

Muḥammad Qulí Khán Toqyáí, and Sa'íd Khán Badakhshí in pursuit of him, and promised to follow them himself as soon as his wounds were healed. This army marched as far as Kalkal-g'hátí. Dáúd and the rest of the Afgháns held Katak Banáras, and finding the wide field of honour to be contracted around them, determined to fight to the death, and made energetic preparations to withstand the seige. When the Khán Khánán heard news of this, he set off in person for Katak Banáras and alighted on the banks of the Mahánadi[1], and brought forward proposals of peace. After considerable opposition and difficulty it was settled with the Amírs that Dáúd should come and have an interview with the Khán Khánán, and that a reasonable portion of the wide kingdom of Bengál, in conformity with the advice and consent of the Amírs, should be assigned to him. On the day appointed a royal feast in the style of Jamshíd and Afrídún was arranged, and the Amírs took their proper places in accordance with their ranks, and the troops were drawn up in splendid array at the door of the audience-pavilion. On the other side the officers of Bengál with a pomp and grandeur (P. 197) like Solomon's came out from Katak Banáras with the chieftains of the Afgháns, and entering the camp of the Khán Khánán proceeded towards the audience-pavilion. The Khán Khánán with the greatest humility and respect practised all the ceremonies of reverence, and even advanced half way down the pavilion to meet them. When they met, Dáúd loosed his sword, and laying it before the Khán Khánán said, "Since it brings wounds and pain on such worthy men as you, I am sick of war." The Khán Khánán gave the sword to one of his body-guard, and taking Dáúd's hand led him to a cushion, and made him sit down by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. All kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats were served, and the Khán Khánán pressed him to partake of the dainties, and entertained him with great good humour and graciousness. After the removal of the dishes they proceeded to business, and drew up a treaty. Then the Khán Khánán sent for a sword with a jewelled belt out of his

[1] On which Cuttack stands. The word means "great river." The name in the printed text is a blunder.

own stores, and binding it on Dáúd's wrist said, "Since you have chosen the path of loyalty, accept this sword on the part of the Emperor. As for the district of Bengál, a *farmán* will be forwarded to you, in accordance with the request which I shall make." Then showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of precious gifts, he dismissed him. Thus the meeting passed off in all friendliness and good-will. On the 10th of the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the Khán Khánán arrived at Tándah the capital, whence he wrote a despatch to the Emperor containing an account of all that had happened. The Emperor sent him in return a *farmán* worded in accordance with his request, together with a present of gorgeous robes of honour, and a jewelled sword-belt, and an Arab horse and a saddle and bridle, and committing once more the[1] affair of Bengál to his sole charge he entrusted the reins of independent power to the hand of his capacity.

(P 198). On the 16th of the month Jamáda'-s-sáná (l-awwal) of this year his reverence the pole-star of pole-stars, the depository of spiritual guidance, and refuge of saintships (successor to that godlike *Ghaus*[1], that divine pole-star, Shaikh Muḥi-ud-dín 'Abd-ul-qádir Jílání) Miyán Shaikh Dáúd Jahní Wál[2] passed from this transitory world to the garden of Eden, and "*O Shaikh Dáúd Wali*[3]" was found to give the date. And the author found the following *mnemosynon*: "*Perfection of victory.*[4]"

After the Emperor's return from his journey to Ajmír in the month Zí-ul-qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the building of the *Ibádat-khánah*, consisting of four halls, near the new palace in Fatḥpúr, took place. An account of the details thereof, not devoid of prolixity, will, if the glorious God will permit be written on a suitable occasion.

It was during these days that Abu-l-Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor, came the second time to Court. He is now styled

[1] Any one of the seven *Abdál*, spirits which circle round the world, and are the servants of the seven Imáms, is called a *Ghaus*.

[2] See Vol. iii p. 28 of the text.

[3] 11 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982.

[4] 20 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 400 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 20 + 1 + 5 = 982.

'Allámí. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Çabáḥís*, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight,[1] and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying: "He who continually takes the offensive, does not commit himself as to his true opinions." He laid before the Emperor a Commentary on the *Áyat-ul-Kursí*,[2] which contained all the subtleties of the Qur'án; and though people said it was written by his father, Abu-l-Fazl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafsír-i-Akbarí*,[3] gives the date of the composition. But the Emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abu-l-Fazl a man capable of teaching the Mullás a lesson (whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh), though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which his Majesty had placed in the auther of these pages.

The reason of Abu-l-Fazl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters (as had been the case with Mír Ḥabshí and others), Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí and Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, and other learned men at Court, unanimously represented to the Emperor that Shaikh Mubárik also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdí*[4] (P. 199), belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they despatched police officers to bring him before the Emperor. But, when they found that the Shaikh with his two sons had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaikh at first took refuge with Salím Chistí at Fatḥpúr, who was then in the height of his glory, and requested-

[1] Our writer means that he preferred the lamp-light of human reason to the sunlight of Revelation.

[2] Al-Qur'án II, 256.

[3] "Commentary of Akbar's time." 400 + 80 + 60 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 10 = 983.

[4] The *Imám Mahdí*, who, like *Elijah the Tishbite* of the Jews, is to be the forerunner of the Messiah.

him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salím, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrát. Seeing Salím took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubárik applied to Mírzá 'Aziz Kokah,[1] who took occasion to praise to the Emperor the Shaikh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubárik was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he himself could really not see why the Shaikh was so much persecuted. The Emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaikh. In a short time matters took a still more favourable turn: and Abu-l-Fazl, when once in favour with the Emperor (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying the Emperor's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds), took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated, and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all the servants of God, especially of Shaikhs, and pious men, of the helpless and orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down. He used continually to say:—

"O Lord, send down a Proof[2] for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods[3] a gnat as big as an elephant!
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up the hand,
Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!"

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the *Ulamá*, (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following *Rubá'í* to them:—

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
(P. 200) As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy!
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict

[1] Akbar's foster-brother.

[2] That is one capable of giving the *Ulamá* a lesson, meaning himself.

[3] Nimrod and Pharaoh are proverbial for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat, which crept through the nose to his brain.

of any *Mujtahid*,[1] he used to say: "O don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller, or that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and Ulamá.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the buildings of the *'Ibadát-khánah* were completed. The cause was this. For many years previously the Emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of his reverence [the late] Mu'ín,[2] and passed much of his time in discussing the Word of God[3] and the word of the Prophet.[4] Questions of Çúfí-ism, scientific discussions, enquiries into Philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God; he continually occupied himself in pronouncing *Yá huwa*,[5] and *Yá hádí*,[6] in which he was well-versed. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn. When then he heard that Sulaimán Kararání, governor of Bengál, used every night to offer up the prayers in the company of some 150 persons consisting of renowned Shaikhs and Ulamá, and used to remain in their society till morning listening to commentaries and exhortations (P. 201), and then, after offering up the morning prayers, would occupy himself in State-business, and the affairs of the army, and of his subjects; and that he had his appointed time for everything and never broke

[1] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Musalmán law. Like most of the great Jewish Rabbis, there were among the oldest many who plied a trade at the same time.

[2] Shaikh Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí Sigizí of Ajmír.

[3] The Qur'án.

[4] Traditional sayings of Muḥammad's.

[5] "O Hé (God)!"

[6] "O Guide!"

through his good rule; and when also news arrived from Badakhshán of the coming of Mírzá Sulaimán, who was a prince of Çúfí tendencies, and had become a *Çáḥib-i-ḥál*,[1] and a *Murid*: for these urgent reasons he had the very cell of Shaikh 'Abd-ulláh Niyází Sarhindhí (who had formerly been a disciple of Shaikh Islám Chishtí, but had afterwards joined the circle of Mahdeva)[2] repaired, and built a spacious hall on all four sides of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called *Anúptaláo*[3] He named that cell the *'Ibádat-khánah*, which became by degrees *'Iyádat-khánah*,[4] and Mullá Sherí composed a *qaçídah* on the subject, of which the following is a verse:—

"In these days I have seen, united with the wealth of Qárún,
The ritual of Phaṛún, and the buildings of Shaddád."

On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new chapel of the Shaikh-ul-Islám, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, Ulamá, and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. One day Jalál Khán Qúrchi, who was my patron, and the means of introducing me to Court,[5] in the course of conversation and disputation made the following statement to the Emperor: "When I went to Agrah to see Shaikh Ziyá-ullah, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, I found that poverty had taken such a hold on his household, that one day at a meeting he asked for some *sers* of pulse. Part of it he used for his own food, part he gave to me, and (P. 202) the other part he sent to his household." The Emperor was much impressed on hearing this, and sent for Shaikh Ziyá-ulláh with a view to showing him kindness. He assembled a party in his honour at the *'Ibádat-khánah*, and every Thursday evening he invited Sayyids, Shaikhs, Ulamá, and Amírs. But ill-feeling arose in the company

[1] One who attains the state of ecstasy and close union with God.

[2] Siva. That is he had Hindú-ized.

[3] Hindústání *Anúp* = Sanscrit *Anupama* "incomparable": and *taláo* corruption of *talág*, from Sanscrit *taḍága* "pond."

[4] Another reading is *'Ibárat*. The meaning is obscure.

[5] See p. 175.

about the seats and order of precedence, so His Majesty ordered that the Amírs should sit on the east side, the Sayyids on the west, the Ulamá on the south, and the Shaikhs on the north. His Majesty would go from time to time to these various parties, and converse with them, and ascertain their thoughts. Quantities of perfume were used, and large sums of money were distributed as rewards of merit and ability among the worthy people who obtained an entry through the favour of the Emperor's courtiers. Many fine books which had belonged to 'Itimád Khán Gujrátí, and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujrát, were placed in the imperial library, but were subsequently brought out, and distributed by the Emperor among learned and pious men. Among the rest he gave me a book called *Anwár-ul-mashkút*, in amplification of one section of the *Mashkút-ul-anwár;* and, which was a very good thing, he gave to the Amírs by way of pay some things which they called *Irmás*,[1] *i. e.* "destruction of enemies." All at once one night the vein of the neck of the Ulamá of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me, "In future report any of the Ulamá who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves, and I shall make him leave the hall." I said gently to Áçaf Khán, "If I carried out this order, most of the Ulamá would have to leave," when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him. He used to summon Makhdúm-ul-Mulk Mouláná 'Abd-ulláh Sulṭánpúrí (P. 203) to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and would set up to argue against him Ḥájí Ibráhím, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, then a new arrival, but now the prime leader of the New Religion and Faith, or rather the infallible guide and expositor *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis.* His Majesty used to interrupt the Mouláná at every statement, and at a hint from him his companions also would interfere with interjections and observations, and would tell queer stories about the Mouláná, and exemplified in his person the verse[2] of the Qur'án, "And some of you shall have life prolonged to

[1] See Blochm. p. 258, and 250. Surely in the latter place (*n.* 5) he is wrong in reading *talab* with *izáfat.*

[2] xvi. 72.

a miserable age." Among other stories Khán Jalán said that he had heard that Makhdum-ul-Mulk had given a *fatwá*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwá*, he had said that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrát, were impracticable, because people in going by land[1] had to suffer injuries at the hands of the *Qizilbáshis*,[2] and in going by sea they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose passports had pictures of Mary and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed. Another device of Makhdúm-ul-Mulk's was the trick by which he avoided payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth. Towards the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it back again.[3] It is said that he practised some other tricks of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told one after another about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjáb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying: "There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed."[4] They told also other stories founded upon his villany, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off *nolens volens* (P. 204) to Makkah. When he was asked if he thought that pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances he said "*No!*"[5] At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí was rising into power, while the star of the Mouláná was fast sinking. The Emperor on account of his great

[1] *I. e.*, by Persia.

[2] The Shi'ahs of Persia. So named from their *red caps*, see Fraser's novel *Kazul-básh*.

[3] Alms are due on every surplus stock or store which a Sunní possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been *in his possession for a whole year*. Blochm, 173, *note* 1.

[4] Al Qurán LXXXVI, 9.

[5] He meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him. Blochm., p. 173.

reverence and respect for the Shaikh used to go from time to time to his house to hear lectures on the Traditions[1] of the Prophet, and made the eldest Prince attend his school to learn the [collection of] 40 *aḥádís* by the renowned master Mauláná 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Jámí (God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And one of his follies was this, that although he boasted of being learned in Tradition, and claimed to be a Ḥáfiz, and an Imám in this glorious science, yet he taught the Tradition "The prudent course *(ḥazam)* is to hold an evil opinion of others," with a dotted *khé*, and an undotted *ré (kharam)*, when every child knows that it is spelt with an undotted *ḥé*, and a dotted *z (ḥazam)*. Years passed in this way until, when the Emperor's heart became alienated from him, and troops of Mullás were being turned away, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah[2] reminded him of this fact: "His proficiency in the science of *ḥadís*, of which he boasted, reached such a pitch, and the result was that you raised him to such a rank, and now at this juncture counterfeit morals, as well as counterfeit principles have shown themselves in him. God preserve us from want after plenty!"

About this time His Majesty entrusted the work of translating the book *Ḥaiwat-ul-ḥaiwán* to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, a book which Naqíb Khán often used to read before the Emperor, and used to interest him in its subject-matter. And Shaikh Mubárik[3] translated it into Persian.

In this year His Majesty gave orders that the *Aimahs*[4] or the whole empire should not be let off by the *krorís*[5] of each *parganna*, unless they brought the *farmán* in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Çadr for inspection and verification. For this reason a large number of worthy people from the extreme east of India as far west as Bakkar [on the Indus] came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector (P. 205) in one of the Amírs, or near friends of His Majesty, he

[1] Called *ḥadís*, pl. *aḥádís*.

[2] He bore the title of *Khán-i 'Alam*.

[3] Father of Abu-l-Fazl

[4] Al-Badáoní uses the word *Aimah* in the sense of *Aimah-dárán*, 'holders of grant-lands.'

[5] Revenue officers, so called because each was put over a *kror* of *dáms*. Blochm, p. 13.

could manage to get his affair settled; but such as were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid 'Abd-ur-rasúl, the Shaikh's head-man, or make presents to his chamberlains, door-keepers, and sweepers, in order to get their blanket out of the mire. Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Aimahs*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the Emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, took his place upon his official seat, and influential Amírs introduced to him in his audience-hall scientific or pious men, the Shaikh used to receive them in his infamous manner, coming forward and paying respect to none. And after much asking, begging and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidáyah*[1] and other college books, 100 *Bígahs* more or less; and though such a man might have been a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindús, he granted lands for the first time. Thus learning and learned men fell from day to day into lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt the water, which he had used, on the head and face and garments of the great Amírs, and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And they with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and condescended to fawn on him, and flatter and toady him to his heart's content, in he hope of securing at last some compensation for the insult:—

> "When a rustic becomes a judge,[2]
> He wills such decrees, that they will kill him.'"

Never in the time of any Emperor had such absolute power been given (P. 206) into the hand of any Çadr.

[1] A book on Law. The word means "Guidance."

[2] Jack in office.

About this time the Emperor appointed me as an Imám, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling-expenses, and ordered me from the first to act as *mançabdár* commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shablí said with respect to Junaid,[1] (God bless their spirits!) "both baked in one kiln." Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so strenuously at the *dágh-u-maḥallí* business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *mançab* of two thousand, and the dignity of *Wazír*. While I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to advance myself, and this piece of satirical poetry, which one of the Sayyids of Anjú composed in reference to his own circumstances, came to my mind:—

"Thou hast made me a courtier and commander of twenty,
Let not my mother know of my nothingness."

I reflected that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madad-i-ma'ásh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world:—

"Seek not worldly pomp, let go transitory happiness,
The pomp of Religion is enough, and the happiness of Islám for thee;"

but this was not easy. In the month of Shawwál in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983), on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but the Emperor bestowed on me a horse. And through the unfriendly disposition of the Çadr, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 *bígahs* of land, which at that time appeared to be like a village equivalant to the fief of a commander of twenty. It was styled also in the *farmán* a *madad-i-ma'ásh*. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the

[1] Two of the principal saints of the Islám.

Court, to which the Emperor replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during the marches. And Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí said that no (P. 207) person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without reward, and undergone restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the good-humour of destiny:—

" Either faithfulness, or news of union with thee, or the death of the rival,
The playfulness of fate will do one of these three things."

'We are content with the decree of God, are patient under His trials, and thankful for His favours':—

" In any case I must give thanks,
For, may I never be in worse plight than now!"

And this *qiṭ'ah* of a foolish fellow, who composed it in reference to Ḥairatí of Samaqand, when he was in the favour of Sháh Ṭahmásp, is composed in his usual extravagant style:—

" I am from the dust of Arabia, and Ḥairatí from the kingdom of Persia;
Both of us have found our desire in uttering our words.
We have found two benefactors, the desire of our hearts,
He a glance from the king of Persia, I from the king of Arabia."[1]

Since the world, and what is in it, is known to me, all my hopes are fixed on the Creator, who helps his servants, that at the last all may be well, and that the seal of the matter may be in the felicity of Religion:—" What is with you will pass away, what is with God is eternal[2] ":—

" This is our hope from the mercy of our Creator,
That Thou wilt not make hopeless those who hope."[3]

[1] *I. e.*, God.
[2] Al Qur'án xvi, 98.
[3] Comp. Ps. cxix, 49.

The first of the questions which the Emperor asked in these days was this: 'How many freeborn women may a man legally marry by *nikaḥ?*' The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The Emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age he had not restricted himself (P. 208) to that number, and in justice to his wives of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, then the Emperor remarked that Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí had once told him that one of the *Mujtahids*[1] had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulamá present replied that the *Mujtahid* alluded to was Ibn Abí Lailá, and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the verse of the Qur'án:[2] "Marry whatever women you like, two and two, and three and three, and four and four;[3]" but this interpretation is rejected. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí who replied that he had merely wished to point out to the Emperor that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwá*, in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. "The Shaikh," said he, "told me at that time a very different thing to what he tells me now." He never forgot this.

After much discussion on this point the Ulamá, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, *first* that by *mut'ah* [not by *nikáḥ*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased: and *secondly*, that *mut'ah* marriages were allowed as legal by Imám Málik. The Shí'ahs, as was well-known, loved children born in *mut'ah* wedlock more than those born of *nikaḥ* wives, contrary to the Sunnís and Ahl-i-Jamá'at. On the latter point also the discussion became rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work

[1] See p. 203, *note* 1.

[2] IV. 3.

[3] 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 = 18. The Mujtahid who took nine, interpreted it 2 + 3 + 4 = 9. The usual interpretation is "two or three or four."

entitled *Naját-ur-rashíd*[1], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqíb Khán fetched a copy of the *Muwaṭṭá* of Imám Málik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imám had cited as a proof against the legality of *Mut'ah* marriages.

Another night Qází Ya'qúb, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, Ḥájí Ibráhím, and a few other Ulamá were invited to meet His Majesty at the house near the *Anúptalúo* tank. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the Emperor several traditions regarding *Mut'ah* marriages, which his father had collected, and the discussion commenced. At this juncture the Emperor sent for me also, and (P. 209) asked me what my opinion was on this subject. I said: "The conclusion to be drawn from so many contradictory Traditions and sectarian customs is in a word this:— Imám Málik and the Sh'ahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imám Sháfi'í and the great Imám[2] (the mercy of God be on them both!) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qází of the Máliki sect decide that a *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal according to the common belief, even for Sháfi'ís and Ḥanafís. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much. Qází Ya'qúb said something unintelligible. I reminded him that, when a matter is doubtful, it is generally in the power of the Qází to decide. "So what do you say about it?" And in reference to this appeal of mine I brought forward the question of reading the *Fátiḥah* according to the martyred Imám, and I adduced many other confirmations, and as briefly as possible the story of the going of Shaikh Bihá-ud-dín Zakaryáí of Multán to Baghdád to visit the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shiháb-ud-dín Suhrwardí (God bless the spirits of them both!), and of that great [illegible] four beginning to read the *Fátiḥah* according to the Sháfi'í school, and of the suspicions of the ordinary Ulamá against them, and of the bringing forward of traditions which allowed it, and of the matter being eventually decided by the Qázís of Dihlí, so I maintained that it is allowable. Then Qází Ya'qúb [illegible]ly

[1] A copy of this work is to be found among the Persian [illegible] of the As. Soc., Bengal. *Blochm.*, p. 104, note 2.

[2] *Ḥanífah.*

said after me: "What shall we say? God be praised it is allowed." The Emperor then said, "I herewith appoint Qází Ḥusain 'Arab Máliki as Qází before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you Ya'qúb are from this day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qází Ḥusain on the spot gave the decree which made *Mut'ah* marriages legal. The veteran lawyers such as Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, Qází Ya'qúb, and others, were the losers by this affair, and from this moment their power began to wane. The result was that a few days later Maulánáa Jalál-ud-dín of Multán, who was a profound (P. 210) and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was ordered from Agrah[1], and appointed Qází of the realm. Qází Ya'qúb was sent to Gaur as district Qází. From this day forward the road of opposition and difference in opinion lay open, and remained so until His Majesty was appointed *Mujtahid* of the Empire: and so on, and on, and on, until he reached any degree of exaltation!

At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí and Mukhdúm-ul-Mulk were ordered to examine into the matter, and to decide the amount of tax to be levied on Hindús, and *farmáns* were issued in all directions; but this order quickly disappeared like a reflection on the water.

In these days His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Alláh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Ḥájí Ibráhím objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,[2] and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'án *Lazikrulláhi Akbaru*[3], because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme.

[1] To Fatḥpúr Síkrí.

[2] 'God is great', or 'Akbar is God.'

[3] To commemorate God is the greatest thing.

In this year, before the decision about *Mut'ah* marriages, the Emperor appointed Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mír 'Adl*, for whom he entertained the highest respect, to go to Bakkar, and presented him with one of his own swords, and a horse, and a dress. Some time after arriving there he died (the mercy of God be upon him!). After his death a dress came into vogue, which to this day has never looked well on any one's figure, one would say that it was as *bizarre* as the age! Some people mentioned that Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind had given a *fatwá*, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow cloths,[1] quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof (P. 211). On hearing this the *Mír 'Adl* in the imperial presence called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick to strike him, when the Ḥájí by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.

During this year there arrived at Court Hakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Qulí, and lastly to Hakím Humán), and Núr-ud-dín, who as poet is known under the name of Qarárí. They were brothers, and came from Gílán, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of the Emperor.

Soon after there came from Persia Mullá Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the name of Yazídí, and attaching himself to the Emperor commenced openly to revile the *Çaḥabah*[2], told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shí'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bír Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, who successfully turned the Emperor from the Islám, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company. Their eventual fates shall be told, each in its proper place, if God (He is exalted!) will.

[1] Such as women may use. *Blochm.*

[2] Companions of Mahomet.

At the same time His Majesty ordered Qází Jalál-ud-dín, and several Ulamá, to write a commentary on the Qur'án; but this led to great dissentions among them.

Deb Chand Rájah Manjholah—that fool!—once set the whole Court in laughter by saying that Alláh after all had great respect for cows,[1] else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Qur'án.[2]

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islám read out to him, and soon began to think less of the *Çaḥabah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers, and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as vain superstitions, and man's reason was acknowledged as the only basis of religion. Portuguese (P. 212) priests also came frequently; and His Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief, which are based upon reason:—

"Whatever imagination their intellect invents,
God laughs at the intellect of people of that creed."

And in this year the Emperor sent for Shaikh Badr-ud-dín to come to the *'Ibádat-khánah*. He was the son of Shaikh Islám Chishtí. He was much given to prayer, and having given up all attendance on princes, had become his father's successor, and had found favour with God, and become a recluse, and occupied himself only in fasting, zeal, repeating God's name, exercising poverty, and reading the Qur'án. Since the old customs of respect in sitting, rising, and speaking were no longer observed, he committed many breaches of etiquette, and other misfortunes coming in succession, after three or four years, without saying anything to any one, he left the Court in sheer disappointment and despair, and went to Ajmír, and thence to Gujrát, where he took ship alone to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. There he fasted, till he obtained spiritual union with

[1] He meant to imply that the Qur'án agrees with the Vedas in reverence for the cow.

[2] *Surat-ul-baqarah*, the "Sura of the heifer." It is really the 2nd Sura, but the 1st is only an introduction (*Fátiḥah*). Similarly Ps. ii is quoted as "the first Psalm." Acts, xiii, 33 (Codex D).

God, and in the hot air with naked feet performed the circuits, so that he attained the honour of reaching the heavenly Ka'bah, and enjoyed union with the Lord of Glory[1] (O God make me a partaker thereof!) :—

O Kamál thou art gone
From the Ka'bah to the Door of the Friend.
A thousand times *Áfrín*[2] !
Thou art gone like a man.

In this year a learned Bráhman, Shaikh B'háwan, had come from the Dak'hin and turned Musalmán, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *At'harban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of the Islám. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh B'háwan could not interpret either, I reported the same to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizí, and then Ḥájí Ibráhím, to translate it. The latter, though willing, (P. 213) did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *At'harban* there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lá illáh illa' lláh*. Besides I found that a Hindú under certain circumstances may eat cow-flesh; and also that Hindús *bury* their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Bráhmans in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace the Islám (God be thanked for this!).

In the month Sha'bán[3] of this year Gulbadan Bégum, daughter of Bábar Pádsháh and paternal aunt to the Emperor, who had, in the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) in company with Salímah Sulṭán Bégum daughter of Núr-ud-dín Muḥammed Mirzá (who was formerly wife of Bairám Khán, *Khán Khánán*, and afterwards entered the Ḥaram of the Emperor), left Ágrah for Ḥijáz and tarried one year in Gujrát, and attained that felicity,[4] and thus per-

[1] *I. e.*, he died at Makkah.

[2] Bravo!

[3] The eighth month.

[4] That is, reached Mecca.

formed the four pilgrimages.[1] On her return, she remained another whole year at 'Aden through shipwreck, and arrived in Hindústán in the year nine hundred and ninety (990). And from that time it became an established practice, that every five or six years one of the nobles of the Court was made Leader of the pilgrims, and a general permission was given to the people, so that at great public expense, with gold and goods and rich presents, the Emperor sent them on a pilgrimage to Makkah. But this was afterwards abandoned.

In this year Mírzá Sulaimán, who from the time of the reign of Bábar had held absolute rule over Badakhshán—after that his promising son 'Ibráhím Mírzá had been slain in war with Pír Muḥammad Khán Uzbek in Balkh, and the decease[2] of Walí Ni'mat Bégum, and after that various acts of a perverse and rebellious nature had taken place on the part of Sháh Rukh Mírza, son of Ibráhím Mírzá, who had gone into rebellion with a view to usurping the whole government of Badakhshán—first of all came to Kábul hoping to obtain help from Mírzá (P. 214) Muḥammad Ḥakím.[3] When his hope failed to be realized, he requested that an escort might be given him to conduct him through the dangerous districts as far as the Indus. The Mírzá met his request with the greatest urbanity and politeness, and appointed him an escort, which deserted him at the first stage and returned to Kábul, and in accordance with:—

"May it not be that thou remain long in this world!
For old age is humiliation, and nonentity,"

taking his daughter with him in full confidence in God he travelled into Hind, alone and unattended. At several places the Afgháns opposed his progress by force of arms; but the Mírzá, showing the most intrepid bravery, and wounded with an arrow, after a hundred troubles arrived at the river Indus. Thence he sent two or three horsemen, men born in his house, with a petition to the Court. Then the Emperor sent 50,000 rupees and abundant other necessa-

[1] Kerbela, Kúm, Mash-had, and Mecca.

[2] For *fauj* read *faut*.

[3] Brother of Akbar, and Commandant of Kábul.

ries, and a team of horses of pure Arab breed by the hand of Aghá Khán the treasurer to give the Mírzá an honourable reception. And before this Rájah Bhagwán Dás, governor of Láhór, in accordance with a *farmán* had gone to the Indus to meet him, and was showing him day by day suitable hospitality. The Amírs and governors also of every *parganna* and town on the way, in accordance with the recognised laws of hospitality promoted his wish to go forward. In this manner they brought the Mírzá [to the Court].

Meanwhile A'zam Khán[1] (who is also called Khán-i A'zam) was sent for from Gujrát to appear at the Court, with which command he hastened to comply, and did homage at Fathpur on the 4th of Rajab[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983). One day he broached the subject of the new regulations about branding horses, and the management of tax-collecting, and of contracting for the army, and of the distressed condition of agriculturists and other acts of oppression. Everything that he knew about these things he mentioned with unqualified disapprobation. For some time the Emperor, from old habit, could not endure this unpleasant plain-speaking, and ordered (P. 215) that for some time he should be forbidden the royal presence, and appointed officers to prevent any of the nobles from visiting him. After some days he sent him to Ágrah, that, closing the door of egress and ingress in the face of mankind, he might practise the retirement of a monastic solitude in his own garden. Now Mírzá Sulaimán having arrived at Mattra[3] by continued journeys from Láhór, Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, and Qází Nizám Badakhshí (to whom the Mírzá had given the title of Qází-Khán, and who had obtained from the Court the title of Ghází-Khán) came from the great Amírs to meet him. And first of all the nobles, and magnates of the Court, and the pillars of the State, and afterwards the Emperor himself, with the assembled Amírs

[1] *Viz.*, Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, son of Atgah Khán. His mother was Akbar's wetnurse, so that, however much Azíz might offend he was seldom punished. Akbar used to say, "Between me and Azíz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." *Blochm., pp. 321, 325.* He was appointed governor of Gujrát in 979.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] N W. of Ágrah.

went out five *cosses* to meet him. And on that day 5,000 elephants, some with housings of European velvet, and some with Turkish cloth of gold, and some with chains of gold and of silver, and with black and white fringes hung on their heads and necks, were drawn up in line on both sides: also Arabian and Persian horses with golden saddles of like splendour. And between each pair of elephants they placed a car of cheetahs with golden collars, and coverings of velvet and fine linen, and an oxen-car with fillets of embroidered gold. And the whole face of the wilderness, in this manner, became like a vision of Spring, and the desert and hill-country like the reflection of a tulip-bed. And when he saw the Emperor afar off, he alighted with ceremony from his horse, and ran forward to meet him with *saláms*. The Emperor with politeness quickly descended from his saddle to the ground, and would not permit him to pay any of the formal acts of politeness, and customary humiliations. After embracing him he remounted, and ordered that he should ride with him, and occupied himself in making the kindest enquiries after his welfare. In the palace [called] Anúptaláo[1] (the door, walls, and interior of which they had furnished with painted canopies, brocade, and splendid carpets, and golden (P. 216) vessels and all other kinds of furniture in abundance) he gave him a place by his side on the throne of Sultanate, and also summoned the Prince, his son, and introduced him to him. After they had finished their repast he granted his request for assistance, and promised him aid with such money and troops, as might enable him to reduce Badakhshán, and had apartments prepared for the Mírzá in the tower of the Hatyápúl,[2] where was the *Naqárah-khánah*[3]. Of an evening he used often to go to the *ibádat-khánah*, and hold converse with the Shaikhs and sages and cultivate ecstacy, and sometimes loud shouts were heard proceeding from him: and prayer with the congregation was never neglected by him. One day, after leading in all the other prayers, I considered that I had said sufficient prayers when the Mírzá objected to me that I had not recited the *Fátiḥah*.

[1] See p. 204.

[2] The 'Elephant Gate,' compare Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbari*, 505.

[3] *A sort of gallery, generally above the gate-way, where the kettle-drums are beaten at certain hours.*

I said: "In the time of the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) the reciting of the Fátiḥah was not customary; and some of the traditions have pronounced it to be of questionable authority." He said: "Do you mean to say then that those who read it are not in the region of knowledge, nor wise men?" I replied: "We have to do with the Written Law, not with [possible] forgeries." The Emperor after this commanded that I should recite it. I complied, although I showed him the tradition which pronounced it as questionable.[1]

At this time [the Emperor] revived an old Chaghatáí custom. For some days, in order to exhibit it to Mírzá Sulaimán, they spread royal tables in the Audience-hall. And the officers of high grade[2] gathered the soldiers together, and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mírzá departed, all these [revived customs] departed too.

Khán Jahán, commandant of the Panjáb, was ordered to take with him 5,000 warlike mounted archers, and putting himself at the service of the Mírzá to go to Badakhshán, and deliver the country from Mírzá Sháh-Rúkh and hand it over to Mírzá Sulaimán. But as a matter of fact the aspect of affairs took a somewhat different complexion.

Meanwhile news came that Mun'im Khán, *Khán Khánán*, after making peace with Dáúd in the midst of the rainy-season, under the guidance of Fate, passed over the Ganges from Tándah (the climate of which is temperate), and made the inhabitants (P. 217) migrate to Gaur, and ordered that that town (which was formerly the Capital of Bengál, and the climate of which is debilitating and foul) should be inhabited: and all that the Amírs could say against it availed nothing:—

> "O wonder! that ye had no misgivings of heart, no sadness of soul,
> On account of this foul air, these noxious waters."

Various diseases, the names of which it would be difficult to know, attacked their constitutions; and every day hosts upon hosts of

[1] See above p. 212.

[2] *Tawdchí* see p. 74, *note* 5.

people, having played out their existence, bade farewell to one another; and how many thousands soever were told off for that country, it cannot be stated that a hundred ever returned to their homes:—

"What a fatal thing, O God, may a place become!"

Things came to such a pass that the living were unable to bury the dead, and threw them head-foremost into the river. Every hour, and every minute, news came to the ear of the Khán Khánán of the death of Amírs, and yet, for all that, he did not himself become infected. And, on account of the arrogance of his disposition, no one had the power to remove the cotton-wool of ignorance from his ears, and make him leave the place:—

"If I give advice to my heart in love, it is taken ill.
I will leave it in her street to hit its head against the wall."

After a time the constitution of the Khán Khánán, Mun'im Khán, began to deviate from its usual course of equilibrium, and, at over eighty years of age, after completing the first ten days of the month Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) he rendered his account to the Guardian of Paradise, or to the Guardian of Hell (God knows!); and all that rank and glory, and that grandeur and perfection became a mere dream and fantasy:—

"Since thou canst not place any confidence in thy life,
What matters it whether it be one, or one hundred years?
(P. 218) Since there is no perpetuity in life,
What matters power,[2] or servitude?"

Since he had no heirs, the officials seized all that wealth and gains (which had taken so many years to accumulate) for the imperial treasury, 'Announce to the wealth of a miser reverse of fortune, or an heir:—

"How well has a clever speaker said,
Gold attracts gold, and treasure treasure!"

[1] The seventh month.

[2] Instead of *Bamán* and *Fámál* we must read *Farmán* and *Pámál*.

Then, in accordance with the well-known saying—'In a place without trees a *Palma Christi*[1] is [looked on as] a shady and fruitful tree' the Amírs, on this principle, looked to Sháham Khán Jaláír as their leader:—

"The death of the great has made me great."

But, when the news reached the Court, the Emperor appointed the Khán Zamán, in the room of the Khán Khánán, to the Command in Bengál, and presented him with a gold-embroidered cloak, and vest of gold, and jewelled sword-belt, and a horse with a guilded saddle. Then whether at his own request, or for the peace of the kingdom, it was settled that Mírzá Sulaimán should go by sea on a pilgrimage to Ḥijáz: and having signed a draught for him of 50,000 rupees upon the imperial treasury, and given him another sum of 20 rupees from the local treasury of Gujrát, the Emperor gave him leave to depart. And Qulíj Khán he appointed as his escort, to see him off safely from the port of Súrat. During this same year he reached Makkah and Al Madínah, and by the help of God's grace and faithfulness he returned by way of 'Iráq, and was, as was right, reinstated in the sovereignty of Badakhshán:—

"Thou hast never seen that road, therefore they never showed it thee,
Else, who has ever knocked at that door, and they opened not to him."

On his return he gave one of his daughters to Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, commandant of Qandahár, who at that time had come to Láhór, and had attached himself to the Court; and another daughter he gave to another man.

In this year the late[2] Ḥusain Khán (for whom, of all men of superior understanding, the Author had an old and strong attachment, and the most perfectly sincere friendly relations) through infirmity caused by the appearance (P. 219) of that stage and mark, which is the destroyer of pleasures, and the vanquisher of the warrior, after the buffeting of all those troubles, which had passed over him, through apparent madness, but real wisdom, left Kánt-u-Golah with

[1] The *Qiqdyón* of Jonah iv. 6. For a like prov. see Talm. Babl. *Synh.* 44.

[2] He was dead, when our author wrote.

a band of his friends and intimates (who, whether in the flood of fire, or in the billows of the sea, had never in any wise deserted him), and, passing through the confines of Badáún and Sambhal, and crossing the river Ganges, arrived in the Dúáb. Then, after plundering, the *mawásán*[1] and disaffected of that neighbourhood (who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, so that you may guess what happened to the helpless, duped, non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors) took a moon-light flit to the base of the northern mountains. This was a place he had all his life a hankering after, and kept it, as a mine of silver and gold in full view: continually concocting in the crucible of his guileless breast (which was large enough to contain a world) visions of golden and silver idol-temples[2] and bricks of gold and silver. Then, without having received any orders authorizing him to do so, he turned to Basant-púr (an elevated and well-known place in the hill-district), and invested the place. Malik-ush-Sharaq, the tax-collector of T'hánésar[3] shut the door of the fort: and the other tax-collectors in like manner, in a fright, having run into their holes, spread a false report that he was in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Court. The Emperor enquired of Sa'íd Khán Moghúl (who was a connection and very old friend of Ḥusain Khán, and who had just come from Multán) whether this report was true; this he firmly denied. But when the Emperor asked him to give, on the part of Ḥusain Khán, a bond in writing for the cattle and goods which Ḥusain Khán had carried off from the agriculturists he utterly declined to do so, and all that former love and friendship changed into an affectation of being utterly unacquainted with him:—

"These deceitful friends, whom you see,
Are but flies about a sweetmeat.
Before you they are truer to you than the light,
Behind your back they are more evanescent than a shadow."

[1] Are these the same as the "*máwís*" Blochm., p. 252, or ought we to *Mu'áçiyán* rebels?

[2] The Emperor Maḥmúd had acquired immense wealth from the plun of Hindú temples. He hoped to do the same.

[3] See p. 94, *note* 4.

(P. 220) At last he sent Sayyid Háshim, son of Muḥammad Bárha, and the sons of Mír Sayyid Muḥammad, the Judge of Amráhah (before he dismissed him to Bakkar), with a body of the Amírs to operate against[1] him. While he was fighting in the hill-district of Basant-púr he received a severe musket-wound under the shoulder-blade, besides losing a host of his veterans. Accordingly, without having accomplished anything, he turned back, and getting into a boat he went on the river Ganges towards Patyálí (which was the native place of his kith and kin). He got as far as Gaḍha Maktésar where they came on him, disabled by his wound, and, in accordance with their orders, brought him to Agrah, and deposited him in the house of Çádiq Muḥammad Khán (between whom and Ḥusain Khán there had existed from the beginning of the conquest of India, or rather from Qandahár—times onward, the kindliest feeling, and most sincere friendship) Shaikh Bínáí, the physician, being sent for by the Emperor's command, came to try and heal him. But on his representing that the wound was of a frightful character the Emperor sent for Ḥakím 'Ayn-ul-mulk. And the Author, having received the Emperor's permission, went with the physician to see him, in order to keep up my old relations with him. I found him, and while a moment, by reason of my sorrow, seemed to me like days, I composed these words of friendship, sorrowful and mingled with tears:—

"Wherever I and the loved-one met together,
For fear of the malevolent we bit our lips.
Without the intervention of ear or lip, by means of heart and eye,
Many a word was there, that we said and heard."

Meanwhile the imperial surgeons came to operate on him. They thrust a probe into the wound to the depth of a span, and probed it mercilessly. But that man of fortitude swallowed the agony, like a sweet draught, and neither frowned (P. 221), nor shewed any sign of pain, but smiled without dissimulation:—

"My face is calm in spite of the bitter words of men,
Poison is in my mouth, but my face is wreathed in smiles."

[1] For *bar pisari o* ought we to read *bar sari o ?*

And that was my last sight of him until the Judgment-day, and my very last farewell of him. I heard two or three days after I arrived at Fatḥ-púr, that his sickness had turned to a flux. He was so refined in the crucible of abstinence, that what remained of impurity in him, by reason of human nature and the infirmity of the flesh, entirely left him, and the alloy of his nature becoming pure gold, he became purified by fire, for 'Trial is to the Saints what the flame is to gold':—

"All carnal attributes have departed from Mas'ud Beg,
That of him which was Soul is become that very Soul again."

And—that he might attain the full felicity of a true and regular martyrdom, in accordance with the authentic tradition: 'He that is afflicted with the colic is a martyr,' in that distress of expatriation, and grief of exile, and trouble of penury, together with the accident of a wound from Infidels received in a hostile country, and the distraction of relaxed liver, he removed his baggage from this transitory existence to the eternal Paradise: and the Bird of his Soul escaping from the Cage of this World, that prison of the Believer, at the invitation: "Return thou, O soul, unto thy Lord, well pleased and wellpleasing,[1]" flew towards the Rose-bed, to dwell there in "rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights:[2]"

"None ever came into the world, who remained there,
Except he, of whom a good name remained."

Although he gave away whole worlds of gold to the deserving and the needy, yet when he took his departure to the other world [he was so poor, that] his excellence of regal qualities, exalted in degrees, and holy in his attributes, Khwájah Muḥammad Yaḥyá Naqshbandí (the Spirit of God is his Spirit!) brought the expenses of his burial, and with all honour[3] and respect deposited him in peace in the strangers' burial-place at Ágrah:—

[1] Al Qur'án, LXXXIX, 28.

[2] Al Qur'án, LVI, 88.

[3] The word in the text *ba-i'jáz* means 'in amazement.' But the editors have put a (?) to it, and it should, doubtless, be read *ba-i'záz* 'honour,' as the following word *iḥtirám* clearly points out.

"How can I see him sleeping in the dust,
(P. 222) Him, who has raised me from the dust!"

Thence he was carried to the cemetery of Patyálí, which became his burial-place, and they made him like a buried treasure: and *Ganj-bakhsh*[1] 'Bestower of treasure' was found to give the date. And when, on my following the Mír 'Adal[2] (who is now departed himself to the mercy of God) on his journey to Bakkar, I told him of the decease of this man, so rich of heart but poor in purse, he burst into tears, and began to extol his purity and ability, and said: "If any one wish to practice walking unspotted from the world, he ought to act and walk, just as Ḥusain Khán acted and walked:"—

"I am the slave of that man, who, under the blue sky,
Is free from whatever partakes of the tinge of dependance."

It so happened that this interview also, with the Mír, became memorable to the author: and from the expression made use of by that great man on that occasion, *viz.*, "All my friends are departed and I know not whether I shall ever see you again," you would have said that his star was sinking; and so it in fact was:—

"As long as in this flock there remains a single sheep,
Fate will not desist[3] from the butcher-trade."

Let it not be forgotten that the author enjoyed the society of that unique one[4] of the age for the space of about nine years, and [but] one piece of opposition (though to use so strong a term in connection with him were a shame, and a dire injustice) did I meet with from him, and that was in military matters, and the affairs of this world. And among the many venerable persons and spiritual directors of the age, who still remain, I do not find a tithe of a tenth part of that I found in him, [who was] in the *Sunní* section [of Islám] pure in faith, and in purity of conduct perfectly sincere

[1] There seems to be some mistake, as this only gives 975.

[2] His name was Sayyid Muḥammad, see p. 224 and Text, p. 220, l. 1.

[3] Read *nishánad*.

[4] Ḥusain Khán.

and upright, in spirit without an equal, in valour peerless, in courtesy alike in his beheavour both to small and great, and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detachment from worldly objects stainless, in active service untiring, in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy of a hundred praises; but if he had lived in these days he would hardly have been able to have attained such a character for orthodox and sincere religion.[1] (P. 223.) At the time that he was absolute governor of Láhor (I have it from trustworthy people), his food consisted of barley-bread, his object being to follow the example of the Seal of the Prophets and best of Apostles[2] (the blessings of God be on him, and on them all!): and ever so many thousands of mosques and ancient sepulchres he repaired, restored, or rebuilt. One day it happened that a Hindú in the dress of a Muslim came into his assembly, and he with his usual genuine humility, taking him for a Muslim, stood up to greet that Hindú. When he found out the true state of the case, he felt ashamed and ordererd that from that day forward all Hindús should sew a patch of stuff of a different colour on their garments near the bottom of the sleeve, that there might be a mark to distinguish between Muslims and Káfirs.[3] For this reason he was commonly known among the people by the title of *Tukriya*, for they call a patch *tukrá*,[4] which is another name for the Arabic word *Ghiyár*[5] (with *kasra* under the dotted '*ain*, and *ye* with two dots below,[6]

[1] This is not said in disparagement of Ḥusain Khán, but in disgust at the innovations which Akbar introduced later on.

[2] *I e.*, Muḥammad.

[3] Unbelievers, *i. e*, non-Muslims. This is the origin of the name Kaffir, which was applied by the Muslims of Africa to the other inhabitants.

[4] Sanscrit *stoka* 'a piece,' whence the Hindí *tukrá* (with cerebral *t*) 'a patch.'

[5] A distinguishing badge, that which make a person *ghair* (different) from others.

[6] Since Semitic languages are generally written without vowel-points, and sometimes even without the diacritic points, which, in the Arabic (Persian, Ottoman-Turkish &c.) characters, distinguish between some of the consonants, *e. g.*, between *n* and *y* &c., when a writer wishes to define the pronunciation of a word he has to spell it out in the most elaborate manner. The Persian character is the Arabic adapted to the exigencies of the language, and it is usually written without vowel-points.

so that it is of the form of the word *diyár*[1]). On another occasion he ordered that the Káfirs, in accordance with the requirements of the Holy Law, should not ride on saddles, but should sit on a pack-saddle. When on a journey, out of deference to the Sayyids, and men of learning and excellence (who used to attend him, and to greet whom he, when seated, used always to rise), he would never use a four-post bedstead: nor would he voluntarily omit saying the Prayers in the night any more than the Friday prayers in the mosque. And, although he had a *jágír* worth *lacs* and *krors*, he never had more than one horse with him, and even that he would sometimes give away to meet some expense, or for some worthy object, and so whether on a journey or at home would be content to go afoot, until one of his friends, or of his servants, brought him another. And a poet in a *qaçídah* said:—

"The Khán is bankrupt, and the slave is wealthy."

He had taken an oath that he would never amass treasure, and whenever gold was brought before him he would say:- "You would say that it is an arrow or a javelin that pierces my side" (P. 224), and he was never at ease until he had given it away. And sometimes it would be observed that, when the Government had assigned some fifteen to thirty or forty thousand rupees on the *pargana*,[2] he, regardless of this, would sign orders for the soldiers and for other expenses also, so that both[3] would get an equal share. He also had a vow that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day to himself. He never had anything to do with any women except his three legally married wives. He looked on nuts as a sort of intoxicating food, and as therefore forbidden by the religion. One day the Shaikh-ul-hidyah of Khairábád (who was one of the leading Shaikhs on the high way of direction and guidance of posterity) being exercised at the Khán's voluntary poverty, and expenditure, and squandering of property, and unnecessary presents, and extreme extravagance in the distribution of pensions and grants,[4]

[1] A tract of country.

[2] *Viz.*, to keep up the required number of soldiers.

[3] Military and non-Military expenses.

[4] Instead of *:tifáq* read *auqáf*. Compare p. 22, *note* 4.

endeavoured to urge him to a change in those habits. But this advice was not in harmony with his disposition, so becoming angry he said: "It is simply a question between obeying your order in the matter, and following the tradition of the Prophet; what choice can there be? On the other hand we expect from such as you religious guides, that, if there be any root of avarice or desire for the things of this world in us, you should show us the way by which we may eradicate and cut off such a matter; and not that you should be the ones to lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifles, and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest of the low in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice:—

"Wealth never remains in the hand of the free,
Nor patience in the heart of a lover, nor water in a sieve."

Although the author was never with him on any serious battle-fields, still I was his companion in many jungle-warfares, and comfortless journeys. And I observed in him a resolution and a courage, such as perhaps those renowned heroes, who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of history, may have possessed; and not to mention his immense physical strength (P. 225) and prowess—they might have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior. And in the day of battle the *Fátiḥah*[1] which he read was to this effect: "Either martyrdom or victory.[2]" And whenever people told him that he ought to put victory before martyrdom, he used to say: "My desire is rather to see the glorious departed, than the lords who remain alive." And such was his liberality, that if by any possible supposition the treasures of the world and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have become accessible to him, and have been delivered over to him, the very first day he would have become a bankrupt. And this *qit'ah* became true in his day:—

[1] The first Surah of the Qur'án. The expression 'reading the *Fátiḥah*' is used figuratively of entering upon an undertaking. Compare the expression 'reading the verse of flight' on p. 48, *note* 1.

[2] *Fatḥ*.

"He did right in not making both worlds[1] manifest
The peerless Lord, dispenser of justice, without equal compare:
Else in a moment of liberality he would have given away both,
And the Creature would have nothing left to hope for from the High God."

And sometimes it would so happen that he would purchase forty or fifty horses, Arabs, and of mixed breed, and Turkish, at the price at which the dealer first offered them, and would say "You and God know that:—

'A true merchant never demands too much.'"

And afterwards at some social gathering would give them all away to his friends, and then apologize for so doing. The very first time that the writer became acquainted with him, at the time when the army of Garha-Katangah was being got ready at Agrah, he presented me with an Arab horse, which he had bought for 500 rupees, and in accordance with:—

"The king of Hormúz never saw me, and without a word from me
He conferred on me a hundred favours;
The king of Yazd saw me, and I lauded him,
But he did not give me anything."

What can one do?

"Speak of a person, as you find him."

(P. 226). When he removed his baggage from this transitory world, he was in debt to the amount of a *lac* and a half of rupees, and more; but, on account of the numerous good offices which he had during his lifetime performed for his creditors, they of their own free will and pleasure tore up his bonds, and went away perfectly satisfied, with prayers for the pardon, acceptance, peace, and eternal happiness of his soul upon their lips. And they did not on account of his liabilities bring any lawsuit or litigation against his children (such as is the usual bequest of deceased debtors):—

[1] The editors' (?) to the last word of the first line is unnecessary. They seem to have overlooked the fact, that the lines are distinctly called a *Qit'ah*, and that therefore only the second and fourth lines need rhyme.

"There are Muḥammads and Muḥammads:
The live one killed me, and the dead one revived me.[1]"

In a word how can I, when there is such uninimity of opinion on the subject, find the ability to eulogize such numerous virtues as his. But since I spent in his service the best of this life, which is the flower of youth, and not the mere dregs of life, which is the time of the worthlessness of old age and bewilderment, and since through his kind patronage I have got on so exceedingly well, and am become one of the renowned of the age, and a man of mark in the world, and have obtained the blessing (in so far as it is possible) of contributing to the comfort of the servants of the Lord of earth and heaven, therefore, in gratitude to God for his many favours and goodnesses towards me, have I composed this memorial section, in commemoration of some of his good qualities, though it be but one of a thousand, but a few out of many:—

"It is not that I confer any honour on Muḥammad by mentioning him,
But rather my words that are honoured by mentioning Muḥammad."

And trusting in the truth of the saying 'To commemorate the righteous brings down mercy from God,' I hope on account of this commemoration of his virtues to become a recipient of the all-embracing mercy of God:—

Repeat to us the mention of Na'mán,[2] verily the mention of him
Is like musk, which diffuses its odour as often as thou agitatest it.

So that it may come to pass in accordance with that old time which I spent with him, that my resurrection may also be with him; as has been intended, and involved in futurity: "And this is not difficult with God.[3]"

And in this year the Emperor, on account of the beauty of my voice, which was comparable with the sweet voice, and ravishing tones

[1] The application seems to be this: that, while he was alive his extravagance rendered his children liable to fall into poverty, but that after he was dead the kind actions, he had performed during life, freed them again.

[2] King of Hírah in 'Iráq.

[3] Al Qur'án, XIV, 23.

(P. 227) of a parrot, made me the Reader of the Prayers on Wednesday evenings, and entered me among the seven Imáms.[1] And the duty of summoning the congregation on that day and night he committed to Khwájah Doulat Názir Ghaif Shadíd (a eunuch, neither man, nor woman,) and appointed him a stipend on the condition that he should be present at the five hours of prayer.[2]

At this time Khwájah Amín-ud-dín Muḥammad (known as Khwájah Amíná) passed from the world, and the abundant wealth which he left behand came into the royal treasury.

On the 17th of the month Zí-Qadah[3] of this year, the Emperor's journey to Ajmír took place, and at one of the stages he, according to his usual custom on such occasions, went on foot on a pilgrimage to the Sacred Sepulchre. On the 9th of this month the Sun entered Aries:—

"The Workman, the Sun, when he begins anew his work,
His entrance into Aries makes glorious the rising Morn."

This was the commencement of the twenty-second year from the accession. At this time news arrived, that after the death of Mun'im Khán, *Khán Khánán*, the Amírs being unable any longer to withstand the attacks of Dáúd, had retired on Ilájípúr and Patnah from Gaur and Tánḍah, and that Khán Jahán, because his army was still at Láhor, was advancing but slowly. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a *farmán*, and entrusted it to Turk Subhán Qulí to bear to Khán Jahán, ordering him to hasten up as quickly as possible. And Subhán Qulí performed his mission, covering a distance of nearly a thousand *cosses* in twenty-two days. At the same time news came to Ágrah, that Khán Jahán, on arriving at Garhi, had fought an obstinate battle with the Afgháns of Dáúd, and had defeated them, and was still advancing.

During the first part of the blessed month Muḥarram[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) the Emperor

[1] The Emperor had seven Imáms, or private Chaplains, one for each day of the week.

[2] The five hours of prayer are: Before dawn, midday, afternoon, after sunset, bedtime.

[3] The eleventh month.

[4] The first month.

introduced Mán Singh, son of Bhagvan Dás, into the burial place of the saint Mu'ín (may its occupants attain a happy resurrection!) and treating him with kindness, and showing him the greatest favour, presented him with a robe of honour, and a horse with (P. 228) all its appointments, and ordered him to proceed to the hostile district of Kokanda and Kombalmír,[1] which was a dependancy belonging to Ráná Kíká. And 5,000 regular troopers, partly from his own body-guard, and partly belonging to the Amírs who were in command,[2] he appointed and dispatched as his force. And he sent with him Áçaf Khán *Mír-bakhshí*,[3] and Ghází Khán Badakhshí, and Sháh Ghází Khán Tabrízí, and Mujáhid Khán, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khán, and Sayyid Háshim Bárha, and Mihtar Khán a servant of the Family, and other Amírs. And when the author, in the train of Qází Khán and Áçaf Khán, arrived at about three *cosses* from Ajmír, and ardour for fighting against the infidels kindled in my breast, I represented the state of the case to the High Çadr, Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí, *Shaikh-ul-Islám*, and made interest with him to obtain leave of absence from the Emperor. Although he granted my request he left the presentation of the petition to his Wakíl, Sayyid 'Abd-ur-Rasúl, a meddlesome sort of a fellow. And, when I found that the matter hung fire far too long, I sought the intervention of Naqíb Khán (with whom I was on brotherly terms). At first he made objections, and said: "If a Hindú had not been the leader of this army, I should myself have been the first to have asked permission to join it." But I represented strongly to the said Khán, that I looked on any true servant of the Emperer as a fit leader for myself, and what did it matter, whether it were Mán Singh, or another? And that the purity of intention was what one should look to. Then Naqíb Khán took the opportunity, when the Emperor was going in high state to visit the shrine of that Diffuser of Light,[4] to present my petition. At first the Emperor said: "Why he has just been appointed one of the Court-Imáms, how can he go?" Naqíb

[1] Near Udaipúr in Rajpútána.

[2] We propose to read *Náibán*, instead of *Nábínám* 'sightless.'

[3] Paymaster of the Court. Áín-í Akbarí, Blochm. p. vi. He had been appointed *vice* Qází 'Alí. *Ibid.* p 411.

[4] Shaikh Mu'ín ud-dín Chishtí.

Khán represented that I had a very strong desire to take part in a holy war. So the Emperor sent for me, and asked me: "Are you in earnest?" I answered: "Yes." Then he said, "For what (P. 229) reason?" I humbly replied: "I have the presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person:—

Thine is a perilous service, but I wish to undertake it,
That I may gain renown, or death,[1] for thy sake."
He replied, "If God (He is exalted) will, thou
Shalt return the bearer of news of victory."

And when I put out my hand towards the couch in order to kiss his foot, he withdrew it; but, just as I was going out of the audience chamber, he called me back, and filling both his hands he presented me with a sum of 56 ashrafí[2], and bid me farewell. And when I went to take leave of Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí, who reached the very acme of kindness in removing all my former obstacles, he said: "Be sure that at the moment of the meeting of the two armies in battle, which according to a sure tradition of the Prophet (may the best of blessings and peace be upon him!) is the most favourable time and place for the acceptance of prayer, be sure, said he, that you remember me for good in your prayer: do not forget." I consented; and, having prayed the *Fátḥah*, joined that army with horse and arms in company with a number of friends of one mind with myself in the matter:—

'Every day on the march, and each night a new halting-place.'

And this journey from beginning to end turned out most successful and prosperous, till eventually I came back to Fathpúr with news of

[1] *Lit.* That I may make my face red (with the glow of success), or my neck red (with the gore of death). This play on the words reminds one forcibly of a similar one in Gen. xl. 20—23 "And *he lifted up the head* of the chief butler, and of the chief baker among his servants, and he restored the chief butler unto his butlership, ... and he hanged the chief baker."

[2] About £ 86 stirling.

victory, and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute[1]) from Ráná Kíká.

On the twentieth of Muḥarram[2] in this year having arranged the affairs of the army of Kokandah, the Emperor started on his way back to the Seat of Felicity Fatḥpúr, and on the first of the month of Çafr[3] he reached his usual dwelling-place. At this time messengers brought word that after the Khán Jahán had left Garhí,[4] Dáúd had advanced from Tándah to a place called Ág-Maḥall, on one side of which is the river Ganges, and on the other side it joins the mountains. And that there he had taken up his position, and strengthened it with a trench, and fort, and was every day making sallies thence. And that Khwájah 'Abd-ulláh, (P. 230) grandson of Khwájah Aḥrár (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) had fallen after making repeated and vigorous attacks on the trench. And that on the other side Khán Khánán (?) the leader of the Afgháns had been slain. Upon this the Emperor wrote a *farmán* to Zafr Khán, commandant of Patnah and Bihár, ordering him to collect all the forces of that district and to proceed to the assistance of Khán Jahán.[5]

In the month Rabí'ul-awwal[6] of this year Mírzá Muḥammad Sharíf, son of Mír 'Abd-ul-Latíf Qazwíní, who was a young man of the very greatest ability, and sharpness of intellect, and possessed of a sweet disposition, and a sweet voice, and endowed with all sorts of perfections, while playing at Chogán[7] with the Emperor in the open space of Fatḥpúr, fell from his horse, and immediately gave up his soul of the Beloved.[8] And a great cry arose in the city and neighbourhood, and this report[9] spread on all sides. The Emperor was

[1] It appears that he had refused to send to Court an elephant (as a sign of submission). See p. 241.

[2] The first month.

[3] The second month.

[4] See p. 232.

[5] Ḥusain Qulí Khán.

[6] The third month.

[7] Polo.

[8] There is a play on the words *ján* 'soul,' and *Jánán* 'Beloved,' *i. e.* The Creator.

[9] It would appear from what follows, that the report was to the effect that it was the Emperor who was killed.

an eye-witness of this accident, and did not know what to do. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Atgah seized the rein of his Majesty's horse, and said: "My Lord, what are you doing here? go away." And so he turned his rein towards the palace. Then he sent *farmáns* with assurances of the soundness of his health and strength to the Amírs of the frontiers, so that the panic was stayed. Of the number of these *farmáns* one arrived at Kokandah, addressed to Mán Singh, and Áçaf Khán, with the contents aforesaid. And so that grief of ours was changed into rejoicing.

During the first part of the month Rabi'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) took place the victory of Kokandah. And the following is a succinct account of it. When Mán Singh and Áçaf Khán with the army of Ajmír, on their way to Mandalgaṛh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah, seven *cosses* from Kokandah, the Ráná came out to oppose them. Then Mán Singh mounted an elephant, and with a number of the imperial horsemen, such as Khwájah Muḥammad Rafí Badakhshí, and Shiháb-ud-dín Guroh-páyandah Quzáq, and 'Alí Murád (P. 231) Uzbek, and Rájah Loun Karan, commandant of Sámbhar, and other Rájpúts in the centre, and a body of renowned youths took his place in the advance-body. And some eighty or more picked men of these were sent, with Sayyid Háshim Bárha,[1] as skirmishers in front of the advance-body (and such are called the 'chickens of the front line).' And Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha with a body of others[2] had the right-wing, and Qází Khán with a body of sons of Shaikhs of Síkrí, relatives of Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, had the left-wing. And Mihtar Khán was in the rear. And Ráná Kíká advancing from behind Darah with a force of 8,000 horse, divided his men into two divisions. One division, of which Ḥakím Sár Afghán was the leader, came straight from the direction of the mountains, and attacked our advance-body. And on account of the broken and uneven state of the ground, and the quantity of thorns, and the serpentine twistings of the road, the skirmishers and the advance-body of our troops

[1] Compare Text, p. 220, l. 1. This, of course, means 'of Bárha.' For the use of names of places in this manner compare my *Memor book of Neurnberg*, p. 21, under *Heubach*.

[2] "Others" means "other Sayyids."

became hopelessly mixed up together, and sustained a complete defeat. And the Rájpúts of our army, the leader of whom was Rájah Loun Karan, and who were most of them on the left, ran away like a flock of sheep, and breaking through the ranks of the advance-body fled for protection to our right wing. At this juncture the author, who was with some of the special troops of the advance-body said to Áçaf, "How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rájpúts?" He answered "They will experience the whiz[1] of the arrows, be what may:—"

'On whichever side there may be killed, it will be a gain to Islám.' So we kept firing away, and our aim[2] at such a mountain-like mass of men never missed. And there was even a surer proof [of the righteousness of my conduct in so doing, for]—

'The heart is the most faithful witness that can testify[3]:'—
[And]
'The proof of the true Lover is in his sleeve:'

and it became certain that my hand prospered in the matter, and that I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels.

And the Sayyids of Bárha,[4] and some youths of renown, performed in this battle (P. 232) such exploits as would have become Rastam;[5] and many slain on both sides strewed the plain. The other division of Ráná Kíká's army, under the Ráná in person, charged out of the pass, and meeting Qází Khán, who was at the entrance of the pass, swept his men before them, and bearing them along broke through his centre. Then the Shaikh-sons from Síkrí all fled at once. And an arrow struck Shaikh Mançur, (son-in-law of Shaikh Ibráhím) who was leader of this company, in the seat of honour as he was in the act of flight, and he bore the wound for a considerable time. But Qází Khán, although he was but a Mulla, stood his ground manfully, until receiving a cimetar blow on his right hand, which wounded his

[1] *Shayah* is apparently a misprint for *Shíbah-e*, *Shíb-i Shib-i*, or *Shapah-e*, all of which words are onomatopœa for the 'whiz' of an arrow.

[2] *Shiçt* = *Shist*.

[3] Comp. 1 John iii. 21.

[4] Perhaps both the skirmishers under S. Háshim Bárha, and those of the right-wing under S Aḥ. Kh. Bárha.

[5] The famous hero in the *Sháhnámah*.

thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited [the saying] 'Flight from overwheling odds is one of the traditions of the prophet,' and followed his men [in their retreat]. Those of the army who had fled on the first attack, did not draw rein till they had passed five or six *cosses* beyond the river. In the midst of all this confusion Mihtar Khán hastening up from the rear with his reserves, and beating his kettle-drums, called on the imperial troops to rally. And this shout of his was to a great extent the cause of the fugitives taking heart again, and making a stand. And Rájah Rámsháh of Gwályár (grandson of the famous Rájah Mán), who always kept in front of the Ráná, performed such prodigies of valour against the Rájpúts of Mán Singh, as baffle description. And these [Rájpúts of Mán Singh] were those who, on the left of the advance-body, fled, and thereby caused also the flight of Açaf Khan,[1] and then took refuge with the Sayyids who were on the right; and, if the Sayyids had not held their ground firmly, such confusion did the retreating advance-body cause in their ranks, that the affair would have turned out a disgraceful defeat. And with regard to the elephants, when they made a charge on the elephants of the Imperial army, two strong must-elephants singled each other out and fought together. And Husain Khán, leader of the elephants, who was riding on an elephant behind Mán Singh, also joined in the fight. And Mán Singh, springing into the place (P. 233) of the elephant-driver, exhibited such intrepidity as surpasses all imagination. And one of these two elephants, which was a private one of the Emperor's fought furiously with the Ráná's elephant (which was named Rám Parshád, and was of exceedingly strong build), and the two kept charging at one another, until by chance an arrow reached a mortal place in the driver of the Ráná's elephant, so that the shock of the charge threw him to the ground. Then the driver of the imperial elephant, with the greatest quickness and address, leapt from his own elephant, and took his seat on that of the Ráná, and performed such a deed as none other could have done. On seeing this circumstance the Ráná could no longer hold his ground, but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Ráná. Then the young heroes, who acted as the body-guard of Mán Singh, performed such exploits

[1] And of our worthy Author, no doubt, with him.

as were a perfect model; and that day through the generalship of Mán Singh the meaning of this line of Mullá Shírí became known:

"A Hindú wields the sword of Islám."

And the son of Jaimal of Chítór, and Rám Sháh Rájah of Gwályár with his own son Sálabhán, who showed extreme obstinacy of resistance, went to hell; and of the clan of the Rájpúts there was not left one fit to be his successor—Good riddance of bad rubbish![1] And showers of arrows were poured on the Ráná, who was opposed to Mádhav Singh. And Ḥakím Súr,[2] who had fled before the Sayyids, retreated on the Ráná, and so the two divisions became one. Then the Ráná turned and fled, and betook himself to the high mountains, whither he had retreated after the conquest of Chítór, and there sought to shut himself up as in a fortress. And though it was so extremely hot, being during the forty midsummer-d[illegible] so that the very brain boiled in the cranium, they fought from early morning till midday. Nearly five hundred men were slain, and fell on the field of battle, of which number one hundred and fifty were of the people of Islam, and the rest Hindús.[3] And the number of the champions of Islám, who were wounded, (P. 234) exceeded three hundred. And when the air was like a furnace, and no power of movement was left in the soldiers, the idea became prevalent, that the Ráná, by stealth and stratagem, would keep himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason why they made no pursuit, but retired to their tents and occupied themselves in the relief of the wounded. And the following was found to give the date:—

'And victory from God appeared nigh'.[4]

The next day the army marched thence, and having looked over the battle-field to see how each had behaved, leaving Darah,[5] came to Kokandah.[6] And certain of the devoted servants of the Ráná, who were the guardians of his palace, and some of the inhabitants of the

[1] *Lit.* 'The base are diminished, and the world becomes pure.' A proverb, see Roebuck, p. 21.

[2] Leader of that division of the Ráná's army, which first attacked the advance-body and right wing of Mán Sing's troops.

[3] It must be forgotten, that there were Hindús fighting on both sides.

[4] The sum of the letters = 984.

[5] See p. 236.

[6] In our text the name is always *Kokandah*, but Blochm. calls it *Gogandah*.

temples, in all amounting to twenty persons, in accordance with an ancient custom[1] of the Hindús, that, when they are compelled to evacuate a city, they should be killed in order to save their honour, coming out of their houses and temples performed the sacrificial rite, and by the stroke of their life-taking swords committed their souls to the keepers of hell. The Amírs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Ráná, barracaded the streets, and drew a trench, and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly. And they had a list drawn up containing the names of all the slain, and the horses killed in the action, intending to enclose it with the despatch to the Emperor. Sayyid Aḥmad Khán Bárha said, 'There has been no person, or horse, of ours killed, whose name you will have to report to the imperial government, so what is the good of writing them down? It is more important at the present moment to look after the Commissariat.'[2] Then, since there was in that mountain district but little arable land, and so but a scanty amount of corn was produced, and moreover the Banjárás[3] did not come,

[1] It was a very common custom among the Rájpúts.

It has been equally common among the Jews, see translator's *Memor book of Nuernberg*, p. 9 *Ḥarakat-al-maxbúḥí kardan* seems to be the Moslem equivalent to the Jewish 'saying of the Benediction used when slaughtering animals for Jewish food,' *(Ibid.)*.

[2] He was evidently a man of action, and no friend to red-tapeism.

[3] The trade of corn in India is carried on in a mode peculiar to that country. The merchants in corn are a particular caste denoted by the term *Brinjarries*. They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity; and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society, when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies, which spare nothing else, act under a special obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries (Mill and Wilson, Hist. of British India, V, p. 395). The name is *Banjárah* but also pronounced *Brinjarah* in India. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Banij* 'a merchant,' and not from the Pers. *Birinj* 'rice.' (Elliot, *The Races of the Provinces of India*, I. p. 52).

so that the army at that time was suffering from great scarcity, they set their wits to work to tackle the difficulty. Accordingly from time to time they singled out one of the Amírs in command, and commissioned him to bring corn into the lines, and wherever in the high hills and mountains (P. 235) they found many people congregated together, they broke them up and took them prisoners. And one had to sustain life upon the flesh of animals, and the mango-fruit. This latter grew there in such abundance as defies description. The common soldiers used to make a meal on it, fasting, in default of bread, and from its extreme juciness very many of them became ill. The mango-fruit was actually produced in that country of the weight of a *sér akbarí*[1] but for sweetness and flavour they are not up to much.

At this time Muḥammad Khán,[2] a special hanger-on of the Court, arrived from Court charged with an order to hasten to Kokandah, and examine the state of the battle-field.[3] The next day he went away, and having seen [from his investigation of the field] how every one had conducted himself he reported it to the Emperor. His Majesty was graciously pleased to be satisfied on the whole; only he was vexed at their having abandoned the pursuit of the Ráná, and so allowing him to remain alive. Then the Amírs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant, named Rám-parsád,[4] which had come into their hands with the spoil, (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded[5] of the Ráná, and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it) and together with it, the report of the victory to Court. Áçaf Khán mentioned the name of the Author, as a proper person to be sent with it, since he had been allowed to join the army through his being a particular favourite of

[1] A *sér* contained 28 *dáms* at the commencement of the reign of Akbar, and was fixed by him at 30. It is about 2lbs. avoird.

[2] Son of the sister of Tarson Khán. This last was in the service of Bairám Khán; but joined Akbar upon Bairám Khán's disgrace, and was sent to see Bairám Khán as far as Nágór on his way to Makkah. See Blochmann's Áín-í-Akbarí, pp. 342, 525.

[3] Similarly Napoleon used to go over the battle after a victory to criticise the doings of his troops.

[4] See p. 243 note 2.

[5] See p. 235 note 1.

his Majesty. Mán Singh answered [jocosely] : 'There is a great deal of his work still left undone ; he ought to come in front of the line and everywhere take the lead in battle.' I answered : 'My Imámship here is finished ; my business now is to go and act as Imám before the ranks of His Imperial Highness.' He was pleased and smiled, and sent me with the elephant, and appointed three hundred horsemen to accompany me by way of precaution. And he himself, taking advantage of the opportunity to enjoy himself in hunting, and to leave detached guards[1] in different places, came with me by very easy marches as far as the town of Mohaní, which is twenty *cosses* from Kokandah. There he furnished me with letters of commendation, and dismissed me to go to the Court. Thence, by way of Bák'hór, and Mándal Garh, I arrived at Ambér[2] the home of Mán Singh. (P. 236) Wherever we passed, the circumstances of the battle were published, but the people would not credit our statements. By chance it happened, that at five *cosses* from Ambér the elephant sank into a morass, and the more it went forward, the deeper it sank in the clay. And since this was my first service of such a nature, I was in a terrible fix. At last the country people of the neighbourhood came up, and said, 'Last year[3] at this very spot a royal elephant became bogged. Let them pour a quantity of water on the clay and mud, and then the royal elephant will come out easily enough. Accordingly the water-carriers[4] did so, and poured a quantity of water on, and the elephant became gradually extricated from the quagmire, and got to Ambér ; and the exultation of those people reached the very heavens. The Author remained there three

[1] The word *t'hána* is Hindústání. It is used again p. 237, l. 3 *infra* of the 'Station of Ára.

[2] Or Jaipúr, see p. 45 note 8.

[3] This word *pársál* is interesting since it helps to illustrate the word πέρυσι 'last year' 2 Cor. viii, 10 ; ix. 2. πέρυσι must have been originally πέρυτι = Sanskrit *para* + *vat* (sara) 'last year.' From first part *para* comes the Persian *pár* cf. πέρας. *Sál* is perhaps the Sanscrit *Çaraḍ* 'a year.'

[4] Here the ordinary Arabic. word *saqqár* is used. But in India the common word is *bísti*, the origin of which is as follows : When Babar came to India he found the heat of the climate so unendurable, that he said that the only enviable people were the water-carriers, and that they ought to be called *bihishti*, paradisiacal.

or four days, and then proceeded on his journey, by way of the town of Todah, which is his birth-place,[1] and Basáwar which bears this relation to him, that :—

'In that land his skin first touched the dust.'

And during the first days of the month Rabi'ul-awwal, by the intervention of Rájá Bhagván Dás, father of Rájá Mán Singh, I prostrated myself in Audience-chamber at Fatḥpúr, and delivered the despatches of the Amírs, together with the elephant. The Emperor asked ; 'What is its name ?' I replied : 'Rám-prasád.'[2] His Majesty replied : Since all this [success] has been brought about through the Pír,[3] its name henceforth shall be Pír-prasád.[4] Next His Majesty said : 'They have written ever so many praises of you, tell me truly, in what army have you served, and what exploits have you performed ?' I replied : 'In the presence of the Emperor, Your Majesty's humble servant speaks even the truth, with a hundred fears and tremblings, how can he speak that which is not the truth !' And then I related to him succinctly what had happened. Again he asked : 'Were you unarmed, or armed ?' I said : 'I had armour both for man and horse.' 'Where did you get it from ?' he said. I replied : 'From Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán.' The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and putting forth his hand to a heap of Ashrafís[5] (which in those days, just like a heap in a treasury, used always to be laid before him) presented me with a sum of ninety six Ashrafís, and said : (P. 237) 'Have you seen Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabí [since your return] ?' I answered : 'From the dust of the road I came to the Court, how could I have seen him ?' Then the Emperor gave me a pair of splendid Nakhúdí[6] shawls [and said] : 'Take these and go and see the Shaikh, and say to him from us : 'They are from our

[1] Not *Badáún*, as English historians have supposed.

[2] It is a common Hindú name meaning 'Favour of Rámá,' from the Sanscrit *prasáda* 'favour.'

[3] He refers no doubt to the Saint Mu'ín, mentioned often before.

[4] He meant that it should no longer be named after a Hindú god, but after a Saint of Islám.

[5] See p. 229, l. 7 of text.

[6] I do not know whether this means from a place in Persia called Nakhodeh near the Lake of Urumiyeh.

own private treasury, and we had them made on purpose for you, do you wear them.' I took them, and carried the message to the Shaikh, who was very much pleased. Then he asked: At the moment of taking leave of you, I said, At the moment of joining battle remember to pray for me? I replied: I then recited the prayer 'O God! pardon believers male and female, and keep those who keep the Religion of Muḥammad, and abandon those who abandon the Religion of Muḥammad (on him be blessing and peace!)' He said: 'That was sufficient, praise belongs to God!'

This Shaikh Abd-un-Nabí eventually went out of the world[1] by a mischance, such as which may none experience or hear! and may it serve as a warning to all!—

'Whomsoever this world fosters,
At last it spills his blood.
What can be the condition of that child,
Whose own mother is its enemy!'

In this year the Emperor sent Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh post haste to the Khán Jahán (who was encamped against Dáúd near K'halgáon,[2] and was awaiting the arrival of Muzaffar Khán,[3] and the army of Bihár and Ḥájí-púr) entrusted with a firmán expressing his anxiety for those Amírs, and promising the speedy arrival of His Majesty in person. And he despatched five lacs of rupees by a mounted messenger, as a subsidy to that army, and also ordered several vessels to start from Ágrah laden with corn for the troops. Then news arrived that Gujpatí,[4] a zamíndár of the neighbourhood of Ḥájí-púr and Patnah, who had been subjugated,[5] had rebelled, and gathering together a force, had attacked Farḥat Khán, and his son Mírak Radáí, who were in the station of Ára, and had brought them both to the grade of martyrdom, and now held all the roads. On this account on

[1] See the year 991 in this History.

[2] *K'hal-gáṇw* (Colgong). The termination *gáṇw* in the Sanscrit *gráma* village, comp. Sátgaṇw.

[3] See p. 230, l. 4, text.

[4] So Blochmann, pp. 400, 441, and *sq*, apparently, MS.; not *Cajátí*.

[5] *I. e.*, he *had* been, but now rebelled. The word *íl* is Turkí, and means obedient, submissive.

the twenty-fifth of Rabi'ul ákhir[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor started towards the east of Hind, and came to a halt within five *cosses* of his goal (P. 238). At this halting-place Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán sent the head of Dá'úd: and this verse, which Sayyid Mír Kai at the moment of returning from Patnah to Jounpúr had chosen as a charm of prophetic meaning, came true:—

"News of the victory suddenly came,
The head of Dá'úd came to the Court."

And the history of the battle is concisely as follows. When Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán joined the army of the Khán Jahán in the neighbourhood of K'halgáon, he was very anxious to attack the enemy. So the next day (which was the fifteenth of Rabí'ul ákhir) the Khán Jahán issued orders to the Amírs of his own troops, and appointed to each the place he was to take. Then Muzaffar Khán reinforced him with 5,000 horse. And Dá'úd with the greatest presumption and pride, being supported by his paternal uncle Junaid Kararáni and other leaders, drew out of the fortress, and leaving his hiding-place offered battle. At the very first attack a cannon-ball struck the knee of Junaid and shattered it. When the armies closed with one another, defeat fell on the Afgháns. The horse of Dá'úd stuck fast in a swamp, and Ḥasan Bég surrounded him, and brought him to Khán Jahán. Dá'úd being overcome with thirst asked for water. They filled his slipper with water and brought it to him. But, when he refused to drink, Khán Jahán offered him his own private canteen, and allowed him to drink out of it. He did not wish to kill him, for he was a very handsome man; but finally the Amírs said that to spare his life would be to incur suspicions as to their own loyalty, so he ordered them to cut off his head. They took two chops at his neck without success, but at last they succeeded in killing him, and in severing his head from his body. Then they stuffed it with straw, and anointed it with perfumes, and gave it in charge to Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán, and sent him with it to the Emperor. They took many elephants and much spoil. And on the twenty-third of Jamád'-as-sání[2] the Emperor went to Ajmír with the intention of returning thanks for the victory.

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The sixth month.

And on the sixth of the month Rajab,[1] which is the anniversary of the decease of Ḥazrat (P. 139) Khwájah[2] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) the Emperor arrived at Ajmír. And Sulṭán Khwájah, son of Khwájah Kháwand Maḥmúd[3] he appointed *Mír Hájí*,[4] and sent a sum of six lacs of rupees, in money and goods, to be distributed among the deserving people of Mecca and Madína, and for building a *Khánah*[5] in the sacred precincts. When the Emperor dismissed Sulṭán Khwájah on his road to the two Sacred Cities, he himself, with bare head and feet, and dressed in the *Iḥrám*, and in every respect clothed like a pilgrim, and having shorn his head a little, went a little distance in his train. At this a cry broke forth from the multitude,[6] and he showed himself moved by their devotion. And Qaṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán and Qulíj Khán, and Áçaf Khán were appointed to escort Sulṭán Khwájah, with orders that they should part from the caravan at Kokandah, and should scour the country of the Ráná,[7] and following his track wherever they should hear news of him, should bring destruction on him.

And contemporaneously with these events news arrived, that Sháh Tahmásp had passed from the world,[8] and that Sháh Isma'íl II had succeeded him. And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"It is the beginning of *Reign* and *Victory*, and *Conquest*."[9]

And the Emperor made a general order, that any one who wished might go on a pilgrimage, and that his expenses should be paid from the Treasury. And a great number of persons attained that felicity. But the revese is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing, and merely to ask leave to go on a pilgrimage is enough to make a man a malefactor worthy of death: "We alternate these days among men."[10]

[1] The seventh month.
[2] Mu'ín-uddín Chistí Sigizí of Ajmír.
[3] Dost. Blochmann.
[4] Leader of the pilgrims.
[5] See Burton's *Mecca and El Madina*, III.
[6] They were afraid that he was about to become a devotee.
[7] Ráná Kíká, see above.
[8] Sháh of Persia, see above.
[9] The first letters of these words give 4 + 80 + 900 = 984.
[10] Al Qur'án III. 134.

And at this time, when news arrived of the distressed state of the army at Kokandah, the Emperor sent for Mán Singh, Áçaf Khan and Qází Khán, to come alone from that place, and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mán Singh and Áçaf Khán (who were associated in treachery[1]) for some time from the Court; while on the contrary Ghází Khán Badakhshí, and Mihtar Khán, and 'Alí Murád Uzbek, Khanjarí Turk, and one or two others, of whom I was of the number (P. 240) were distinguished from these men, and were honoured with presents and promotion in rank. But all the rest, though they fell from the position of confidence, were dismissed without punishment.

On the 19th of this month the Emperor marched towards the country of the Ráná, who was pillaging in the mountain district of Oudípúr, Jounpúr &c.

At this time Khwájah Sháh Mançúr, a Shírází clerk, who at the beginning of his career had been for some time clerk in the perfumery department, and had been obliged to flee on account of the hostility and power of Muzaffar Khán, came to Mun'im Khán at Jounpúr, and was received with the greatest respect, and appointed to be his *díván*. And after the death of Mun'im Khán he came to Court in accordance with an imperial firmán, and on account of his exceedingly fine business qualities and soundness of judgment, he became *díván* of the whole empire, and by degrees became associated in imperial affairs with the prosperous Rájah[2]:—

"He is an incapable who does not rise to power,
For at all events Destiny is on the look out for a capable man;"

But some one has just reversed the statement and said:—

"The incapables of the world have risen to power,
How then can Destiny be on the look out for a capable man?"

[1] The *Tárikhi Nizámí* says that what displeased the Emperor was, that they would not suffer any plundering of the Ráná's country, and that it was this that caused the distress of the army. Elliot v. 401.

[2] Rájah Muzaffar Khán..

But the first is true, and the second is not a fair statement of facts.

And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. And, when Sháh Mançúr took to wearing a long tail to the back of his turban, they dubbed him 'The Star with a tail'. And through his excessive economy and stinginess in the army expenses, and the pitch that he reached in grasping in season and out of season; people forgot the tyrannies of Rájah Muzaffar Khán and kept heaping upon him abundance of abuse:—

"For many bads are worse than bad."

(P. 241) In this same year news arrived that Sháh Isma'íl, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp, Emperor of Persia,[1] had been murdered, with the consent of the Amírs, by his own sister Parí Ján Khánam: and Mír Ḥaidar, the riddle writer, found the *táríkh* of his accession in the word:—"A king[2] of the face of the earth:" and the *táríkh* of his death in:—A king below the earth." And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in 'Iráq the greatest perturbation resulted, while the Turks conquered Tabríz, Shirwán, and Mázandarán. And Sulṭán Muḥammad Khudábandah, son of Sháh Ṭahmásp by another mother, succeeded to the throne, as is related in its proper place. And the period of cursing and reviling the great Companions of the Prophet, which had lasted for 1,000 months in direct opposition to authority, and involved the use of improper language towards the sons of Ummaiya, came to an end;[3] but the heresy had already travelled from that country to this:—

"Error[4] came to Hind from the land of 'Iráq,
Know that '*Iráq* rhymes with *road to Nifáq*."

While the imperial army was encamped at Mohaní the Emperor wrote a firmán to Qutb-ud-din Muḥammad Khán, and Rájah Baghvan Dás ordering those two commanders to remain at Kokandah.

[1] See p. 246.

[2] *Sháhinsháh* and *Zamín* give 768 in both cases. And in the first *rú* gives 216, while in the second *zer* gives 817. Thus the date of the accession is 984, A. H., and of the death 985.

[3] Our writer means that while the preceding Sháhs of Persia had been *Shi'ahs*, the new Sháh was a *Sunní*.

[4] In Persian *Nifáq*.

and Qulíj Khán with other Amírs he ordered to accompany the pilgrim-caravan as far as I'dar, which is 40 *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, and thence to send on a body of troops to convey them as far as Aḥmadábád, while he himself should lay seize to I'dar, and extirpate Naráin Dás the Rájah of that place. So Qulíj Khán in accordance with his orders remained at I'dar, and sent on Tímúr Khán Badakhshí with 500 horsemen to escort the caravan to a place of safety. But the Rájah of I'dar, like the Ráná[1], after the fashion of robbers kept wandering from mountain to mountain, and from jungle to jungle :—

"What does the Moon, that the Halo does not imitate ?"

At this camping-place Shiháb Khán, and Sháh Bidágh Khán with his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab (P. 242) and Sháh Fakhr-ud-dín Khán and other *zamíndárs* of Málwah, came and paid their respects. And the Emperor left Ghází Khán Badakhshí, who had been raised to the rank of Commander of a Thousand, with Sharíf Muḥammad Khán Atgah, and Mujáhid Khán, and Turk Subḥán Qulí, with 3,000 cavalry at the station of Mohaní. And the military commanders 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán Beg son of Jaláluddín Beg, and 'Abdurraḥmán son of Mu'ayyad Beg he left with 500 troops in the hill district ; but he sent for Quṭbuddín Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás from Gogandah, and having stationed Sháh Fakhruddín and Jaganáth in Udípúr, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás at the entrance of the defile of Udípúr, the Emperor went himself into the neighbourhood of Bánswála and Dungarpúr. At this place Rájah Todar Mal arrived from Bengál, and brought to the Emperor 500 elephants from the spoil of that kingdom, and other valuables.

While at this place he sent Qulíj Khán (whom he had recalled from I'dar, and appointed Áçaf Khán as leader of the army in his stead) together with Kalyán Rái Baqqál an inhabitant of Cambay to the port of Çúrat to obtain an agreement from the Europeans, so as to set free the ships of Sulṭan Khwájah[2], which for want of such an agreement were lying idle.[3] Afterwards he was to come to Málwah and join the army.

[1] *I. e.*, Ráná Kíká.

[2] The conductor of the pilgrimage.

[3] The Portuguese held Bombay, and so were able to control the navigation of Súrat.

In the month of Ziḥijjah[1] of this year took place the New Year's day of the 23rd year from the Accession. He celebrated that festival in the castle of Dibálpúr one of the dependencies of Málwah.

The compiler of this Compendium had on account of a severe sickness remained at Basáwar.[2] He now asked leave to proceed to the camp by way of Bánswálah. At Hindún[3] Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán consented, but representing that road was blocked up and full of difficulties, he caused me to return and brought me to Bajaunah. And after some days on account of my anxiety to perform my duty as one of the Imperial Imáms, I went in company with Razawí Khán by way of Gwályár and Sárangpúr (P. 243), and Ujayn, and on the 12th of Ziḥijjah paid my respects to the Emperor in the confines of Dibálpúr belonging to Málwah. Then I presented to the Emperor a valuable pocket-Qur'án, and a note-book of marvellous and rare sermons by Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, a preacher of Qandahár, such a sweet-voiced preacher as whom had never been seen by any one in this generation. This Qur'án and note book had been carried off by some thieves from a certain halting-place a *cos* distant from Basáwar, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán had gone in pursuit and had handed over the things to me. When I brought them into his presence, the Emperor evinced great pleasure, and calling Ḥafiz Muḥammad Amín he said to him in joke: "They have brought me a pocket-Qur'án from somewhere or other, I make it a present to you." Ḥafiz recognizing it, was extremely delighted, and making profuse and boundless bows and prostrations by way of thanks, said: Your Majesty the very same day said to Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán, "If God will, you will find it, it can't be really lost." When the Emperor enquired of the author the circumstances of its discovery, I replied: "A company of labourers, who in some of the villages of Basáwar are occupied in digging wells and tanks &c., and who under pretext of this occupation do a little in highway robbery had stolen these articles. But one of them, having had a difference with his companion brought word to Sayyid 'Abdulláh

[1] The last month of the Muhammadan year.

[2] Lak'hnou Lithograph gives *Pasháwar*.

[3] That edition reads *Hindáán* not *Hindún*.

Khán, so that he was able to seize them all, and so they confessed the thefts they had committed." Then the Emperor said to Háfiz: "If God will, the rest of the articles will also be found, so be of good cheer!" To this he replied: "I have attained my wish in the recovery of my Qur'án and note-book, which I received as an inheritance from my father and grandfather, and I cannot compose sermons myself. For the other things I don't care much." And eventually (P. 244) on the return from that journey those articles were all found among the things taken from the countrymen, as the Emperor had said would be the case, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khán brought them into the Imperial presence at Fathpúr. While at Dibálpúr I was reinstated in my office of Imám, and Khwájah Daulat Názir had to keep me up to the mark, and in the old way one day and night out of the seven used to make me mount the pulpit, and the proverb became fulfilled: "Little Aḥmad will not go to school, so they carry him":—

> "Either thou goest, or otherwise they will carry thee, there is no choice".

And on account of anxiety for the affairs of that kingdom, the Emperor remained some days at Díbálpúr. And some of the great Amírs, such as Shahib-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán he sent, with the *jágírdárs* of Málwah, against Rájah 'Alí Khán in the direction of Asír and Burhánpúr, to subdue that district. And Sháhbáz Khán, *Bakhshí*, was to see to the branding of the horses and the mustering of that army. At that station Rájah Todar Mall, together with I'timád Khán of Gujrát, was appointed to look into revenues of the country of Gujrát, and into the stores of that kingdom.

At this time news came of the defeat of Rájah Naráin Dás, and the taking of Ídar. The particulars are as follows: When Qulíj Khán, through the efforts of 'Alí Murád Uzbek, who had been sent to fetch him, had left Ídar and returned to Court, and Áçaf Khán[1] had been appointed to the command, the Rájah of Ídar, who had become an outcast and wanderer, had with the assistance of Ráná Kíká and other *zamíndárs* collected an army and advanced to within 10 *cosses* of the station of Ídar, intending to make a night attack.

[1] See above, p. 249.

Then Áçaf Khán and Mírzá Muḥammad Muqím and Tímúr Badakhshí, and Mír Abu-l-ghays Bokhárí, and Mír Muḥammad Ma'çúm Bakrí, &c. agreed that it would be the best plan (P. 245), leaving about 500 horse to guard the station, themselves to make a night attack on the enemy, and so anticipate him in his plans. Accordingly just at daybreak on the 4th of Ẓiḥijjah, in the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984), when they had proceeded 7 *cosses*, Rájah Naráín Dás met them coming in the opposite direction armed *cap à pie*, and immediately attacked them, and arrows and swords and javelins began flying in the air. And Mírzá Muḥammad Muqím, who was in the van in advance of every one, in drinking the draught of martyrdom still showed his superiority. Defeat fell on the infidels, and they fled to a man and skulked like foxes in their holes. When the dispatch of Áçaf Khán arrived, a firmán of commendation was issued to the officers of that army.

In this year Mír Sayyid Muḥammad *Mír'adal*, who had been appointed to the government of Bhakkar, sent Sayyid Abu-l-Fazl and his other sons against Sabwí (?), and then reduced that fortress in a short space of time. And Mír Sayyid Abul Qásim son of Mír Sayyid Çafálí (who is one of the most important personages of Bhakkar and had come to do homage at Court) was raised to the rank of a body-guardsman. And this line gives the date :—

"To the sons of the Prophet[1] belongs the taking of Sabwí".

And in this year the Mír 'Adl[2] departed this life, and the date is given by the following :—*Sayyid-i-Fázil*[3]—May God deal with him according to excellence *(fazal)* !

Among the events of this time was the arrival of Sharíf of Ámul, and his interview with the Emperor while he was at Díbálpúr. The sum of the matter is as follows : This reprobate apostate (P 246) had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to another, he went on wrangling until he became a perfect heretic. For some time he studied after the

[1] The brothers were Sayyids, *i. e.*, descendants of the Prophet.

[2] The father of the above-mentioned 'sons of the Prophet.'

[3] These words mean "Excellent Sayyid", and give 985, which is one too much. But, if we take *fasal* instead of *fázal*, the date is 984.

vain fashion of Çúfíism, which is void of all -sophy, in the school of Maulánú Muḥammad Záhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwárizm (God sanctify his tomb!), and had lived with darveshes. But as he had little of the darvesh in him he set on foot abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurted it out, so that they expelled him. The Maulánú wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:—

"There was a heretic, and Sharíf was his name,
Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same!"

In his wanderings he came to the Dak'hin, where from his want of self-restraint he betrayed the filthiness of his disposition, and the rulers of the Dak'hin wished to cleanse the tablet of existence of his image, but eventually he was only set on a donkey and shown about the city in disgrace. But since Hindustán is a wide place, where there is an open field for all licentiousness, and no one interferes with another's business, so that every one can do just as he pleases, at this time he made his way to Málwah, and settled at a place five *cosses* distant from the Imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the poison of asps, and became the absorbing topic of general conversation. Many persons blind to God's mercies, especially the heretics of 'Iráq (who separated themselves from the Truth of the Faith, like a hair from the dough, 'Nabatheans'[1] exactly describes them, and they are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist[2]) gathered round him, and at his orders spread abroad the report that he was the Restorer promised for the tenth century. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him he invited him one night (P. 247) to a private audience in a long prayer-room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers at the stated hours. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and then stood still with his

[1] The 'Nabatheans' are the 'Bœotians' of the Arabs. "Ces gens sont fort grossiers. C'est pourquoi ils passent ordinairement parmi les Arabes pour des idiots et des ignorants." D'Herbelot.

[2] See p. 301, Text.

arms crossed, you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour is said to be a sign of hostility to the Prophet—peace be upon him !) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself as in worship, and then sat down *duzánú*,[1] like an Indian camel. And there he held *tête à tête* with the Emperor, and discussed various questions. No one except the *Ḥakím-ul-mulk*[2] was allowed to be present with them, but every now and then from a distance, when he raised his voice, I could catch the word *'ilm* [knowledge]. He chewed the cud of a host of foolish stories, and called them "the Truth of Truths", and 'the Foundation of Fundamentals' :—

> "A race both outwardly and inwardly ignorant
> Through ignorance is lost in folly.
> They are immersed in heresy and call it Truth !
> There is no power or might except in God !"

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmúd of Basakhwán, who lived in the time of Tímúr the Lord of Conjunction, at Basakhwán, which is the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Gílán. Maḥmúd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such droppings of heresy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but deceitful flattery, which he called 'science of expressed and implied language'.[3] The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr u Kúzah*[4], containing such loathsome nonsense, that when the ear eats thereof it turns sick. How the devil would have laughed in his sleeve, had he heard it, and what capers he would have cut ! And this gross fellow Sharíf had also written a regular conflict of absurdities, which he named "First glimpses of the Truth," in which he blindly follows Mír 'Abdulawwal. This book is written (P. 248) in loose, deceptive

[1] Kneeling and sitting on the heels, with the hands resting on the knees.

[2] Shamsuddín, of Gílán on the Caspian. Blochm. p. 542.

[3] So Blochmann (P. 177) renders the words *'ilám-i lafz u-ḥál*. Our "letter and spirit" (?).

[4] 'The Ocean and the Jug,' *i. e.*, God and the Soul, the Finite trying to reach the Infinite.

aphorisms, each beginning with the word *mífarmúdand*:[1] it is a regular poser, and a mass of ridiculous silly nonsense. But in spite of this folly, in accordance with the saying: 'Verily God the King brings people to people,' he so carried things before him, and knew so well how to turn to his own account the spirit of the age and mankind, that he is now a Commander of One Thousand, and one of the apostles of His Majesty's religion in Bengál, possessor of the four[2] degrees of Faith, and in his turn summoning faithful disciples to these degrees. An account of these degrees will be given later on:—

"Regard not the reprobation or approval of the common people,
For their business is always either to pray or to purr.
Common people believe in a Cow[3] as a God,
And do not believe in Noah as a prophet."

We make our complaint unto God on account of the world: if ever it does good, it immediately repents; and if it does evil, it goes on in its evil course. The following just suits his case:—

"I was last year a star of the lowest dimension,
This year I am the Pole-star of religion.
If I last out another year,
I shall be the Pole-star of the religion of 'Alí."

And when the Emperor had satisfactorily settled the affairs of that district, he started thence by successive stages by way of Rinthambór, and hunting as he went along arrived on the 23rd of Çafr of the year nine hundred and eighty five (985) at Fatḥpúr. And Shaikh Faizí, who now enjoys the title of the King of Poets, wrote an ode, of which the opening lines are:

"The breeze that cheers the heart comes from Fatḥpúr,
For my king returns from a distant journey."

[1] *I. e.*, 'The master said', comp. the Hebr Midrash *Yelammedénu* 'he used to teach us.'

[2] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness to sacrifice four things, Life, Property, Religion Honour.

[3] Al Qur'án II, where "Cow" is used for the "Calf" of Exodus.

Two or three months later news arrived of the troubles in Gujrát, the origin of which was as follows (P. 249). When Rájah Todar Mall went in the afore-mentioned capacity[1] to Gujrát, Muzaffar Ḥusain, son of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá, who was daughter's son to Kámrán Mírzá came from the country of the .Dak'hin. At the time of the seige of Súrat his mother Gulrukh Bégum had carried him off from there, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years. At the instigations of a scoundrel named Mihr 'Alí, one of the old retainers of Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, he gathered together a number of vagabonds and raised an insurrection in Gujrát. Then Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Muḥammad Khán Atgah, and Bábá Bég *Díwán* of Gujrát, marched against Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá, attacked him in the *pargana* of Patlád, and were defeated. Then the Mírzá went off to Cambay with some 2,000 or 3,000 horse. And Wazír Khán, governor of Gujrát, although he had a force of 3,000 horse, on account of the dissatisfaction among his troops, who were by no means to be relied on, determined to shut himself up in the fort, and wrote a statement of affairs to Rájah Todar Mall, who was at Patan. Then the Rájah marched towards Aḥmadábád, upon which the Mírzá decamped from outside Aḥmadábád[2] and retired on Dúlaka. Wazír Khán and the Rájah pursued them, and a fierce battle took place in that neighbourhood, and defeat fell on the enemy, who retired to Júnágaṛh. At this juncture the Rájah returned suddenly to Fatḥpúr. Then Muzaffar Ḥusain returned from Júnágaṛh, and beseiged Wazír Khán (who for the aforenamed reason had, rather than risk an engagement, again shut himself up in the fortress) at Aḥmadábád. He placed ladders against the walls of the castle, and endeavoured to take it by assault: in fact he had almost carried the fort, when suddenly a bullet reached the breast of Mihr 'Alí, who was the Mirzá's absolute vicegerent, and the casket of his secrets, and brought him into a casket indeed:—

"Death comes unexpectedly,
And the grave is a casket indeed".

[1] See above p. 251.

[2] He had gone thither after remaining two or three days at Cambay. *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí.*

As soon as the Mírzá became aware of this catastrophe he took to flight (P. 250), and went towards Sulṭánpúr and Nadarbár.

The renowned Amírs who, under the leadership of Shihábuddín Aḥmad Khán, had been appointed against Rájah 'Alí Khán, and had driven him into the fortress, and keeping him closely beseiged had ravaged the country, were very near taking the fortress. Meanwhile Quṭb-uddín Muḥammad Khán became anxious, and separating himself from the Amírs went towards Bahroṇch and Barodah, where he held a *jágír*, and which through the Mírzá[1] had been thrown into the direst confusion. The financial affairs of Asír and Burhánpúr had become so completely embarrassed, that the Amírs had to content themselves with receiving from Rájah 'Alí Khán so much tribute as he was then in a position to pay, and sent it to Court, and themselves returned to their *jágírs*.

At this time Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk Shírází, who in the year nine hundred and eighty-three had gone on an embassy in company with the *wakíl* of 'Ádil Khán ruler of the Dak'hin[2], returned and presented the elephants and other valuable presents of 'Ádil Khán to the Emperor: and after the superseding of Deb Chand, Rájah of Majholí, in the military command of Báns Barelí, Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk was appointed to the command in the skirts of the mountain district. From that place he wrote a report consisting of ever so many sections. In one of them he said: "Since I am separated from the Court, and in this desolate wilderness I have not a single individual of my friends for a companion, if a certain Rájah who is well acquainted with the good and evil of this district, and the whole conduct of its affairs should mention my name, and if people should be inclined to restore their confidence to him, and he should hav many unrequited services at Court, please send him: it would be a great kindness to him, and a great advantage to your humble servant. But your Majesty's will is law." Khwájah Sháh Manṣúr read over each section, and wrote an answer according to the Emperor's orders, but when he came to this section His Majesty gave him neither 'Yea' nor 'Nay':—

[1] Muzaffar Ḥusain.

[2] He was the reigning prince of Bíjápúr.

"Though hair should grow on the palm of the hand,
Yet thy locks cannot come into my hand.
(P. 251) Such is my hard fate,
And such is thy hard-heartedness."

And in the month of Rajab[1] (in the year nine hundred and eighty-five) which is the time of the festival the saint Khwájah Ajmírí, the Emperor turned his face towards Ajmír. And while he was at Todah, Sháh Abu Turáb one of the great Sayyids of Shíráz and counsellor of the Sultans of Gujrát, and Rájah Todar Mall, who after his victory over Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain had set out for the Court, arrived. When not far from Mairt'ha he appointed Sháh Abu Turáb *Mír Hájjí* over a caravan of pilgrims, and to I'timád Khán Gujrátí he gave a large sum of money, and permission to proceed to the sacred Makkah. And the Emperor issued a general order that any one who wished might go. And when I brought a petition from 'Abd-un-nabí, I also received permission to go. The Emperor asked me: 'Have you a mother still alive?' I answered: 'Yes'. He said: 'Is there one of your brothers who withdraws from the fulfilment of his obligations?' I answered: 'No, I am their only means of support.' To this he replied: 'If you were to obtain your mother's permission first, it would be better'. But that happiness I was not fortunate enough to obtain: and now with the teeth of disappointment she gnaws the back of the hand of repentance:—

"Thy favour did not do one particular thing,
And the time for the thing passed by.
On one particular day I met not with thee,
And the opportunity passed by."

In the neighbourhood of the town of Ambír, in the district of Múltán, which is an ancient city which had become totally ruined, the Emperor commanded the rebuilding of the city. A lofty castle, and gates and a garden were apportioned out to the Amírs, and they expended the greatest energy in the work of building, so that in

[1] The seventh month.

eight[1] days it was finished. And the Emperor made the rayats settle down in that district. He called (P. 252) the place after the name of Rái Manohar, son of Rái Lonkaran, governor of Sámbhar, and gave it the name of Manohar-púr. This Manohar, whom they called for some time Mírzá Manohar, grew up and was educated in the service of the eldest prince, and attained to great proficiency. Now he composes poetry and bears the title of Tusaní, and an exceedingly able young man he is. He will be mentioned in the sequel containing Memoirs of the Poets. Thence by way of Nárnúl the Emperor set out for Dihlí : and Shaikh Nizám of Nánúl, one of the greatest Shaikhs of the time, came to meet him. After performing the pilgrimages at Dihlí to the tombs of the great saints of that illustrious locality, the Emperor went on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Pálam.

At the beginning of the last decade of the blessed month of Ramazán in this year, news reached me at Rewárí, that at Basáwar a son had been born to me, a happiness which I had been long anxiously expecting. I presented an offering of *ashrafís* to the Emperor, and requested him to name the child. After reading the *Fátiḥah* he enquired the name of my father and of my grandfather. I answered "Mulúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Ḥámid". He said, "This child is called 'Abdul Hádí"—Hádí being a name which at that time was day and night upon his lips. Although Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, the preacher, and one of the seven Imáms[2] kept urging me with the greatest importunity not to commit this folly, but to assemble some reciters of the Qur'án to my house to recite the whole Qur'án in order to secure a long life to my son, I declined to do so, and at the end of six months my son died. If God will, may he be to me a reward and treasure, an intercessor and one accepted in the Day of Judgment!

From Rewárí I took five months' leave and went to Basáwar, on account of certain important affairs, or rather follies; but I exceeded my term of absence and remained there a whole year. This neglect of duty and the machinations of my enemies caused me to

[1] The *Tabaqát-i Akbarí* says 20 days. Elliott V, 407.

[2] See p. 232.

fall from the Emperor's favour, and he took no further notice of me. Even to this day (P. 253) although a period of eighteen years has elapsed since that event, and eighteen thousand worlds[1] have passed away, I continue still afflicted with this unrequited service, which offers neither chance of confirming myself in his favour, nor opportunity of leaving his service :—

"I have not the fortune to have intercourse with the Beloved,
I have not the fortitude to abstain from Love.
I have not the power to fight against Fate,
I have not the foot to flee from the field."

And while the Emperor was at Hásdí, at the time that he was on his way to the Panjáb, a despatch arrived at Court from Sher Beg Tawáchí, to the effect that Muzaffar Ḥusain Mírzá having fled from Gujrát and gone to the Dak'hin, had been captured by Rájah 'Alí Khán, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Zí ḥajjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor despatched a *farmán* to Rájah 'Alí Khán concerning *Maqçúd*[3] *Jauharí*, which resulted in his sending the Mirzá to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram[4] in the year nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the Jalálí period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the accession :—

"The Çafar[5] of the throne wins the day over the Sultan of the sky
Verily his fame rises up to Aries."

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the saint Ganj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit !), and then went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandanah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed.

[1] He seemed to mean that monstrous changes had taken place in the course of that time.

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] See p. 265.

[4] The first month.

[5] The old name of Muḥarram. Whence the two first months are sometimes called *Çafaráni*.

And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :—

(P. 254) "Take care! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqírs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building, and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of the courtiers followed his example. And when news of this became spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the ryots, but these were quickly quelled.

While he was at Bahrah the Imperial Begum arrived from the Capital. At this time he confided the government of the Panjáb to Sa'íd Khán Moghul, and appointed Qází 'Alí Baghdádí (who is the grandson[1] of Mír Qází Ḥusain Maibazí) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *Madad-i Ma'ásh* and *Aymah* in the Panjáb and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and re-measure the enclosures, and to put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant-lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Fatḥpúr. And near to Khizrábád Sádhorah on the 5th of Jamada'-s-sání[2] in the aforesaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amírs and nobles of the kingdom also went on board a vessel to accompany him, but the army went by land. And on the 29th of this month the Emperor arrived at Dihlí. During the first part of the month Rajab he disembarking from the water-boat and mounted

[1] The Lak'hnau edition has asterisks after the word *naberah*.

[2] The 6th month.

a land-boat (which is a figurative expression for a desert-traversing steed), and on the 5th of this month he reached Ajmír and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint[1]. The next day at the same hour he started for the Imperial Palace, and travelling each day 50 *cosses*, he arrived at day-break on Friday the 9th. The compiler of these pages, who had come from Basáwar to meet him, paid his respects to him at that time, and presented (P. 255) the Book of the *Aḥádís*[2], which contains forty of them treating on the merit of war with Infidels, and the advantages of archery, and its names includes the date of it. It was admitted into the Library, and no mention whatever was made of any fault on my part in delaying to redeem my promise. And later that day the Emperor came to Fatḥpúr. There he used to spend much time in the *'Ibádat-khánah* in the company of learned men and Shaikhs. And especially on Friday nights, when he would sit up there the whole night continually occupied in discussing questions of Religion, whether fundamental or collateral. The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battle-field of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunní, and Shí'ah, of Haníf í and Sháfi'í, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhdúm-ul-mulk wrote a treatise, to the effect that Shaikh 'Abdunnabí had unjustly killed Khizr Khán Sarwání, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mír Ḥabsh, who had been suspected of being a Shí'ah, and saying that it was not right to repeat the prayers after him, because he was undutiful towards his father, and was himself afflicted with hemorrhoids. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullás became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and on the other, and became very Jews[3] and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

[1] Mu'ín-ud-dín Chishtí Sigizí.

[2] See p. 207, *note* 1.

[3] *Sabṭí* is from the Hebrew *Shébhet* 'a tribe' and is applied to Israel as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (*Shebhátím*), the sons of Jacob.

ideas, and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islám was left in him: and every thing was turned topsy turvy :—

(P. 256) The matter of me and you has fallen upside down,
You *purchase* the very thing I *blame*[1].

Of this there were many causes and reasons, but in accordance with the Proverb 'A little guides to the much, and fear points out the culprit[2],' a specimen of them is brought forward in the course of this history (and God is the assistant !). In a word crowds of learned men from all nations, and sages of various religions and sects came to the Court, and were honoured with private conversations. After enquiries and investigations, which were their only business and occupation day and night, they would talk about profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, and the wonders of nature, subjects of which large volumes could give only an abstract and summary: and in accordance with the saying :— "Three things are dangerous, Avarice satisfied: desire indulged: and a man's being pleased with himself" everything that pleased him, he picked and chose from any one except a Moslem, and anything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast aside. From childhood to manhood, and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs, and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his

[1] The word عيب 'blame' is يبع 'purchase' written backwards.

[2] *Ex uno disce omnes.*

imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took form, like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wise men to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place: and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years! And why assert one thing and deny another, and claim pre-eminence for that which is not essentially pre-eminent?

And Samanas[1] and Brahmans (who as far as the matter of private interviews is concerned (P. 257) gained the advantage over every one in attaining the honour of interviews with his Majesty, and in associating with him, and were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstacies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections) brought forward proofs, based on reason and traditional testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacy of our religion, and inculcated their doctrine with such firmness and assurance, that they affirmed mere imaginations as though they were self-evident facts, the truth of which the doubts of the sceptic could no more shake—

"Than the mountains crumble, and the heavens be cleft!"

And the Resurrection, and Judgment, and other details and traditions, of which the Prophet was the repository, he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith, some of which are written in the book called "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture": and urged and excited them to his own path by speech both set and extempore:—

"The guardian gave advice to that fair one:
Do not smile on every face, as the rose through the wind.
When the advice became past endurance, that coquette
Knit her brow, and hung down her head."

[1] Buddhist ascetic, Sansk. *çramana*.

Some time before this a Brahman, named Puruk'hotam, who had written a commentary on the book *Khirad-afzá*, had had private interviews with him, and he had asked him to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence. And at one time a Brahman, named Debí, who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahá-bhárata*, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a *chárpáí*, till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, such as Brahma, Mahádev, Bishn, Kishn, Rám and Mahámá (whose existence as sons of the human race (P. 258) is a supposition, but whose non-existence is a certainty, though some in their idle belief look on them as gods, and some as angels). His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection. He became especially firmly convinced of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and he much approved of the saying :—"*There is no religion in which the doctrine of Transmigration has not a firm hold.*" And insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to establish indisputable arguments in favour of this thesis. And having instituted research into doctrines of the sects of the Hindú unbelievers, of whom there are an endless and innumerable host, and who possess numbers of sacred books, and yet do not belong to the *Ahl-i-Kitáb*,[1] he took so much pleasure in such discussions, that not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence. Sometimes again it was Shaikh Táj-ud-dín whom he sent for. This Shaikh was son of Shaikh Zakariyá of Ajodhan. The principle 'Ulamá of the age call him *Táj-ul-'árifín*[2]. He had been a pupil of Rashíd Shaikh Zamán of Pánípat, author of a commentary on the *Lawáih*, and of other excellent works, was most excellent in Çúfíism, and in the knowledge of Theology second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Muzhat ul-arwáh*. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle in a blanket [illegible] his Majesty listened the whole night [illegible]ve im[illegible]ns, and Sabeites *Al Qur'án* 46 &c., xxix.

[1] People of the Book, Jews, [illegible]

[2] Crown of the Çúfís.

[illegible] none li[illegible]

his Çúfic obscenities and follies. The Shaikh, since he did not
ny great degree feel himself bound by the injunctions of the
r, introduced arguments concerning the Unity of Existence, such
idle Çúfís discuss, and which eventually lead to license and open
sy. He also interested the Emperor in the question as to the
h of Pharaoh (the curse of God be on him !), which is mentioned
he book *Fuçúç ul-ḥikam*, and as to the excellence of hope over
, and such like questions, to which people, who naturally turn
mselves from the warnings of Reason and the prohibitions of the
r, instinctively incline. Thus he became a chief cause of the
kening of the Emperor's faith in the commands of Islám.
allowed that infidels would be kept for ever in fire, but the
nity of the *punishment* he thought doubtful, and not actually
blished he also introduced many changes into the texts of the
'án, and (P. 259) the traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon
!). And the expression *Insán i kámil* he said referred to the
alif of the age, explaining it in the sense of 'holiest,' and in-
preting most things in a manner not wholly correct, and not a few
them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he
nted a *sijdah* [prostration] for him, and called it *zamín-bos*
sing the ground], and looking on the reverence due to a king
an absolute religious command he called the face of the king
bah i Murádát [sanctum of desires], and *Qiblah i Ḥáját* [goal
necessities]. And in support of these matters he brought forward
e apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some
the Shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles The Only
e, The Absolute, The Perfect Man became commonly applied to
just, majestic, and magnanimous Emperor. Similarly other of
great Shaikhs, such as Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmír, who is a
ll-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious
tters, mentioned some of the opinions expressed by that chief
the Qázís, Hamadání,[1] such as the following : that Muḥammad
Prophet of God (may God bless him and his race and grant him
ce !) was a personification of the title *Alhádí* [the guide], and
t Iblís [the devil] is a personificati of the title *Almuzill*[2] [the

[1] Abdul-Jabbár Hamadání, see D'Herb . *Orient.* fol. 395.
[2] Al Qur'án xxviii 14.

tempter], and that both names, thus personified, have appeared in the world, and that both personifications therefore are necessary.

Mullá Muḥammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the castle wall in the same way, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the three Khalifs, and called all the companions of the Prophet, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, (may God show favour to them !), infidels and adulterers, and represented the Sunnís and the *Ahl i Jamá'at*[1] as despicable and contemptable, and pronounced every sect except the Shí'ah as erring and leading into error.

The differences among the 'Ulamá, of whom one would pronounce a thing as unlawful, and another by some process of argument would pronounce the very same thing lawful, became to his Majesty a cause of unbelief. And since he looked on each of the 'Ulamá of his own age as superior in dignity and worth to Imám i Ghazzálí and Imám i Rází, and since he knew the worthlessness of those of his own time, he inferred the unknown (P. 260) from the known and rejected also their predecessors.

Learned monks also from Europe, who are called *Pádre*, and have an infallible head, called *Pápá*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murád to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul-fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismilláh-irraḥmán-irraḥín*[2] the following line was used :—

Ai námí vey Gesu Christu,[3]

that is "O thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful." Shaikh Faizí added to this the hemistich :—

Subhánaka lá siwáka yá hú.[4]

[1] Those who in religious ordinances follow the *ijmá'* 'agreement' or common consent of the 1st cent. of the Hejrah.

[2] In the name of the gracious and merciful God.

[3] Our author seems to have imagined that "Jesus Christ" meant "merciful and bountiful."

[4] Praise be to Thee, there is none like Thee, O He !

And the attributes of the accursed Antichrist and his qualities were ascribed by those accursed men to his lordship The Best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all Imposters !)

The accursed Bírbar tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting[1] sun, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones, and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarial mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wisemen at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was "the greater light" of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nou-róz-i-Jaláli*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. (P. 261) Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day. He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindús devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure. Instead of cows they sacrifice fine men. This reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented the flesh of cows to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

Fire-worshippers also came from Nousárí in Gujrát, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiánians[2]. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abu-l-Fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in

[1] *I. e.* towards Mecca.

[2] An old Persian dynasty.

whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation.

From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rájahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*[1], which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship; but on the New-year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the sun, and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *rák'hí* on the wrist, which means an amulet[2] formed out of twisted linen rags. [P. 262.] Every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions he treated as manifest and decisive, in contradistinction to this Religion of ours, all the doctrines of which he set down to be senseless, and of modern origin, and the founders of it as nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels of highway-robbers, and the people of Islám as accursed. But in the course of time the truth of this verse[3] in its hidden meaning developed itself: "Fain would they put out the light of God with their mouths! but, though the Infidels abhor it, God will perfect his light." By degrees the affair was carried to such a pitch that proofs were no longer considered necessary for abolishing the precepts of Islám. I remember, that in the early days of these discussions I had an argument with Shaikh Abu'-l-Fazl in the privy audience-chamber at Fath-púr. He said: "It seems to me that there is a fair objection to be made to all writers [on such subjects] on two grounds. First—Why should they not have written as circumstantial histories

[1] The branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *Soma* juice.

[2] Sanscrit *rakshiká*.

[3] Al Qur'án LXI, 8.

of the old prophets, as they have done in the annals of their own Prophet (God bless him and his family, and give them peace !) ? " I answered : " The stories of the prophets are numerous enough in all conscience ! " He said : " Nay, they are too compendious, they ought to have been written more in detail." I answered : " In times gone by just the amount now extant must have been thoroughly sifted by critics and historians, and the rest not authenticated[1] ". He said : " This answer is not satisfactory. But secondly—There is no kind of handy-craft's man, who is not mentioned in the *tazkirat-ul-auliyá*, and the *nafaḥát-ul-uns* &c., but the people of the Prophet's own family what fault have they committed that they are not mentioned therein ? This is a great subject of wonder." On this topic whatever the time allowed was said, but who will care to hear it ! Afterwards I asked : " who will ever have a greater passion for all these notorious heresies, than yourself ? " He said : " I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport." I said : " It will not be a bad thing if you eventually take the yoke of marriage,[2] as they have said :—(P. 263).

> He took upon him the yoke of the Law, by the help of God,
> From off the neck of the world, Peace be to his memory ! "

He smiled and went away, and as has been suggested by a man of the world :—

> " One favour of the Judge is better than a thousand witnesses"

he fell boldly into disputation in religious matters with such imbecile old men as the Çadr, the Qází, the Ḥakím-ul-mulk, and Makhdúm-ul-mulk, and had not the slightest hesitation in putting them to shame, at which the Emperor was pleased. They sent privately a message to Abu-l-Fazl by *Açaf* Khán, *Bakhshí* : " Why are you always falling foul of us ? " He returned answer : The fact of the matter is I am the servant of a mere mortal, and not of an

[1] History serves as a kind of filter for each generation, removing the impurities of the traditions of the generation before. *Abbott.*

[2] *Viz.* to Orthodoxy.

egg-plant[1]". By dint of his own exertions, and the assistance of his father, and the patronage of the Khalif of the age, and by the favour of fortune, he cast them all in a short space of time down to the ground of scorn and contempt, as we have already stated. And not one of the people of Islám, except Hakím Abu-l Fath and Mulá Muḥammad Yazdí could keep pace with him in any of the discussions. When further enterprises and propositions were brought forward I retired into private life :—

"When the desire is great
Difficulties become light[2]".

I read the verse of flight[3], and fell altogether out of the Emperor's notice, and all that friendship became estrangement. But thank God that I am as well off as I am !—

"My heart did not go gadding about, and a good thing it didn't!
It settled on nothing but thee, and a good thing it didn't !
Thou saidest, 'I shall grieve if thine affair turn out well.'
Thou sawest that it did not turn out well, and a good thing it didn't!"

I did not consider myself a fit recipient of favour nor His Majesty a fit object of service, and I was quite content :—(P. 264).

"Come that we may wave all ceremony,
You shall not rise to me, I will not bow to you."

And at long intervals I used to come and prostrate myself in the ante-chamber, and was a witness to the truth of :—

"Companionship will not arise,
Where dispositions are not congenial :"

[1] The egg-plant bears fruit all the year round, hence the Brahmans say (*Chandi* p. 69) when they fear that their patron is drowned, that he was an egg-plant to them, whereas his *s'rádáh* (funeral feast) will only yield once like a radish. Abu-l-Fazl seems to mean, that since his patron is a mere man and liable to die, or to change, he thinks it advisable to "make hay while the sun shines."

[2] "Where there is a will there is a way."

[3] Compare p. 48, *note* [1].

And afterwards according to destiny[1] :—

> " I saw that seeing thy face from afar was pleasanter,
> I left thy companionship, I ceased to be a spectator."

Since the account of those trifles and particulars, and the stringing of all these events in chronological order is of the number of impossibilities, thus much must be deemed sufficient, and my refuge is in the mercy of God (He is exalted !), who in all cases is the defender and protector of his servants, in fulfilment of the promise[2] :—" Shall not verily the party of God have the upper hand, is not God sufficient for his servants ? " I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured !) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islám, which 'Anqá[3]-like turning its face to the Qáf of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a nonentity, and still is so. And to God I look for refuge from reproach, and hatred, and envy, and religious prosecution :—

> " I am content with what God has decreed for me,
> And I commit my affairs to my Creator.
> God has indeed been good in what is past,
> So will He be good in what is to come."

In this year a certain *ḥakím* came to Fatḥpúr, who said that he could construct a house having all its four sides in the water. And that he could plunge into the water and enter the house without the water's penetrating it. With a view to this they made a tank in the court-yard of the palace twenty *gaz* by twenty *gaz*, and three *gaz* deep. In this they built a stone cell, and (P. 265) on the

[1] The Lak'hnau edition reads *muqaddar* not *miqdár*.

[2] An adaptation of Al Qur'án LVIII, 22, V, 61, XXXIX, 37.

[3] The fabulous bird (*Símurgh*) said to dwell in the mountains surrounding the world (*Qáf*).

roof of it they built a high tower, and on all four sides of the cell they left steps. But the pretensions of the ḥakím, like his medicines, proved a lie, and he fled and was seen no more[1]. But Ḥakím 'Alí of Gílán some seventeen years later did construct such a pond at Láhor, and Mír Ḥaidar a riddle-maker found "*The pond of Ḥakím 'Alí*[2]" to give the date. And that pond the Emperor filled brimful of copper coins, which amounted to as much as 20 *kror*. One day he had an interview with one Shaikh Banj'hú by name, a singer with a sweet voice, and of Çúfí tendencies, one of the disciples of Shaikh Adhan of Jounpúr (whose name gives the date of his death[3]), and had a very agreeable time of it. Then he sent for Miyán Tánsín, and other unequalled singers of Hind; but he preferred him to any of them, and ordered that Shaikh Banj'hú should carry off the whole of that sum of money. But his strength was unequal to carrying it, so he asked for a little gold instead. The Emperor, accordingly, presented him with nearly 1,000 rupees in exchange. And the rest of that money the Emperor in the course of three years, more or less, got rid of by means of various expenses. About this time he received from Shaikh Mubárak[4] a lecture on his extravagant expenditure. Before that, at the time of the [musical] exhibitions, Shaikh Faizí had said: "Our Shaikh[5] is not much of a courtier". "No," replied the Emperor, "he has left all those extravagancies to you." He sent Shaikh Banj'hú[6], and Miyán Tánsín, and all the musicians to the Shaikh that he might tell him what they were worth as musicians. He said to Miyán Tánsín: "I have heard that you can sing a bit." At last he compared his singing to the noise of beasts, and allowed it no superiority over it.

In this year Ma'çúm Khán, foster-brother of Mírzá Ḥakím, who was a brave youth, and was always performing valiant deeds, being vexed with the Mírzá came and did homage to the Emperor. He

[1] For the expression see Text p. 243, l. 11.

[2] The letters give 1002.

[3] *Shaikh Adhan* = 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 5 + 50 = 970.

[4] Father of Abu-l-Fazl.

[5] Meaning their father, Shaikh Mubárak.

[6] Mubárak.

gave him a command of 500 and appointed him to the district of Bihár. There he fought a battle with Kallá Pahár, a general distinguished among the Afgháns for his might and prowess, (P. 266) and gained the victory over him. The Emperor from Fathpúr sent him a *farmán* making him a *mançabdár* of 1,000, together with a present of a horse and a dress of honour from his own wardrobe. They say that he saw in a dream the glorified 'Alí (may God be gracious to his countenance!) so distinctly, that you would have said that the blessed hand had struck him on the back. Through this blessing he never turned his back from the foe; and the mark of the hand is visible on his back to this day:—

"What fear of the waves of the sea is there
To him, who has Noah for his pilot."

In the month of Shavvál[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor sent for Mullá Taib from Kít'hal, and patronized him, and appointed him *Díwán* of the province of Bihár and Ḥájípúr. And most of his acts of patronage were of a like character. Also Rái Puruk'hotam in reward for his commentary[2] he made *Bakhshí*. And Mullá Mujdí of Sarhind, who had formerly been warrant-writer to Islím Sháh, he made Receiver-General of revenues. And Shamshír Khán, *khwájah-sará*, he made Superintendent of the Exchequer. And these through the vileness of their birth, which necessarily produces vileness of character, having arrived at that place, were loyal neither to God nor their Emperor. They perpetrated all sorts of oppression and tyranny, and bending unsuitable and unfitting seasons to their wishes, so annoyed the soldiery that they compelled Ma'çúm Khán to revolt, as shall soon be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In this same month *Maqçúr*[4] *Jauharí* Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain brought the presents of Rájah 'Alí Khán from Khándesh, and presented them to the Emperor, who after a time forgave him his transgressions, and then honoured him by raising him to the dignity of son-in-law[3], and took him into favour.

[1] The tenth month.

[2] On the *Khirad-afzá*. See p. 265.

[3] In the 36th year he married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultán Khánum.

[4] See p. 260.

In this year the Emperor appointed Shahbáz Khán *Bakhshí*, with Ghází Khán Badakhshí and Sharíf Khán Atgah, and others to march against Ráná Kíká[1]. The Ráná shut himself up in Koṇbhalmír[2], which is a strong fortress. The imperial troops were victorious and ravaged that district. One night the Ráná (P. 267) effected his escape from the fortress, and took refuge in another mountain-fastness.

In this year Sulṭán Khwájah returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah and brought with him horses of Arabian pedigree, and Abyssinian slaves, and other precious presents for the Emperor, who received him with favour and made him Çadr.

The office of *Mír-Hájj* for the year nine hundred and eighty-six was given to Khwájah Muḥammad Yaḥyá, one of the descendants of Khwájah Aḥrár (God sanctify his spirit!). He left 4 lacs of rupees as a deposit at his ancestor's shrine, and in the month of Shavvál[3] of this year started from Ajmír to go to Makkah.

Now Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí and Makhdúm-ul-mulk having fallen out with one another had been the cause of people's distrusting both the past and the future, and had brought about a great declension from true religion. In accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "When two people clash together, they fall together" the Emperor sent them to Makkah together with this caravan. The next year they arrived at the goal of their wishes, and in the end of the business (which deserves honour for that result) they became cleansed from the stain of their countenances, and returned in safety to the fold of Islám, and learning eventually brought about its natural result, and "He is great, and man is little[4]" was found to give the date.

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987) news arrived of the death of Khán Jahán governor of Bengál. The Emperor wrote a *farmán* of condolence to his brother Isma'íl Qulí Khán, and he appointed Muzaffar Khán, who had been honoured with the post of Díwán, as governor in his stead, and Razawí Khán

[1] Also called Pratáb, or Partáb.

[2] On the frontiers of Udípúr and Joudpúr.

[3] The 10th month.

[4] 5 + 6 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 100 + 6 + 40 + 30 + 6 + 700 = 987.

he appointed *Bakhshí*, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ he made *Çadr*, and Rái Patr Dás with Mír Adham as his colleague he made Díwán, and sent them off from Fatḥpúr.

On the 19th of the month Çafar[1] of this year the Author (praise be to the Most High!) was blest with the birth of a darling son named Muḥi-d-dín (may God prolong his days, and furnish him with wholesome knowledge, and acceptable works!). He was born at Basáwar.

In this year Mullá 'Ashqí, who had the title of Khán, and had written a *díván*[2] and a *masnaví* (a ridiculous one too!), and who had gone as *vakíl* of Qází Çadr-ud-dín of Láhor to Kashmír (P. 268), came back, and in company with one Muḥammad Qásim by name, ambassador of 'Alí Khán governor of Kashmír, brought presents of quantities of safron and musk and *costus arabicus*, and shawls and other precious products of Kashmír and Tibet.

At this time the Emperor sent Ḥakím 'Alí, a relative of Ḥakím-ul-mulk, of Gílán (who is now without an equal in philosophy, and medicine, and other rare sciences) in company with the *vakíls* of 'Ádil Khán of the Dak'hin to Bíjágarh.

At this time Mír Nizám, sister's husband to Mírzá Sháhrukh, came as ambassador from Badakhshán with presents of Badakhshí horses, and glittering rubies, and strings of camels.

In this year the Emperor was anxious to unite in his person the spiritual as well as the secular headships, for he held it to be an insufferable burden to subordinate to any one, as he had heard that the Prophet (God be gracious to him, and give him peace!), and his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amír Tímúr Çáḥibqirán, and Mírzá Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgán, and several others had themselves read the *khuṭbah*, he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the *Mujtahid* of the age. Accordingly on the first Friday of Jumáda'l-awwál[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven, in the chief mosque of Fatḥpúr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty began to read the *khuṭbah*. But all at once

[1] The second month.

[2] Blochm., p. 598.

[3] The fifth month.

he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizí had composed, but came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of Ímám to Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amín, the Court *Khatíb*. These are the verses :—

" The Lord, who gave to us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart, and a strong hand,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
And drove from our thoughts all save equity,
His description is higher than the range of thought,
Exalted is His Majesty, Alláhu Akbar ! "

(P. 269) And in these days, when reproach began to spread upon the doctrines of Islám, and all questions relating thereto, and ever so many wretches of Hindús and Hindúizing Musalmáns brought unmitigated reviling against the Prophet, and the villanously irreligious Ulamá in their works pronounced the Emperor to be without sin, and contenting themselves with mentioning the unity of God, they next wrote down the various titles of the Emperor, and had not the courage to mention the name of the Prophet (God be gracious to him and his family, and give them peace in defiance of the liars!) this matter became the cause of general disgrace, and the seeds of depravity and disturbance began to lift their heads in the empire. Besides this base and low men of the higher and lower classes, having accepted the collar of spiritual obedience upon their necks, professed themselves his disciples. They became disciples thr ugh the motives of hope and fear, and the word of truth could not proceed out of their mouths.

At this time Muzaffar Khán, governor of Bengál sent a present to the Emperor consisting of 5 *lacs* of rupees in ready money, and other notable gifts of elephants, and cloth, which were beyond calculation, also 39 elephants were presented by Muḥammad Ma'çúm Kábulí.

On the second Friday of this month the Emperor assembled the poor and the deserving in the *chaugán*-field, and came in person to the place. Nearly a *lac* of persons, men and women, were present in that enclosure. And Sulṭán Khwájah the *Çadr*, and Qulíj Khán

presented to each a piece of gold. On that day of assembly eighty persons, women and children, were crushed to death under the hands and feet. And from the girdles of some of the women, whose husbands had died in Bengál, there fell purses full of *ashrafís* and rupees. This affair caused great suspicion to arise as to all the poor. An order was issued, that in future but few persons should be brought together at once, but he soon laid aside this rule also.

In these same days the Emperor appointed Quṭb-ud-dín (P. 270) Muḥammad Khán Atgah as tutor to the eldest prince, and held a great levee. The tutor as is customary on such occasions presented the Emperor with notable elephants, and other presents worthy of his new post, and taking the prince upon his shoulders he ordered dish-fulls of gold and jewels to be scattered to the people.

In this year an ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek came from Transoxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship. The Emperor sent Mírzá Fúlád Barlás, with Khwájah Khaṭíb, who was a native of Bokhárá, to accompany him with presents and gifts. And the seal of the letter was as follows :—

> " When we are friends with one another,
> Sea and land are free from confusion and evil."

At this time a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdúm-ul-mulk, of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí *çadr-uç-çudúr*, of Qází Jalál-ud-dín of Multán, *qázi-l-quzát*, of Çadr Jahán the *muftí* of the empire, of Shaikh Mubárak the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghází Khán of Badakhsháu, who stood unrivalled in the transcendental sciences. The subject-matter of the document was the settling of the absolute superiority of the *Imám-i-'ádil* over the *Mujtahid* and the investigation of the grounds of this superiority. In so doing they set right some doubtful traditions containing some disputed points, so that no one of them might any longer have it in his power to pretend ignorance of the difference between what is religious and what is political authority, but that he might stand self-convicted. And the discussion of this matter was carried on with great prolixity. Such questions were discussed as : " To whom is the title *Mujtahid*, and the word *ijtihád* applicable ? " And, " whether it is the duty of the *Imám-i-'ádil*,

who is versed in politics and holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid*, to decide according to the requirements of the times and the wants of the age all legal questions on which there exists a difference of opinion." At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly and the rest against their convictions. I shall copy the document *verbatim* :—

(P. 271) "Petition.

Whereas Hindústán is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamá, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qur'án[1] : "Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you," and, *secondly*, of the genuine tradition : "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the *Imám-i-'ádil* ; whosoever obeys the Amír, obeys Thee ; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against thee, and, *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sulṭán-i-'ádil*[2], is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*[3]. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amír of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, *Abu-l-Fatḥ Jalál-ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar Padsháh Ghází* (whose kingdom God perpetuate !) is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

[1] IV, 62.

[2] Just ruler.

[3] Authority on points of law.

Further, we declare that, should (P. 272) His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'án, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islám, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamá and lawyers, in the month of Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987)."

The draft of this document, when presented to the Emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaikh had added at the bottom that he most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter to which for several years he had been anxiously looking forward.

No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal document, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of the intellect of the Imám was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows were abolished, and the superiority of the intellect of the Imám became law.

But the state of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl resembles that of the poet Ḥairatí[2] of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Máwara-n-nahr, joined the old foxes of Shí'itic Persia, and chose the roadless road. You might apply the proverb to him—"I prefer hell to disgrace."

On the 16th of Rajab of this year His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmír. It is now fourteen years since His Majesty has been to that place. On the 5th of Sha'bán, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the Emperor alighted and went on foot to the tomb of the Saint [Mu'in-ud-dín]. But sensible people smiled, and said, It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwájah of Ajmír, while he rejected the foundation of everything,

[1] The seventh month.

[2] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, Translated p. 187, and Sprenger *Catalogue* p. 424.

our prophet, (P. 273) from whose "skirt" hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung :—

"The Fairy has her face hidden,
But the Demon is all ogles and blandishments :
The Intellect is consumed with astonishment,
What can this miracle mean !
In this Garden no one has ever gathered
A Rose without a thorn : Nay,
The Lamp of Muḥammad is ever attended
By mischievous-sparks of Abu Lahab."

After that the Emperor had started [for Ajmír] Makhdúm-ul-mulk and Shaikh Abd-un-nabí tempted mankind by suggesting the forgery of the Qur'án, and by going out of the way to show the impossibility of inspiration, and by throwing doubts on the authority of prophets and Imáms, and utterly denying the existence of demons and angels, and all mysteries and signs and miracles. Also the integrity of the traditional Text of the Qur'án and its verbal authority, and existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and reward and punishment other than by means of transmigration they deemed impossible, and tenaciously brought forward such verses as these :—

"How much of Truth is in the hand of the tomb !
The Qur'án remains, and many an old Tomb.
The Tomb tells not a word to any,
For the secret of the Qur'án none searches.
The Festival is come, and all shall be well—like the face of the bride,
The cupbearer will pour pure wine into the cup—like the blood of the cock,
The bridle of prayer, and the muzzle of fasting—Once again
It will remove from the necks of these asses—Aha ! aha ! "

His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no god but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed

the date of this event by the words, "Revolution of Religion[1]". The Emperor tried hard to convert Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán and Shahbáz Khán. But they staunchly objected. (P. 274). Quṭb-ud-dín Khán said: "What would the kings of the West say, such as the Sulṭán of Constantinople, if he heard all this? For they all hold the same faith be it a travesty or no." His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he go away from India, and become an honoured subject there. He might go at once. Shahbáz got excited, and took part in the conversation; and when Bír Bar—that hellish dog—said: "You cursed infidel, will you go on talking in this manner, until I am able to pay you out!" Affairs became rather unpleasant, and the Emperor said to Sháhbáz in particular, and to the others in general: "Would that they would beat your mouths with a slipper full of filth!"

At this time Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, governor of Patan arrived from Gujrát.

And in this year Qází 'Alí of Baghdád, who had been appointed in spite[2] of Shaikh Abd-un-nabí to look into the administration of the *Madad-i-ma'áish* lands, and their encroachment,[3] brought those holders[4] of grant-lands, which brought in 1,000, or 500 down to those which brought in 100, to Court, and cut off most of their lands, and taking the very calf[5] from the cow left them precious little. By this means respect for the families of the great and noble, and the renowned and famous vanished from the cities, and the children of no race were left so helpless as the human beings of Hind: "A generation came after, who neglected prayer, and followed their own lusts[6]". Schools and mosques were obliterated, and great numbers left their native country: and their children, who remained, in course of time got a reputation for mean conduct.

[1] 80 + 400 + 50 + 5 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 40 + 400 = 987.

[2] Instead of برسم read برغم as in p. 254, l. 11.

[3] Compare Text p. 264, l. 9; Translation, p. 261.

[4] See Blochm. 274.

[5] I propose to read فذوی گرفته instead of فددوی گفته.

[6] Al Qur'án XIX, 60.

"The schools were as empty of learned men,
As the wine-seller's shop of wine-bibbers in the Fast-month.
(P. 275) They turn the teacher's black-board into a draught board,
And the Reader's Qur'án into a gambling-stake."

And the Emperor after showing much severity to Ḥakím-ul-mulk on account of his opposition to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, whom he called *Fazlah*[1], at last ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Makkah.

In the blessed month of Ramazan[2] of this year the afore-mentioned Qází 'Alí brought me (who through my absence from Court had begun to look upon myself as one of those forgotten out of mind) before the Emperor in the city of Ajmír, and mentioned my 1,000 *bíghs* of subsistence-land, which he said caused me to waste my old sweet time:—

"To the Court of Princes in season and *out of season*
Thou shouldest go in order to receive some *grant*[3]."

The Emperor said: "I suppose that in the *farmán* for this grant there is some condition insisted on". He replied: "Certainly, it was on condition of his attendance at Court." The Emperor said: "Make enquiries, perhaps he is not well, that he absents himself so long." Ghází Khán Badakhshí said in joke: "He is suffering from a purse-complaint": and all the courtiers made some reference to the duties of my late office of Imám, which together with public prayer, was at that time in abeyance. Shahbáz Khán said: "He ought always to be present." The Emperor said: "We do not wish any one to attend against his will, if he does not care about attending at Court, let him have but half of the grant." Immediately I resigned it, and this was very annoying to the Emperor, and he turned his face from me. But when Qází 'Alí kept perpetually asking the Emperor: "What does your Majesty decree concerning it?" after a good deal of talk he said: "Ask Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí (who is now at the Camp) how much he ought to

[1] *Fazl* means "excellence", but *Fazlah* "refuse", "leavings".

[2] The ninth month.

[3] There is a play on the words *bégah* "out of season", and *bígah* a measure of land, about ⅓ acre.

have without condition of attendance." Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí sent word by the late Mulláná Iláhdád of Amrohah: "Since he is a family-man, and the expenses he has are well known, we (P. 276) approve of his having the amount, which your Majesty has decreed, *viz.*, 700 or 800 *bígahs*. But the courtiers did not see the fitness of this, and put great pressure on me to be more diligent in attendance, so that *nolens volens* I fell again into the snare :—

"The clever bird, when it falls into the snare,
Has to bear it as well as he can."

All this arose from my not consenting to be branded as his disci and I used frequently to allude to it, and in extemporary vers say :—

"I am glad I have not a horseman nor a foot-soldier,
I am free from the bond of the king, and of the Prince too

In this year the *Tamghá*[1], and the *Jazyah*[2], which brought in several *krors* of *dáms* were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.

In the same year Ma'çúm Khán, son of Mu'ín-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán Farankhúdí, who held the governorship of Jaunpúr, came to the Court, and was afterwards sent back to Jaunpúr. And Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí the Emperor appoint Qázi'l-quzát of Jaunpúr, and the governorship of Dihlí was given to Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífah.

Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí, when he reached the province of Jaunpúr, issued a *fatwá* insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor. The consequence was that Muḥammad Ma'çúm Kábulí, and Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, and Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk, and Nayabat Khán, and 'Arab Bahádur, and others, drew the sword, and in many places (as will be narrated) fought some desperate battles. The Imáms said, that the Emperor has in his dominion made encroachments on the grant-lands belonging to us and to God (He is magnified and glorified !),

[1] Inland tolls.
[2] Tax on Non-Moslems.

may the All-merciful have mercy on him! Finally Mihtar Sa'ádat who bears the title of Péshrau Khán, when he had been to Ma'çúm Khán Jaunpúrí and returned to Court, informed the Emperor of the facts of this *fatwá* of Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí, who accordingly on some pretext or other sent for Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk and Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí from Jaunpúr. When they arrived at Fírozábád (P. 277), which is eighteen *cosses* from Ágrah, the Emperor sent word that they should separate them from their guards, and put them into a boat, and take them by way of the Jamná to Gwályár. Afterwards he sent another order that they should be made away with. So they put the guards into one boat, and them into another old one, and when they were in deep water ordered the sailors to swamp the boat of the lives of the two in the whirlpool of destruction. After some days Qází Yáqúb came from Bengál and the Emperor sent him to follow the other two. And one by one he sent all the Mullás, against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction, to the closet of annihilation. And having banished the Ulamá of Láhor, he separated them from one another like a disheveled thread. Of the number of these was Qází Çadr-ud-dín Láhorí, whose free-thinking was greater than that of Makhdúm-ul-mulk; him he appointed Qází of Bahroṇch in Gujrát. And Mullá 'Abdu-sh-shukúr Gúldár he appointed Qází of Jounpúr, and Mullá Muḥammad Ma'çúm he appointed to Bihár. And Shaikh Munawwar he banished to Málwah, and made him Çadr of that district. In this way each of them obtained the promotion he wished, but away from home. But on account of his advanced age, and because the Mullás had refused him the title of Shaikh, looking on him, as they did, as a mere travester, and a regular enemy and ill-wisher to the Faith, and an unfortunate old beggar, the Emperor made an exception in the case of Shaikh Mu'ín, grandson of Mulláná Mu'ín, the celebrated preacher, and giving him no trouble left him at Láhor. He died in the year nine hundred and ninety-five. And Ḥájí Ibráhím Sarhindí he made Çadr of Gujrát, and set him thither. He abstracted much treasure and gold from the fief-lands by means of bribes, and so heaped up quantities of gold. If they would not pay the bribes he used to confiscate their lands. This matter was represented to the Emperor,

and Ḥájí Ibráhím had to sue for permission to retire to the Dak'hin, until on suspicion of (P. 278) rebellion the Emperor sent for him, and committed him to the keeping of Ḥakím 'Azím-ul-Mulk. His Majesty used to send for him to attend the evening *séances*, and he inventing such things as would please the Emperor presented a pamphlet containing all sorts of lies about the great ones of the Faith. But this forgery and deception was found out. The sum-total of it is that he wrote in a clumsy manner in an old worm-eaten book a spurious expression purporting to have emanated from Shaikh Ibn 'Arabí (God sanctify his tomb!), to the effect that the Khalíf of the age would have many wives, and would shave his beard; and he included many other peculiarities of the Emperor. So his Majesty became again propitiated, and admitted him once more among his courtiers. And according to report Ḥájí Ibráhím had interpolated in an old pamphlet, one of the works of Mullá Abu Sa'íd, nephew of Miyán Pánípatí, a tradition to the effect that a son of one of the Companions of the Prophet came in shaven into his presence (God bless him, and his family, and grant them peace!), and that he said: "The people of Paradise will look like that." When he took to boldly disputing with Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, and satirizing them, the Emperor sent him to the castle of Rintamb'hor. There he died; and after the razing of the fortress, they found his dead body, which was tied up with long strips of cloth, and the story got abroad that he had thrown himself down from the top of the fortress. This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four:—

"Last night our share in this world was in a garden like Paradise,
But this morning we are without house, *as if it had never been inhabited*[1]."

And any piece of orthodox learning which a man might have acquired became his bane, and the cause of his degradation. And the Ulamá and Shaikhs, the leaders of thought to all around, he sent for to the Court, and enquired into their grant-lands and pensions. He saluted and honoured them all in the Moghul[2] style, and

[1] Al Qur'án X. 25.

[2] See p. (46), *note* 3.

when they had had either a public or a private audience with him (P. 279), he settled upon them a certain portion of land according to the opinion he had formed of them. And any one, whom he knew to have pupils, or assemblies for dervish-dancing, or any kind of counterfeit[1] worship, he named "a shop,"[2] and either sent him to prison, or dismissed him to Bengál or Bakkar. And this business was always going on. Those Pírs who had reached a blessed old age, and those Shaikhs who were nearest eternity, were the best off. But to enter into details would be too long. And on account of these *farmáns* the Çúfís, who gave themselves up to dances and ecstacies, were subjected to the *testamur* of Hindú examiners, and through their evil *state* "they forgot their religious *ecstasy*."[3] These were banished from their country and had to creep into mouse-holes, and the whole position was reversed :—

"There was one year such a famine in Damascus,
That lovers forgot love.
Heaven became so stingy towards earth,
That fields and palms did not wet their lips."

And in truth those wretched assemblies, and absurd ceremonies, and those worthless hypocritical Çúfís were for the more part quite worthy of perishing :—

"That is not Çúfí-action or liberality,
But rather deceitful action and bawdery.
Theft and robbery are better than this,
Robbing the dead of their clothes is better than this."

However much I wish that this bit of sketch of a historical fact may be put together, my pen against my will slips from my guidance and turns in another direction to the description of this period innovation, and the doctrines of the new sect and religion :—

[1] That is, in the Emperor's eyes.

[2] He meant that he was making his religion a *trade*. Comp. one of the sayings of Hillél in *Mishnáh, A'bóth;* and many similar sayings throughout the *Talmúdím*.

[3] A pun on the two meanings of *ḥál*, στάσις and ἔκστασις.

"The virtues of Káfúr, if I wish to praise him,
Or if I wish not, they dictate to me and I write."
"Hush! the master is coming to the house."
Would that I were quit of their business; But what can I do?—
"They are gone under the skirts of those by whom we lived,
And I am left among the worthless like the skin of a scabby camel."

(P. 280). I reproached heaven, that with sword of oppression thou hast slain
Assembly-adorning kings, and the youth of the Barmak-family.[1]
Thou hast placed thine own power of binding and loosing in the hands of a people,
Compared with whom a dog is honourable in respect of generosity.
But in the ear of my soul the answer came: Be content, live happily!
For a period of eighteen days[2] pulls out the beard of every one."

In this year Muzaffar Khán arrived in Bengál, and began a course of great strictness in his administration, and commenced wronging and oppressing the Amírs of that district, and confiscated many of their *jágírs*. He practised the *dágh-u-maḥall* in the Court fashion, and the settlement of accounts in the old manner:—

"Be not hard in reckoning with the world,
For every one who is hard dies a hard death.
In letting people be at ease spend thy time,
For he lives at ease, who leaves people at ease."

And Bábá Khán Qáqshál, and Khálidí Khán, who were nobles of great importance, however much they tried to escape the *dágh*, and begged to have their *jágírs* confirmed, did not obtain their request. But Muzaffar Khán with a view to getting back the

[1] Put to death by Hárún-ur-rashíd.
[2] *I. e.*, a short time.

money from the *jágír*, which Khálidí Khán had acquired through neglecting the *dágh-u-mahall*, put him in prison and ordered him the bastinado. It so happened that at this time he received a *farmán* addressed to him ordering him to bring to punishment one Roshan Beg by name, a servant of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, who had arrived in Bengál from Kábul. Muzaffar Khán seized him from the midst of the Qáqsháls, and using harsh language to Bábá Khán showed him the *farmán* and ordered him to cut off Roshan Beg's head at the head of the *díwán*. All the soldiers of that place on beholding this affair trembled for their own safety, and with one accord scratching their heads, and putting on their Mughal helmets, broke out into open rebellion. They assembled in the city of Gaur, which in the ancient language (P. 281) was called Lak'hnautí, and looted the goods of Muzaffar Khán wherever they found them. Muzaffar Khán collected a number of boats, and ordered Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and Patr[1] Dás to march against the Qáqsháls at the head of their own armies. It need hardly be said that by Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, who was a *bottle*-man rather than a *battle*-man, and by Patr Dás, who was a Hindú writer, no great signs of valour would be likely to be shown in this time. Muzaffar Khán sent a *farmán* to the Qáqsháls, expressing his wish to conciliate them all, and promising to confirm them in their *jágírs*. But they sent him answer, that he must send to them Razwí Khán and Patr Dás as a guarantee of his sincerity. Accordingly he sent them the aforenamed together with Mír Abu Isḥáq, son of Mír Sayyid Rafí'ud-dín *Muḥaddis*, all of whom they imprisoned, and then applied themselves still more vigorously to rebellion.

Meanwhile Mullá Ṭíb and Rái Purushtam, *Bakhshí*, who had at one blow confiscated the jágírs of Ma'çúm Khán, and 'Arab Bahádur and the other Amírs of Bihár, and had thus laid the foundations of unpleasantness, and allowing their violence and arrogance to exceed all bounds had forced them into rebellion, crossed the river Josá with their whole force in order to attack Ma'çúm Khán. But 'Arab Bahádur came upon Rái Purushtam unawares, and having slain him took much spoil. Then having opened a correspondence with Bábá

[1] پیر appears to be a mistake for پتر.

Khán Qáqshál with a view to co-operating with him, he hastened to Garhí.

On the side of Muzaffar Khán Khwájah Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Khawáfí[1] (who is now *Díwán-i-kul*[2]) opposed their entrance into Garhí.

Then Ma'çúm Khán having been victorious and having succeeded in forming a junction with the Qáqsháls, crossed the river Ganges to oppose Muzaffar Khán. Muzaffar Khán shut himself up in the fort of Tándah, which consisted of four old walls and nothing more. Vazír Khán Jamíl Beg, who was one of the old loyal Amírs (P. 282), in conjunction with Ján Muḥammad Khán Bihbúdí and other warriors, joined the rebels. They took Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and Khwájah Shams-ud-dín and most of the nobles prisoners. But these two leaders together with Rái Patr Dás by some means or other effected their escape, and with the help of the *zamíndárs* managed to reach Ḥájípúr. During these troubles Ḥakím Núr-ud-dín Qarárí lost his life. The Qáqsháls and Ma'çúm Khán lured Muzaffar Khán out of the fort of Tándah upon a solemn assurance of safety, and then put him to death with all sorts of tortures. And making his goods and chattels the fund from which they drew in inducing people to join them, they collected a force. So the whole of the province of Bengál and Bihár fell into their hands, and they collected a large force of horsemen and foot-soldiers. They released from prison Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, whom the Emperor had sent from the prison of Qásim 'Alí Khán Baqqál governor of Kábul to Bengál, and made him their general.

Then Rájah Todar Mal, with Çádiq Mnḥammad Khán and Tarsún Muḥammad Khán and other mighty Amírs were appointed from Fatḥpúr to go and quell the rebellion. And Muḥibb 'Alí Khán, governor of Rohtás, and Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Jaunpúr, and the other *jágír*-holders of the neighbourhood were ordered to assist the Rájah. While they were still on their way Sháham Khán Jaláír engaged with Sa'íd Khán Badakhshí

[1] Khawáf is the name of a district and town in Khurásán. *Blochm.* p. 445.

[2] The 12 *Díwáns* who in 1003 had been appointed to the Çúbahs, were under his orders. *Díwán-i-kul* is the same as *Vazír-i-kul*, or *Vazír-i-Mutlaq*, or merely *Vazír*. *Blochm.* p. 446, *note* 3.

and slew him. Muḥammad Ma'çúm Jounpúrí joined the Rájah with 3,000 well-trained and perfectly appointed cavalry. But symptoms of rebellion were apparent in all his actions. The Rájah detecting this tried to soothe him by every possible means. Meanwhile he sent a report of the state of affairs to Court.

Muḥammad Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, and the Qáqsháls and Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Husain with 30,000 gallant horsemen, and 50 elephants and a numb[illegible] boats and cannon in battle array seemed to intend to offer b[illegible] the neighbourhood of the town of Mungír (P. 283). The R[illegible] since he could not quite trust his army, which was on the [illegible]ut for the slightest change of fortune, did not deem it prudent to fight in the open, and so shut himself up in the fortress of Mungír. Every day skirmishes took place, and the Imperial army was reduced to great distress. At this time Zain-ud-dín Kambú, a relative of Shahbáz Khán brought by water a *lac* of rupees under a postal-guard, and delivered them over to the Rájah. This supported him for a few days. In the same way the Emperor sent a *lac* of rupees every few days, one time by the hand of Daryá Khán Abdár, another time by Sarmadí, and another time by a son of the banker[1] Bhagwán Dás the treasurer, and so received news each time. Of the number of the postal-guard was one 'Abd-ul-Ḥay Khawwás, a handsome man without brains, son of Qází Çadr-ud-dín Sambhalí (who also in a blundering sort of way used to discuss ceremonial and religious matters), he died young, and his barque of life was drawn into the whirlpool of calamity.

At this time Humáyún Farmúlí, a son of the celebrated Sháh Farmúlí, who had received the title of Humáyún Qulí Khán, and at the time of the discussions about the new Musalmánish customs, and the worrying and examining of men at Ajmír, had been a witness [illegible] those dreadful pieces of work, together with Tarkhán Díwánah fled from the army of the Rájah and joined the rebels.

It so happened that during the course of the seige Bábá Khán Qáqshál fell grievously sick, and was on the point of death. Then Jabbárí, son of Majnún Khán Qáqshál, who was a strong pillar of that cause (and is now in high favour in the service of the Emperor) on account of the sickness of Bábá Khán showed an inclination to

[1] Hindí *Sét'h*, Sanskrit *çreshta* "excellent", "banker".

be off. And so the solidity of that confederacy began to be broken up. Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí was obliged to hasten towards Bihár. And 'Arab Bahádur went from thence by forced marches to seize Patnah and get the imperial treasury into his hands. Pahár Khán Khaçç-i-khail, who is generally known as Sayyid 'Árif, shut himself up in the fortress of Patnah (P. 284). And Rájah Todar Mal sent Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí with a force to the assistance of Pahár Khán. 'Arab Bahádur, being unable to withstand the force opposed to him, withdrew to Kachítí[1], a well-known *zamíndár* (?)[2].

The Rájah and Çádiq Khán with the rest of the Amírs set off for Bihár with the intention of suppressing Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí. The latter made a night-attack on them. It so happened that he attacked the quarters of Çádiq Khán. On that night one Tórmáh Beg, a great leader, who in conjunction with Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian had been appointed to keep guard, was slain. Ulugh Khán fell back but Çádiq Khán held his ground. Ma'çúm Khán fought bravely, and did all that was possible, but when he found that the attack was unsuccessful he retired, and became a bandit throughout that wide district. Eventually he took refuge with 'Isá Khán, the *zamíndár* of Oṛisá, who at that time by the hand of Sa'íd Khán Mughal sent to the Court two hundred and fifty elephants, and other precious gifts together with a sum of four *lacs* of rupees, and gold vessels, and aloe-wood, and fine linen and cloth beyond compare, and which are there to this day. Thus the whole of the province of Bihár as far as Garhí came into the possession of the imperial army.

At this time the Emperor sent for Shajá'at Khán, and his son Qáyim Khán (who had a stipend as one of the musical people about Court, and was a smart and clever young man) from Sárangpúr to come to Fatḥpúr. On the road their attendants on account of bad conduct and evil goings-on, and faithlessness, and worthlessness, which are inseparable qualities of a leader of our day, killed both him and his son, and then dispersed. They say, that one day a beggar asked for something of Shajá'at Khán, and other Kháns, who were in the audience-chamber. After he had importuned them

[1] This is also the reading of the Lak'hnau lithograph.

[2] See Text, p. 285, ll. 7, 8. Transl. p. 293.

much he answered him: (P. 285) "My good man, the door of alms which admits you, was not made by us."

After this event the Emperor appointed Sháríf Khán Atgah governor of Malwá in his place, and having visited him at his quarters and received the greatest hospitality, he despatched him to that district.

In this year the Emperor sent for Khán i-A'zam from Ágrah, where he had been for a long time under surveillance, and treating him with kindness sent him with 5,000 horsemen to assume the governorship of Bengál[1]. And having sent for Shahbáz Khán from the district of the Ráná, he appointed him with a well-equipped army to assist Khán-i A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hájípúr and traversing the jungle of Kachítí should compel 'Arab Bahádur to come out of that place.

In this year Ḥakím-ul-mulk Gílání, being reckoned by the Emperor as one of those not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith[2], was sent, as has been already narrated, to Mekkah with a sum of five *lacs* of rupees, to be given as presents to the worthy among the *sharífs* and poor. And there he remained for the rest of his life:—

"I will not move from the head of thy street,
I am not the rolling-heavens, but the stationary earth."

And however much the Emperor sent for him he still remained there, and committed himself to God.

In this year he sent for the renowned Shaikhs from all sides and quarters, and had a private interview with each, and investigated several matters Most of them made themselves agreeable, having a grant of some *bígahs* of land in view (may dust be scattered on their heads!), and indulged in flattery, and wheedling, and open blasphemy. And their real intentions broke through their cloke of dissimulation. This is the portion of the enemies [of the Faith]: Morals remained after the loss of Renunciation, Solitude, Trust, Contentment, Aspiration; and even that too men saw stripped from them all, and so suspicion of them crept into other quarters:—

[1] See Elliot, V, p. 419, *note*.

[2] *I. e.*, He could not depend on him to side with himself.

"This lot of fools are clothed in rags,
They mumble some mysterious words.[1]
(P. 286) They have never advanced far in sincerity and purity,
Though they have destroyed many a good name."

Of the number of these was Shaikh Chánídah, successor of the great Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'azíz, an inhabitant of the town of Síwahnah. In accordance with the Emperor's command he went down to the *Ibádat Khánah*[2] and began to display and sell perverted prayers. He foretold that a certain lady of the harem would bring forth a son, but as it so happened that a daughter was born, the prophesy fell rather flat. In the same way Sayyid Háshim Fírozábádí opened that kind of business with a hundred marvels; and they became the cause of discrediting former teachers. But when the Emperor sent for Shaikh Muttahi Afghán Kásí from the Panjáb, in obedience to his summons he came from the monastery on foot in company with the messengers, while they carried his litter behind him. At Fathpúr he alighted at the house of Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and sent word: "My eye has not rested on any blessed sign of the Emperor." So the Emperor without granting him an audience sent him quickly about his business. Also Shaikh-ul-hadyah Khairábádí came to Court in accordance with a message from the Emperor, who received him standing with great respect. He had traversed the desert of Poverty with the foot of Trust and Solitude, and had not accepted any land from the Emperor. He was very intimate with the own son of Abu-l-Fath, with whom the Author at Samb'hal towards the end of the reign of Islím Sháh, in accordance with the command of the famous Moulawí, the great Master Miyán Hátim, Sambhali (God have mercy on him!), read the *Irshád-i Qází*, and the commentary thereon. He has now succeeded his father, and is the great authority on all knowledge and practice and Çúfi-ism. When a question was asked Shaikh-ul-hadyah, he pointed to his ear and said: "I hear an exalted word!", and the Emperor having excused him hastily dismissed him.

[1] الف لامي is in allusion to certain letters of the alphabet with which some of the Chapters of the Qurán, *e. g.*, the second, begin.

[2] See p. 200.

In this year low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence (P. 287), that His Majesty was the Çáḥib-i-Zamán, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islám and the Hindús. Sharíf[1] brought proofs from the writings of Maḥmúd of Basakhwán, that he had said that in the year 990 a certain person would abolish lies, and how he had specified all sorts of interpretations of the expression "Professor of the true Religion," which came to the sum-total 990. And Khwájah Mouláná of Shíráz, the heretic of Jafrdán, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharífs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted to the effect that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over the promised appearance of the Mahdí would immediately take place. The Mouláná also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shíahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with 'Alí, and quoted the following Rubá'í, which is said to have been composed by Náçir-i-Khusrou, or according to some by another poet:—

"In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil."

All this made the Emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.[2]

Meanwhile a despatch arrived from Rájah Todar Mal, stating that all this while he had kept Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí along with him by conciliatory treatment, and all sorts of expedients. But that Khwájah Sháh Mançúr *Díwán* had claimed a good deal of money due from him and Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, and had written them exceedingly harsh and threatening letters and had caused them great annoyance. And, that at this critical juncture these payments were the cause of dissensions in the army. Since the exactions of Sháh Mançúr had several times been reported at Court, the Emperor refused him admittance, and after some days, thinking it the best thing to do, handed him over as a prisoner

[1] Of Ámul, see above p. 252.

[2] Of God.

to Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and in his place (P. 288) appointed Vazír Khán, brother of Áçaf Khán of Herát, as *Díwán-i-kul*. And to Qází 'Alí Baghdádí, a heart-troubler, unlucky, preposterous, owl-like, rejected of God and mankind, he granted the honour of being his assistant, that in conjunction they might decide important cases. Glory to God! what a proper combination it was!

At this time they brought a man to Court, who had no ears nor any trace of the orifices of the ear. In spite of this he heard everything that was said to him, though the place of the ears was quite level. And in this year, in order to verify the circumstances of this case, an order was issued that several suckling infants should be kept in a secluded place far from habitations, where they should not hear a word spoken. Well-disciplined nurses were to be placed over them, who were to refrain from giving them any instruction in speaking, so as to test the accuracy of the tradition which says: "Every one that is born is born with a natural tendency," by ascertaining what religion and sect these infants would incline to, and above all what creed they would repeat. To carry out this order about twenty sucklings were taken from their mothers, for a consideration in money, and were placed in an empty house, which got the name of "Dumb-house" After three or four years they all turned out dumb, and the appellation of the place turned out prophetic. Many of these sucklings became the nurselings of mother earth:—

"My mother is earth, and I am a suckling,
The propensity of children for their mother is not strange.
Soon will it be that resting from trouble
I shall fall drunk with sleep on my mother's bosom[1]."

[1] Compare Chaucer *Pardoner's Tale* 12661—12672.

"Ne Death alas! ne will not have my life.
Thus walk I like a restless caitiff,
And on the ground which is my mother's gate
I knocke with my staff, early and late
And say to her, "Leve mother, let me in," &c.

Also Cowley's *Old Man of Verona*. And in Eastern literature Job i. 21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return *thither*," *scil.* ἐπὶ ταφῃ εἰς μητέρα πάντων, Eccles. xl. 1. And Rig Veda (X, 18), as the body is committed to the earth, the hymn proceeds:—

In this year the Emperor sent the prince Dániyál with Shaikh Faizí, who was his teacher, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and a number of courtiers to Ajmír. And he presented a donation of 5,020 rupees to the *faqírs* of that monastery.

In this year Rajah Todar Mal and the other imperial Amírs passed the rainy season in Hájípúr. (P. 289.)

And Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí, who was in a discontented state of mind went to Jounpúr without the permission of the Amírs, and broke out into rebellion. The Emperor sent Peshrou Khán, known as Mihtar Sa'ádat, the head of the chamberlain department (*dároghah-e-faráshkhánah*), with a *farmán* to appease him, and the government of Jounpúr was given to Tarsún Khán, and that of Oudh to Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí. He uttering some wild speeches like a crazy man, and considering Oudh an out-of-the-way corner of the Empire, went there and began to prepare for war.

Meanwhile Mihtar Sa'ádat came to Court, and again recounted how that Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí had issued a *fatwá* authorizing rebellion and insurrection. This was the cause of Mullá Muḥammad Yazdí and Mír Mu'izz-ul-mulk being sent for, as has been narrated[1].

At this time Niyábat Khán, son of Háshim Khán, Níshápúrí, who at the time of the Emperor's going to Patnah had found favour, revolted in Jhosí and Piyáj, which was his *jágír*; and marching against Karah, which sided with Isma'íl Qulí Khán: and an Afghán named Ilyás Khán, who was governor of that place, slew Ilyás Khán in battle. They then laid seige to the fortress, and began to ravage and lay waste the country. The Emperor appointed Isma'íl Qulí Khán *Vazír Khán*, and Muṭlab Khán, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and other Amírs, to march against Niyábat Khán.

Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Bírbar *bádfarosh*[2], he sent to Oudh to try and appease Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí.

"Approach thou now the lap of earth, thy mother,
The wide-extending earth, the ever kindly."

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

[1] See p. 285.

[2] Minstrel, dealer in encomiums.

After the departure of Vazír Khán, the Emperor released[1] Khwájah Sháh Mançúr, and reappointed him *díwán-i-kul*.

When Niyábat Khán heard of the despatch of this army against him, he raised the seige of Karah, and went towards Gasht a dependency of the district of Patnah. The Amírs crossed the river and quickly attacked him. He turned back to offer battle, and alone against so many Amírs fought such a desperate battle, that imagination fails to picture it (P. 290). At first he threw their army into utter confusion, and having dismounted Shaikh Jamál spared his life. But eventually he was put to flight, and retreated to Oudh to Ma'çúm Khán.

And 'Arab Bahádur was at the same time defeated by Shahbáz Khán, and also took refuge with Ma'çúm Khán. Shahbáz Khán went in pursuit of 'Arab Bahádur, first to Jounpúr, and afterwards to Oudh. Ma'çúm Khán, who had such a quantity of war *matériel* that, to use an hyperbole, he could have withstood the kings of Irán and Turán both at once, and had thirty or forty banners and tails and kettle-drums in his army, and paraphernalia in the same proportion, hastened to attack Shahbáz Khán, and in the twinkling of an eye overcame him. Shahbáz Khán fled in one day a distance of forty *cosses* as far as Jounpúr. But by good luck Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, who was in the right wing of Shahbáz Khán's army, had remained hidden in the jungle, and at the moment that the troops of Ma'çúm Khán were dispersed after booty, he with a few followers seizing his opportunity charged in among his disorganized soldiery and defeated him. As soon as Shahbáz Khán heard this news, he hasted back just as quickly as he had gone, and joined the force of Tarsún Muḥammad Khán. He attacked Ma'çúm Khán a second time, and a great battle was fought in the environs of Oudh. This time Ma'çúm Khán was put to fight, and disappeared. His mother and sister and wife and son and his goods and chattels, and all his paraphernalia of pomp and power were taken as spoil. He himself fled headlong, not knowing his crupper from his reins, and took refuge in the Sawálik mountains. This event took place in the month of Zi-ḥájjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-eight (988).

[1] See above p. 295.

[2] The twelfth month.

At this time an organ, which was one of the wonders of creation, and which Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box (P. 290) the size of a man. A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on five peacock-wings[1], and all sorts of sounds come forth. And because the Emperor was so pleased, the Europeans kept coming at every moment in red and yellow colours, and went from one extravagance to another The people at the meeting were astounded at this wonder, and indeed it is impossible for language to do justice to the description of it.

At one of the meetings the Emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of the man, who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they were not to mention kings, as they formed an exception. Thus Ḥakím Humám mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl his own father.

During this time the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor Property, Life, Honour, and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne.

In the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989) news arrived that Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím on the invitation of the two Ma'çúms[3], and at the instigation of Farídún Khán, who was his maternal uncle, and a regular leprous spot[4], set out with the intention of conquering Hindústán. He sent his servant Shádmán over the Indus, but Mán Singh, son of Bhagwán Dás marched to oppose him, and slew him. On hearing the news the Mírza crossed the Indus, and encamped in the environs of Sayyidpúr.

Upon this the Emperor, having advanced the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, and leaving the prince Dániyál with

[1] Probably the bellows.

[2] The first month.

[3] *Viz.*, Ma'çúm Kábulí, and Ma'çúm Farankhúdí.

[4] There is a play on the word *khál*, which means both "uncle" and "mole."

Sulṭán Khwájah *Çadr*, and Shaikh Ibráhím the Abyssinian, as vicegerents, marched from Fatḥpúr towards the Punjáb. At the *sarái* of Bád, which is fifteen *cosses* from Fatḥpúr, news arrived of the victory of Shahbáz Khán.[1]

(P. 292). Mán Singh found in the portfolio of Shádmán three letters of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím addressed respectively to Hakím-ul-mulk Gílání, Sháh Mançúr *Díwán*, and Qásim Khán *Mír-baḥr*. He sent them *verbatim* to the Emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dihlí news arrived, that the Mírzá was encamped at Láhor in the garden of Mahdí Qásim Khán, and that Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Mán Singh, and Sa'íd Khán had shut themselves up in the fortress.

At Pánípat Malik Sání Kábulí, *vazír* of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, who had the title of Vazír Khán, having been vexed by the Mírzá arrived at the quarters of Sháh Mançúr, and got him to introduce him at Court Since there had not been in times past any such manifest intimacy and connection between these two persons, the absence of Sání Khán from the Mírzá at such a juncture seemed to the Emperor to be accounted for by some design on the part of the Mírzá, and as not being devoid of interested motives, so it confirmed his previous suspicions of Khwájah Sháh Mançúr. Accordingly he had him arrested and showed him the letters. However much he swore to his own innocence it did him no good, for it is an acknowledged principle, that "A denial on oath is no proof of innocence." In the neighbourhood of Sháhábád Malik 'Alí, brother of Qází 'Alí, who is now *Kotwál* of Láhor, sent to the Court in one parcel two obscure letters. One was addressed to Sháh Mançúr from one Musharraf[2] Beg, who was a servant of Sháh Mançúr. The second was from a person, whose identity was suspected, containing an account of his interview, first with Farídún Khán, and secondly with the Mírzá, and how the Mírzá had settled the affairs of a certain *parganna*, which was either known or suspected. And this much became known by inference and conjecture, that Sharaf Beg, a servant of Sháh Mançúr, who was

[1] Over Ma'çúm Farankhúdí.

[2] Called Sharaf lower down, and also in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí*.

Shikkdár[1] on his behalf in the *parganna* of Fírozpúr, thirty *cosses* from Láhor, had written to his master: "I have had an interview with the Mírzá through the intervention of Farídún Khán, he has sent his agents everywhere, but he has exempted our *parganna*." (P. 293) And suspicion became a certainty. Most, nay all, of the Amírs, who had received many annoyances from Sháh Mançúr, were longing for his fall. With one consent they exerted themselves to secure his execution. In the morning the Emperor ordered the Captain of the guard[2] to hang him on gallows at the *Manzil* of Kajh-koṭ[3]. His numerous oppressions of the people formed the halter round his neck, and may it remain clinging there till the day of Resurrection. "Beware of the service of kings, for they pride themselves on giving an answer in peace, but they think nothing of cutting off your head in punishment:—

Be of good cheer, for no tyrant
Completes his course in peace."

The Emperor came by way of Sarhind to Kalánor and Rohtás, and reached the Indus. When the Mírzá heard this news, he crossed the river of Láhor, and turned his reins back to Kábul. And so the mystery of the verse[4]: "On that day shall a man flee from his brother" became manifest.

In the month of Rabí'us-sáni[5] of this year the Emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus[6], which is generally known as the *Sind-ságar*, a fortress, which he called Aṭak Banáras, to distinguish it from Kaṭak Banáras[7].

From this place he sent the prince Sulṭán Murád with Qulíj Khán and other Amírs to Kábul. And prior to this he had sent Mán Singh with a body of Amírs towards Pasháwar.

[1] Revenue-collector.

[2] The *Khidmatiyyah* were foot-guards on duty in the environs of the palace. These chiefs received the title of *Khidmat-rái*. *Blochm.* p. 252.

[3] Called in the *Akbarnámah* the *Sarái* of Koṭ K'hachwah. *Blochm* p 431, *n.*

[4] Al Qur'án LXXX, 30.

[5] The fourth month.

[6] *Nílab.*

[7] These were the two frontier towns of his empire, and he wished them to have similar names. *Blochm.* p. 374 *n.*

At this time the Mírzá sent Khwájah Abu-l-Fazl Naqshbandí, and Muḥammad 'Alí Díwánah as ambassadors to the Court to sue for pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent back with them Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh with the message: "Forgiveness is conditional on repentance for what is past, and an oath for future conduct, also on your sending to the Court your sister, who is married to Khwájah Ḥasan." The Mírzá said to Ḥájí: "Khwájah Ḥasan will not agree to sending my sister, for he has taken her away to Badakhsháu. But I am very sorry for what I have done:—

I have repented, and am sorry for what I have done,
(P. 294) Call me no more a Káfir, for I am become a Muslim."

On the 15th of Jamáda's-sání having crossed the river Indus the Emperor sent Khwájah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad in haste to Jalálábád to the prince Sháh Murád and the Amírs, with the request: "Please send me your advice." They replied: "The best thing you can do is to come as quickly as possible." And both Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad, and Ḥájí Ḥabíb-ulláh came together from that place, and at Pasháwar gave each his own message to the Emperor. Nizám-ud-dín Aḥamad said: "Although the Amírs in their usual talk say: 'We ourselves are sufficient'; yet in the language of present facts[1] they say: 'Victory follows on the footsteps of the Emperor.'" Accordingly the Emperor left the prince Sulṭán Salím with Rájah Bhagwán Dás and Qází 'Alí *Mírbakhshí* in the camp, and travelling express at the rate of twenty *cosses* a day arrived at a place called Surkháb, fifteen *cosses* from the camp of Prince Murád. Then Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím at seven *cosses* from Kábul, at a place called Khurd-kábul had a severe engagement with his nephew[2], who was like the king's son in the game of great chess[3]. The Mírzá at last took to flight with the intention of taking refuge with Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek. Prince Murád entered Kábul.

[1] This juxtaposition of *qál* "voice", and *ḥál* "present circumstances" reminds one of Demosthenes, 1st Olynthiac *ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς μονονουχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιείς.*

[2] Prince Murád.

[3] See Bland in Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. 13 (old series).

The day before the action Farídún Khán had attacked the rear of the Prince's army, and had slain many men. He had plundered the treasury of Qulíj Khán and the other Amírs, and carried off much spoil. Ḥájí Muḥammad an *Aḥaát*, who had preceded the Emperor by means of postal-relays, arrived on the spot just as the plundering was going on. When he saw what had happened, he returned to Surkháb and told the tale to the Empersr in an incoherent manner, and caused him much annoyance. The next day, as the Emperor was recommencing his march, news of the victory was brought.

On the tenth of the month Rajab[1] the Emperor entered the fortress of Kábul. He spent a week enjoying himself in the gardens (P. 295) of that city. When he enquired of some trusty followers of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím the history of the affair of that letter to Sháh Mançúr, and examined closely into the matter, he found out that Karam-ulláh, brother of Shahbáz Khán together with other Amírs had concocted all this forgery and deception, and that the last letter also, which had been the cause of his being put to death, was a forgery of the Amírs. So the Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Sháh Mançúr :—

> "Thy noble death, which was intended [by God],
> Was brought about by the instrumentality of man."

But that repentance was like the drinking of the elixer by Sohráb[2].

The Emperor sent Laṭíf Khwájah *Mír shikár* to the Mírzá to tell him that his offences were forgiven, and so prevented his taking refuge in the territory of the Uzbeks. Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím took in his presence on oath of alleigance, and executed an engagement, which he sent by 'Alí Muḥammad Asp along with him to the Court.

His Majesty conferred Kábul upon Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, and leaving the army he returned quickly to Jalálábád, where there was a large encampment. At this time Khwájagí Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Muḥammad Qásim Khán *Mir baḥr*, who was

[1] The seventh month.

[2] That is, it was too late.

one of the confidential Amírs of the Mírzá, came and did homage to the Emperor.

From Jalálábád he sent an army to plunder and lay waste the mountain district of Kator[1], which is a well-known stronghold of Káfirs, and then stage by stage he marched to the Sindságar[2], which he reached on the twelfth of Sha'bán[3]. There he crossed over and transported his whole army by a bridge in one day, and by successive marches went quickly to Lahór, where he arrived in the latter part of Ramazan[4].

He again committed the government of the Panjáb to Sa'íd Khán, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás, and Mán Singh. And with a view to making inquiry into the management of the grant-lands of that province, he appointed a Çadr to each Doáb[5]. These were Mullá Iláhdád of Amrohrah, Mullá Iláhdád Nabawí of Sulṭánpúr, Mullá Sháh Muḥammad of Sháhábád, and Mullá Sherí (P. 296) the poet. The first and fourth were remarkable for their good-heartedness, and the second and third for their bad-heartedness. And Mullá Sháh Muḥammad wrote a mandate to Shaikh Isḥáq Kákawí, a holy and God-fearing sage, with such pomp, that [you might apply to it the verse] "Our people obey God's preacher[6]!" And Shaikh Faizí he appointed Çadr of the Doáb[7]. And Ḥakím Humám, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ the Çadr of the metropolis, he sent to the other side of the Ganges.

When His Majesty arrived at Pánípat, Shahbáz Khán (who during the Emperor's absence had *more suo* turned the whole of the imperial dominions right away from Karhí to the Panjáb into people's *jagírs*,

[1] Lak'hnau Lithograph has *Gantúr*.

[2] See above p. 301.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] The ninth month.

[5] The five rivers which enclose the Panjáb are, according to the spelling usual on our maps, the Indus, Jelum, Chenab, Ravee, and Garra. The four Doabs referred to are the Doab of Sindsagar between Indus and Jelum, Doab of Jetch between Jelum and Chenab, Doab of Rachna between Chenab and Ravee, and Doab of Baree between Ravee and Garra.

[6] Al Qur'án XLVI, 30.

[7] Probably that between the Satluj and the Biyah.

and had given to any one any post that he wished for) arrived at that station with great magnificence, pomp, and circumstance to pay homage to the Emperor. When His Majesty enquired the cause of all this bravery, he replied: "If I had not thus won over the soldiery, they would have revolted with one consent. Now the empire is yours and the army is yours. You may give what you like to whom you will, and take away appointments and *jágírs* from whom you please" :—

> "From whom you please take away,
> To whom you please give."

On the twenty-fifth of Shavvál[1] the Emperor returned to Dihlí, and the younger prince, and the queens came out to meet him, and on the fifth of Zí-qa'dah[2] he made his *entrée* into the metropolis.

During this journey since I had been left behind on account of a bond of great friendship which I had contracted with one Mazharí, who was one of the divine objects[3], and on account of my freedom and *abandon* which lasted a whole year at Basáwar[4], and brought me in the course thereof into many strange and difficult circumstances, when I arrived at Fatḥpúr on the 6th of this month, I paid my respects to His Majesty. He asked Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl "How was he left behind on this journey?" He replied: "He is one of the pensioners, and is dead." And before this, when near Kábul he had directed the Çadr-i-Jahán to make out and present to him a list of all the people of piety (P. 297), who were attending with the army, or who were absent. When my name came up, the late Khwájah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, author of the *Táríkh-i-Nizámí*, with whom I had become acquainted about a year before that time, but who was as friendly as if I had known him a hundred years, in the great kindness and consideration which he showed to all his friends, and to me in particular, caused me to be put down and returned as sick. And certainly the devotion to created things

[1] The tenth month.
[2] The eleventh month.
[3] A play on the word *mazhar*.
[4] Lak'hnau ed. has *Pasháwar*.

and the desire of concupiscence, and fear, are much worse than any disease. During this period of absence he kept sending me letter upon letter, saying: "Since you have certainly been remiss in your coming, you must make as far as possible an effort to come to Láhor, or to Dihlí, or to Mit'hra, for it is a matter of public importance, and of attention to stipulated duty." But since one hour of that state was better to me than life eternal, how could I find an opportunity of occupying myself with thoughts of the future, or any other pain or loss, and so the verse[1]: "I commit my affairs to God" eventually became fulfilled:—

"Leave thy business with God, and be content,
For if He does not show mercy, it would make Him a pretender."

And at this time, every now and then, verses would occur to me in my sleep. And among them one night I composed the following in my sleep, and after waking I had a great deal of trouble and restlessness to recover it:—

"Our mirror is ready to receive the reflexion of thy face,
If thou doest not appear, the fault is not with us."

By the favour and grace of God, though seventeen years have elapsed since that time and this present time of writing, yet the delight of that taste has never left my heart, and every time I remember it I sigh: "Would that at that time I had become from head to foot stripped of the world, (P. 298) and had escaped the pain of separation:—

Happy is he that hath seen thy face,
And has surrendered his soul;
And is no more aware what is
Absence and what is presence."

But I had an experience, and such grace came to my heart, that if I spent ages in describing it, and thanking God for it, the tithe of a tenth part of my bounden duty would not be performed

[1] Al Qur'án XL, 47.

"In the ear of heart there sounded a murmur of love,
From the murmur I am full of love from head to foot.
It is but the truth, that in whole ages I should not escape,
From the obligation of giving thanks for one moment of love."

At the time that the Emperor went to Kábul, Bahádur son of Sa'íd Badakhshí had the *khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahádur Sháh. They say that the following rhyme was composed for his signet (but God knows):—

"Bahádur-ud-din Sulṭán
Son of Asfíd Shah Sulṭán.
His father was Sulṭán, and himself Sulṭan,
Bravo! Sulṭán bin Sulṭán."

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khán:—

"A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver come to him,
Requires of necessity a slap on the head.
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant[1] that its wings should not grow."

When Ma'çúm Khán Farankhúdí had become thoroughly bewildered and forlorn in the mountains of Sawálik[2] through the intervention of A'zam Khán he made confession of his fault, and received a *farmán* of pardon. He came and did homage at Fatḥpúr. Some days afterwards he left the *Darbár* at midnight, and mounting a litter was setting off on his return home, when an armed troop fell upon him outside the gates of the city, and cut him in pieces.

(P. 299). Niyábat[3] also, by the intervention of the imperial Begum, on the very day that Ma'çúm did homage, was admitted to

[1] In India immediately before the setting in of the rainy season the ants grow white wings, and fly about in swarms, and are eaten by the birds. Hence the Hindústání proverb: "When the ants are about to die, their wings come forth." The Spaniards have a similar proverb (see Don Quixote), "Por su mal nacieron alas à la hormiga."

[2] See p. 298.

[3] See p. 297.

His Majesty's presence. The Emperor, to please his uncle Shihábud-din Aḥmad Khán, governor of Málwah, spared his life for some time and sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. There he was confined, and performed many exploits, which we cannot now relate. In conjunction with his fellow-prisoners of that place he attempted a great outbreak. Eventually in the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor sent a *farmán*, and had him executed.

At this time Ḥájí Begum,[1] who was a second mother to the Emperor, and attended on the tomb of the late Emperor,[2] a very pillar of holiness, and purity, and virtue, and good works, hastened to the world of eternity. And the greatest distress fell upon the guardians of the tomb, and the dwellers in that holy place.

At this time the Emperor sent Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, to bring Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dín of Jalésar, who was a *majzúb*,[3] and intoxicated[4] with the Divine Love. When Quṭb-ud-dín came, the Emperor brought him to conference with some Christian priests, and philosophers, and great law-authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed, "Let us make a peat fire, and in the presence of His Majesty we will pass through it, and whichever gets safely through it, will prove thereby the truth of his religion." The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, "Come on, in the name of God!" But none of the priests had the courage to go. Soon after the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bakkar, together with other *faqírs*, as the Emperor was jealous of his triumph. There he died.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqírs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahár, where they were exchanged for horses.

About the same time the Emperor captured a sect of Shaikhs, who called themselves 'Disciples,' but were generally known as 'Iláhís.' They used to utter all sorts of foul lies and nonsense. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, "Repentance is our maid-servant." And so they had invented

[1] She was daughter of the brother of Humáyún's mother.

[2] This is the meaning of *Jannat-áshiání* quoted by Blochm. p. 465, and so also apparently of our expression *Jannat-áshyání*.

[3] De Sacey, *Pendnameh* LV, *n. f.*

[4] *Kharábí* is the same as *mast*.

similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islám, and for the Fast. At His Majesty's command they were sent to Bakkar and Qandahár, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts.

(P. 300.) His Majesty sent for the grandsons of Shaikh Adhan, who were some of the great Shaikhs of Jounpúr, with their wives and families, and sent than to Ajmír, and gave them a fixed provision. One, two, or three of them died, and some of them are living now in poverty.

Shaikh Ḥusain, grandson of His Reverence Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín (God sanctify his tomb!) he banished to Bakkar, because, when he had been to Makkah and come back again, he did not make obeisance in the manner approved by the Emperor, but came in his utter unworldliness to pay his homage to His Majesty in the old fashioned manner, who understood this neglect to be meant as a sign of disloyalty. In the year one thousand and two Nizám-ud dín Aḥmad, on the occasion of the Emperor's sending for Iltimás Qází Fatḥpúrí, and Shaikh Kamál Biyábání, from Bakkar, mentioned the name of Shaikh Ḥusain also. So His Majesty sent for them all, and since they performed the *Zamínbos* the Emperor considered that he had gained all that he required, and gave orders for their release. But Kamál Biyábání, whose being found in fetters[1] in the prison of Bakkar they attributed to the Khán Khánán, the Emperor sent to Rintamb'hor. And to Shaikh Ḥusain he again ordered a pension in Bakkar, and appointed him to that same place, as shall be narrated further on, if God (He is exalted!) will.

On the 9th of the month Muḥarram[2] in the year nine hundred and ninety (990) A'zam Khán came from Bengál. And one evening in course of conversation the Emperor said to him, "We have found out proofs for part of the reality of metempsychosis, Abu-l-Fazl shall convince you of it!' And he accepted it all. The Emperor then appointed some Amírs who were absent from the army of Kábul to accompany him, and sent him [back to Bengál] to repulse Muqúm Kábulí.

[1] Vol. III, pp. 87-88 Text. *Qalláb* is given there as his *takhalluç*.

[2] The first month.

On the 15th of the month Çafar[1] of this year the New Year came round again, and the twenty-seventh year of the Reign commenced :—

> " When the Pen of the Worker of Spring came into action,
> It made the Pearl of the Equinox into a paint-palate at the time of Aries." [2]

(P. 301.) And the Emperor commanded both the private and the public audience chamber to be deccorated with all sorts of precious materials. And they prepared costly articles of various colours, and European curtains, and they made most incomparable paintings, and erected lofty pavilions. And they decorated the bazaar at Ágrah and at Fatḥpúr in a similar manner, and kept high festival for eighteen whole days. And the Emperor sent for all sorts of troops of singers and musicians both Hindú and Persian, and dancers, both men and women, by thousands of thousands : and each day one of the renowned Amírs came and was honoured with his society, and received from him a considerable present, and other proofs of hospitality.

And since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1000 years since the time of the mission of the Prophet (peace be upon him !), which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islám, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulamá (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islám, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief [in their stead].

The first command that he issued was this : that the " Era of the Thousand " should be stamped on the coins, and that a *Táríkhí Alfí*,[3] commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written. And many other wonderful and strange innovations, by way of

[1] The second month.

[2] *I e.* The pale Winter's sun, like a colourless pearl, becomes the source of Spring colours.

[3] A history of a thousand years.

politic and wise expedients, did he devise. For one thing he decreed that *Sijdah*,[1] under the name of *Zamín-bos*,[2] ought to be offered to kings. Another was that wine might be drunk, if for the healing of the body[3] by the advice of the physicians. But, lest confusion and wickedness should become more common on this account, he laid down severe punishments on excessive drinking, carousals, and disorderly conduct. And in order to keep the matter within due bounds he set up a wine-shop near the palace, under the charge of the Porter's wife who belonged by birth to the class of (P. 302) wine-sellers, and appointed a fixed tariff. Persons who wished to purchase wine, as a remedy for sickness, could do so by having their name, and that of their father and grandfather, written down by the clerk. Some by deceit had false names written down, and so obtained wine—for who could accurately enquire into such a matter? And [in point of fact] a shop for the benefit of drunkards was opened. They say, moreover, that swine-flesh formed a component part of that wine, but God knows! In spite of all precautions confusion and wickedness raised its head, and, however many persons were every day punished, no practical result was effected. And there was another matter, which comes within the meaning of [the saying], "Bend, but do not break in pieces,"[4] *viz.* that of the prostitutes of the imperial dominions, who had gathered together in the Capital in such swarms as to defy counting or numbering. These he made to live outside the city, and called the place *Shaitánpárah*.[5] And he appointed a keeper, and a deputy, and a secretary for this quarter, so that any one who wished to associate with these people, or take them to his house, provided he first had his name and condition written down, might with the connivance of the imperial officers have connection with any of them that he pleased. But he did not permit any man to take dancing-girls to his house at night, without con-

[1] Prostration, in which the toes, knees, hands and forehead touch the ground.

[2] Ground-kissing.

[3] Comp. I Tim v. 23.

[4] A saying, the meaning of which is much disputed, but which seems to imply 'temper severity with kindness,' comp. Isaiah xli. 3. See further in Vuller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*.

[5] Devilsville.

forming to these conditions, in order that he might keep the matter under proper control. But if any one wished to have a virgin, if the petitioner was a well-known courtier, he sent a petition by the Deputy, and obtained permission from Court. Nevertheless, in spite of the rule, all the libertines carried on these affairs under assumed names, and so drunkenness and debauchery led to many acts of bloodshed, and however many were brought to punishment, another troop [of delinquents] would strut arrogantly past the Inspector of that department:—

> "Her endless beauty, as often as it slays a lover,
> Another troop in love makes its appearance from the unseen."

And a number of well-known prostitutes he called privately before him, and enquired (P. 103) who had seduced them. And after learning their names, several important Amírs were severely reprimanded and punished, and imprisoned for a considerable time. Among them one mentioned the name of Rája Bír Bir, who had become a disciple of His Majesty's religion, and had made such progress in the four degrees, that he had become conspicuous as endowed with the essentials of the Four Virtues,[1] and scarcely ever left the society of his own daughters. At the time he happened to be in the parganna of Karrah in his own jágír. When news of this reached the veil of his door, he wished to become a Jogí.[2] But on the Emperor's sending for him in reassuring terms he came to the Court.

Another thing was the prohibition to eat beef. The origin of this embargo was this, that from his tender years onwards the Emperor had been much in company with rascally Hindús, and thence a reverence for the cow (which in their opinion is the cause of the stability of the world) became firmly fixed in his mind. Moreover he had introduced a whole host of the daughters of eminent Hindú Rájas into his *ḥaram*, and they had influenced his mind against the eating of beef and garlic and onions, and association with people who wore beards—and such things he then avoided and still does avoid. And

[1] *Viz. ḥikmat* wisdom (prudence) *shujá'at* courage (fortitude), *'iffat* chastity (temperance), and *'adálat* justice. Blochm. p. 193, *n*.

[2] See p. 95.

these customs and heretical practices he introduced *pur et simple* into his assemblies, and still retains them. And in order to gain their love and goodwill and that of their castes, he abstained entirely from everything which was a natural abhorrence to these people, and looked on it as a mark of special devotion to himself if men shaved off their beards—so that this became a common practice. And certain pandering pimps brought forward proofs in favour of shaving the beard. They affirmed that the beard drew its nourishment from the testicles, and that since for this reason they never saw any eunuch with a beard, what could be the virtue and distinction of preserving it! Moreover that ascetics of olden time had looked upon letting the beard grow, as a kind of mortification, because it exposed them to reproach, but that, since the foolish Lawyers looked now on the cutting of the beard, not the letting it grow, as a disgrace, it was now a courting of the reproach of the world, and a mortification to cut it and (P. 304) not to let it grow. But if any one looks at this argument from an unbiased point of view, he will see that it tends to the opposite conclusion. Unprincipled and scheming Muftís quoted also an unknown tradition.[1] *Kamá yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-quzát*, they interpreted as meaning that some of the Qázís of 'Irák were in the habit of shaving their beards, whereas the true reading is *Kamá yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-'uçát* 'as some obstinate sinners do.' One day Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, at the beginning of my attendance at Court, observed that my beard was a little shorter than it was the custom to wear it. He said: "A *short* beard does not become you." I replied: "It is the barber's *short*-coming not mine." He said: "Well don't do it again, for it is neither proper nor becoming." Some time after this he himself becoming one of the Shí'ahs and religious mendicants, or rather of the Hindús, and shaving his head, became so utterly smooth-faced, as to be the envy of the handsome beardless youths:—

"He who vexes his brother about a fault,
Dies not until God has tried him in that very thing."

[1] In which it was stated that "some Qazís" of Persia had shaved their beards.

And beating the gong after the manner of the Christians and exhibition of the Form of One Person of the Trinity,[1] and of *Cunabula* which is their way of keeping Festival,[2] and other such like childish games became of daily occurrence: and '*Unbelief became common*' they found to give the date.[3] Ten or twelve years later things had come to such a pass, that abandoned wretches, such as Mírzá Jání, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect—this is the form—'I who am so and so, son of so and so, do voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islám, which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the "Divine Religion" of Akbar Sháh, and do accept the four grades of entire devotion, *viz.*, sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, and Religion?' And these lines—than which there could be no better passport to damnation—were (P. 305) handed over to the *Mujtahid*[4] of the new religion, and became the source of confidence and promotion. Well nigh did the heavens burst asunder thereat, and the earth gape, and the hills crumble!

And in contempt of Islám ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the *ḥaram* and under the fort, and regarded the going to look at them every morning as a religious service. And the Hindús who are believers in Transmigration, persuaded him, that the boar[5] is one of the ten forms, which the Divinity (praise to Him, glorious is his Majesty!) assumed in coming down:—

"His glory is more exalted than they say."

And he quoted the saying of some of the sages, that a dog has ten virtues, and that if a man were possessed of but one of them he would be a saint, in support of this. And some of the courtiers who were

[1] Meaning the Crucifix.

[2] See Blochmann in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May 1870.

[3] 20 + 80 + 200 + 300 + 11 + 70 + 204 = 985, which is five too little.

[4] Abu-l-Fazl. (Blochmann, p. 194.)

[5] Sanscrit *varáha avatára*.

most entertaining in all sorts of music,[1] and in the realm of poetry became a very proverb, by taking dogs to table with them, and eating with them And some heretic poets, of 'Iráq and Hind, so far from objecting to this, followed their example, and even made a boast of it and vied with them, taking the dog's tongues into their mouths :—

"Say to the Mír, under thy skin thou hast a dog, as well as a carcase.
A dog runs about in front of his door, make him not thy messmate."

Another thing was this. The ordinance of washing the whole body after an emission of semen, was considered as altogether unworthy of observance. And he brought forward the following argument. The sperma genitale is the very essence of man, for the semen is the origin of the existence of the good and the pure. What sense then could there be in ceremonial ablution being unnecessary after evacuation of parva and magna, while the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate it. It would be more fit [he argued] that people should perform the ablution first, and then have connection.

Similarly [he argued] that there could be no sense in offering food,[2] which is material, to the spirit of a dead person, since he certainly could not experience any benefit from it: much better, therefore, would it be, on the day of any one's birth to make that a high feast day. And this he named (P. 306) *Ásh-i ḥayát* 'Food of life.'

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the courage, which these two animals possess, would be transmitted to any one who fed on such meat.

It was forbidden to marry one's cousin or near relation, because in such cases the sexual appetite is but small. Boys were not to marry before the age of sixteen, nor girls before fourteen, because the offspring of early marriages is weakly.

[1] *Vádí* is the Sanscrit *Vádya* 'music,' comp. Text. p. 42, l. 5. It does not mean 'department' as Blochmann *Aín-i Akbarí*, p. 194 paraphrases it.

[2] Compare p. 50, note 6.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses [at prayer-time] was made obligatory. One day I saw the Muftí of the imperial dominions clothed in a garment of unmixed silk. I enquired: "Perhaps a tradition about this matter has come to your notice?" He said, "Yes, in any city where silk is used, it is allowable to wear silken garments." I replied: "One ought to get a sight of that tradition, for one cannot swallow a mere decree of the Emperor." He said: "I don't blame you either. But God knows!"

The prayers of the Islám, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, such as the son of Mullá Mubárik, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, nine hundred and sixty-three. The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persians kings, and as given in the *Niçáb-uç-çibyán.*[1] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the Feasts of the Musalmáns and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people used to go to it. The new era was called the *Táríkh-i-Iláhí.*[2] On copper coins and gold *muhurs* the era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked on as a crime; and Muhammadan law, and the exegesis of the Qurán (P. 337), and the tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philolosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, *viz.*, ث ع ح ص ض, and ظ were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *'Abd-ulláh* people wrote ابدلله *Abd-úllah;*

[1] A vocabulary in rhyme by Abú Naçr of Faráh a town in Sijistán. *Blochm.* p. 41, *note* 2.

[2] Divine era.

and for احدي *Aḥadí* they wrote اهدي *Ahadí* &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Sháhnámah,[1] which Firdúsí of Ṭús gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at Court :—

> " Through the eating of the flesh[2] of camels and lizards
> The Arabs have made such progress,
> That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
> Fie upon Fate ! Fie upon Fate ! "

And so any verse which involved something of dubious tendency favouring his sect he heard gladly from the doctors, and considered it a great point in his favour, such as the verse from the Sajahrák (?) in which the loss of the Prophet's teeth in an action against infidels is alluded to.

In the same way every command and doctrine of the Islám, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islám with reason, the doctrines of *Rúyat*, *Taklíf*, and *Takwín*,[3] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment, all were doubted and ridiculed. And if any one did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well-known how little chance a man has, who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality of condition is a *sine quâ non* in arguing :—

> " A man whom you cannot convince by the Qur'án and the Tradition,
> Can only be replied to by not replying to him."

Many families plunged into these discussions, but perhaps ' discussions ' is not the correct name ; we should call them ' meetings for arrogance and defamation.' People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many rarities. Thus Laṭíf (P. 308)

[1] It occurs in the letter of the Persian general Rastam to the Arabian general Sa'd. See ed. Macan IV, p. 2066,

[2] On the effect of food upon a race see Herodotus *in fin.*

[3] See *Bloohm.* p. 196 *notes.*

Khwájah, who came of a noble family in Turkistán, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizí's *Shamá'il*,[1] and asked how in the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an *idol*. Other remarks were passed on the "straying camel."[2] Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet in the beginning of his career plundered the caravans of the Quraish; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the Prophet (peace be upon him!) thought her agreeable. And many other things which it would take too long to recount:—

> "The woes caused by thy tresses, and cheek, to explain
> Would require a long night, and moon-light."

At night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'the Forty[3],' and every one might say or ask what he liked. If any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said: "You had better ask the Mullás about it, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason." But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Companions of the Prophet (God be merciful to them!), when the historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalífahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of the Çiffín &c. would that I were deaf! The Shí'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnís were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof of his own infallibility, entirely forgetting the proverb that, a man may be hoisted with his own petard[4] And so those who were before in favour now fell out of favour, and those who were before out of favour came into favour, those who had been near, became afar, and those who had been afar became near. Praise

[1] A collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet.

[2] Referring to the charge of adultery against *Áishah*, the Prophet's favourite wife. *Al Qurán* XXIV

[3] The 40 *Abdál*. See *Blochm.* p. 197 *note*.

[4] *Lit.* 'Every one who rejects is rejected.'

be to Him! who ruleth absolutely in his kingdom as it pleaseth him. And the common people with as little sense as brute beasts repeated continually nothing but "*Alláh Akbar.*" This caused great commotion. Mullá Sherí (P. 309) at this time composed a *qiṭ'ah* of ten verses, of which the following are some :—

"Until in each age there arise some overwhelming calamity,
Disturbance in the street of events will be a householder.
By the punishment of the debt-exacting sword on heretics
The obligation of the head will be paid by the bond of the neck.
The collar of the lying philosopher will be torn,
And devotion clothed in rags will have its piety established.
It is utter confusion of brain, if a fool take into his head,
That love of the Prophet can ever be banished from mankind.
I cannot help smiling at that couplet, which so glibly
Will be recited at the tables of the rich, caught up by the beggar :—
The king this year has laid claim to be a Prophet,
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will become God!"

At the new year's feasts His Majesty inveigled many of the Ullamá and the pious, nay even the Qázís and Muftís of the realm into the ravine of toast-drinking :—

"Love for thee brings news from the world of madness,
It brings pious people to wine-bibbing.
Thy memory, O Love, what a masterly potion it is,
For it makes us forget all that we have learnt."

At last the Mujtahids [of the Divine Faith], especially [Faizí, who called himself] the king of poets, called out : "Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!" On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharaf-ush-sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty) the grandees (P. 310) were promoted, or received new *jágírs*, or horses or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion to the presents they brought.

At this place Sháham Khán Jaláír arrived from Bengál, and Rájah Bhagwán Dás from Láhor.

During the absence of A'zam Khán and the other Amírs, who had come to the metropolis from Ḥájípúr, one Khabísah[1] by name, a servant of Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, together with Tarkhán Díwánah, and Sarkh Badakhshí, raised a rebellion in Bihár. And Muḥammad Çádiq Khán, together with Muḥibb 'Alí Khán defeated them in an engagement, and slew Khabísah.

In this year the prince Sulṭán Salím[2] went to Ajmír to meet Gulbadan Begum, and Salímah Sulṭán Begum, who had returned from the pilgrimage. On this occasion they paid a gratuitous visit to the shrine of the saint Mu'in-ud-dín, and left their gifts there.

At this time Muḥammad Çádiq Khán came from Bihár, and was quickly ordered off again, in conjunction with A'zam Khán, to repulse Ma'çúm Kábulí. And Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, and other Amírs, who had not gone in the army to Kábul, were appointed to assist Çádiq Khán.

At this time Sháh Abu Turáb, and I'tímád Khán Gujrátí, who had been together on a journey to Hijáz, returned, and brought with them a stone of very great weight, which required a very strong-bodied elephant to lift it. A foot-print was clearly to be seen on it, and Sháh Abu Turáb declared it to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet (God bless him and his family and give them peace !):—

"On the tablet at the head of our grave,
We have engraved thy image.
Until the day of the resurrection
Our head and thy foot are together."

The Emperor went a distance of four *cosses* to meet it, and commanded the Amírs to carry it by turns (P 311) a few steps, and in this manner they brought it to the city.

[1] See *Bloehm*, p. 356 *note*.

[2] Who succeeded his father with the title of *Jahángír*.

On the nineteenth of the month Sha'bán[1] the weighing of the eldest prince took place.

In this year, or the year after, Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí, and Mukhdúm-ul-mulk, who had received the decree of eternal banishment,[2] hearing the news of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím's insurrections, came from Makkah to Gujrát, and set their hearts on their former positions of authority, forgetful of the saying, 'The fleeting does not return':—

"The world is wide, O my child,
Thou art our corner, our corner.
Like the locust from the field of the king,
Thou art our ear of corn, our ear."

Makhdúm-ul-mulk died at Aḥmadábád,[3] and in the year nine hundred and ninety Qází 'Alí was sent from Fatḥpúr to ascertain what property he had left.[3] When he came to Láhor, he found such vast treasures as defied the key of conjecture to open their lock. Several ingots of gold were discovered in his sepulchre, where he had caused them to be buried as corpses. And the wealth which lay open to the eye of the world was such as none but the Creator (glorious is His Majesty!) could ascertain. All these ingots of gold, together with his books, which were as precious to him as ingots, were placed in the public treasury. His sons after being some time on the rack of distress fell at last into the most abject poverty.

Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí came to Fatḥpúr, and having made use of some rude language, the Emperor was unable to restrain his passion, and struck him in the face. He said: "Why don't you strike with a knife?" Then with a view to make him settle his account about the 7,000 rupees, which the Emperor had given him when he set off for Makkah, he was handed over as prisoner to Rájah Todar Mal, and for some time, like a defaulting tax-gatherer, they imprisoned him in the counting-house of the office; and one night a mob strangled him, and he went to God. And the next day, until after-

[1] The eighth month.

[2] That is, were about to die.

[3] For this habit of seizing a master's property on his death, see *Elphinstone*, p. 673.

noon prayer, the minarets resounded with nothing but this: "Verily in this man ye have a warning (P. 312) ye that have eyes to see" * This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-two. And "A Shaikh like a prophet"[1] was found to give the date, in accordance with the verse:—

> "Although they used to say, The Shaikh is like the Prophet,
> It is not *the* Prophet, our Shaikh is like *a* Prophet."

> "Heaven's nature is to throw down heads,
> You must not withdraw your head from what is written.
> She has never nurtured any, that she has not killed,
> For she is tender in love, and stern in hatred."

In this year that crucible of austerity, and devotion, that impersonation of piety and religious fervour, that spiritnal effigy, and mirror of divine grace, that paragon of people of rapture and ecstasy Shaikh Jalál of T'hánésar (God rest his spirit!) became an inhabitant of the garden of Paradise: and "The Shaikh of Saints"[2] was found to give the date.

In the same year Áçaf Khán, *Mír Bakhshí Sání*, who had the title of Mírzá Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Alí, gave up his place to his own nephew Mírzá Ja'far (who afterwards obtained the title of Áçaf Khán), and then chose the last journey. And "May God be his help!" was found to give the date.

And at this time His Majesty deposed Ḥájí Ibráhím of Sarhind, as has been narrated, from the Çadrate of Gujrát. And when he heard that he had received many bribes, and that he kept many women, and that he desired to escape to the Dak'hin, he had him seized. For some time he entrusted him to Ḥakím 'Ain ul-mulk, but after a time he sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. Till at last having cast him from the pinnacle of exaltation, to the abyss of misery, he fulfilled every dream of vengeance.

In this year Shaikh Mubárik of Nágor said in the presence of the Emperor to Bír Bar: "Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are in ours; hence it is impossible to trust either."

[1] 300 + 610 + 20 + 50 + 12 = 992.

[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 31 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 11 = 989.

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty why, since a thousand years from the Hijrah were passed, he did not bring forward, like Sháh Ismá'íl the First, some convincing proof. But His Majesty was at last convinced, that (P. 313) confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time, and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would easily have got most of his courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets :—

" I see in 990 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdí and that of Antichrist ;
Either politics or religion must change,
I clearly see the hidden secret."

At a council held for the renovating of the religion of the empire Rájah Bhagwán Dás said : " I would willingly believe that Hindús and Musalmáns have each a bad religion, but only tell us what the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe." His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Rájah. But the alteration of the decisions of our glorious Faith was continued. And " The innovation of heresy "[1] was found to give the date.

At this time His Majesty sent Qází Jalál Multání, together with Khwájagí Fath-ulláh *bakhshí*, who was a great opponent of the vile Shi'ah sect, to the Dak'hin. The cause of his banishment was this, that he had forged in a *farmán* a draught for five *lacs* of *tankahs*, which he had drawn from the treasary for his own use. The Emperor thought it likely, that the rulers of that part, who were exceedingly bigoted in that heresy, would put Qází to death with various tortures, and ignominy. But they, having heard of his constancy in the faith of the Islám, and his support of the word of God against liars, secretly believing in him considered his arrival as a great gain. Besides giving him the districts granted to him as *madad-i-ma'ásh* they showed him every attention, and reckoned the very dust of his feet as collyrium. Thus through his innate good luck he became at the end of his life so honoured and respected, that however much he asked to be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, they could

[1] 1 + 8 + 4 + 1 + 500 + 2 + 4 + 70 + 400 = 990.

not make up their minds to part with him. (P. 314) But at last he gained this felicity, and having arrived at Baṭḥá wa Yathrab (may God magnify them both!) in glory and dignity, he obtained eternal acceptance, and there passed away from this old dust-bin:—

"A life, about which thou hast been informed beforehand,
From it seek not a happiness, which is eternal.
A life, into which death can find an entrance,
Say to it, Be long, or short, as you please."

And in his place the Emperor appointed, as *Qázi-l-quzát*, Qází 'Abd-us-samí' the Transoxonian of Miyánkál,[1] of whom the poet Qásim Khán Moují might have composed the verse:—

"An elder from an honoured tribe,
With a beard, like a white rose, a yard long."

He used to play chess for a wager, and to give away a great deal. His cup-draining was notoriously a congenital habit, and in his sect bribery and corruption were considered as a duty for the moment, and the making profit on bonds for debt, and on signing judicial decrees, as a positive command. But verily since there was no reference to faith or religion left, even this amount was something towards the removal of opprobrium.

During those days also the public prayers, and the *azán*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like *Aḥmad*, *Muḥammad*, *Muçṭafa* &c. became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till after some time those courtiers, who had such names, changed them; and such names as *Yár Muḥammad*, *Muḥammad Khán*, were altered to *Raḥmat*. To call such miserable wretches by the name of our blessed prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to do so, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.' This destructive fire broke out first in Ágrah (P. 315), and burnt down house and home of both great and small, and eventually the fire extended to the graves[2] of those who kindled it (may God abandon them!)—

[1] A hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhárá. *Blochm.* p. 545 n.

[2] That is they went to hell.

"Thou, O man, fond of words,
Who for some worthless handfuls
Desertest the Faith of God,
In the confidence of thine own sophistry,
What weakness hast those seen in the Tradition,
That thou wentest towards the irreligious?
What fault didst thou find in the Qur'án,
That thou followest the present world?"

In Rabí'-us-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety the Sayyid Mír Fatḥ-ulláh of Shíráz, who in the regions of Theology, Mathematics, and Physics[2] and in all branches of science both logical and and traditional, and in talismans, and incantations, and discovering treasures, was without his equal in that age, in obedience to a *farmán* requiring his presence, left 'Ádil Khán of the Dak'hin, and came to Fatḥpúr. The Khán Khánán, and Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ in accordance with the Emperor's command went out to meet him, and brought him to the imperial presence. He was honoured with the post of *Çadr*, whose only duty was erasure, in order that he might confiscate the lands of the poor, not give them. When the Emperor heard that he had been an immediate pupil of Mír Ghiyás-ud-dín Mançúr of Shíráz, who had not been over strict in religious matters, he thought that Fatḥ-ulláh would be only too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fatḥ-ulláh was such a staunch Shí'ah, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shí'ism. Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shí'ah prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but he connived at his practices (P. 316), because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge.

He married him to the younger daughter of Muzaffar Khán, and treating him with regal promp associated him in the *vazír*-ship with Rájah Todar Mal. And he, entering boldly into negotiations with the Rájah, came to an agreement with him. He became devoted to

[1] The fourth month

[2] Aristotle's three-fold division of science, *θεολογική, μαθήματικη, φυσική.*

teaching the children of the Amírs, and every day would go to the houses of the courtiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and to other children of Amírs of seven or eight years of age, and even younger, and taught them to point, and to draw straight lines and curves, and even taught them the Alphabet :—

> " In the hands of children new to instruction
> Do not place a tablet of astronomical calculations.
> A horse, which is of Arab breed,
> Do not mark with a Grecian brand."[1]

Putting a gun on his shoulder and a belt of ammunition round his waist, like a Runner, he used to accompany the Emperor at his stirrup in the chase, and all the glory of the knowledge, which he had not already lost, he utterly trampled in the dust. But in spite of all this want of dignity, and vileness, and baseness, he practised such heroism in bluff honesty, that no Rastam could have surpassed. The date of his arrival is given by the hemistich :—

> " Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh Imám of saints."[2]

One night the Emperor, in Fatḥ-ulláh's presence, said to Bír Bar, " I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could in the space of a moment leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm ! " So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. " Why," said His Majesty, lifting up one foot (P. 317), " it is really impossible for me to lift up the other. What silly stories men will believe ! " And that wretch [Bír Bar] and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said " Yea, Your Majesty is right," and chirped in confirmation. But Fatḥ-ulláh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something: for he was a newcomer—looked straight before him, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear.

[1] That is, what a pity that a man of such attainments should spend his time n teaching children.

[2] 300 + 80 + 400 + 8 + 31 + 35 + 41 + 41 + 7 + 30 + 11 = 990.

About this time Mullá Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who was a bigoted Shíah, and had made himself a *ḥakím* by pure affrontery, came from the Dak'hin and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, had been very scrupulous orthodox believers, and this wretch used to shower anathemas on those unfortunate persons. But, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (Peace be upon him!) 'God curses him, who curses his father,' his cursing recoiled on his own head. When, in the time of Sháh Tahmásp, he associated in 'Iráq with some old Tabará'ís, he became orthodox. Then he deserted them. When Sháh Ismá'íl the second, becoming an excessive Sunní in opposition to the opinions held by his father, proceeded to kill and ill-treat the Shí'ahs, Mullá Aḥmad in the company of Mírzá Makhdúm (who was a *Sharíf*, and a zealous Sunní, and wrote the *Kitáb-un-náqiz* in blame of the Shí'ah, which contains the date of its composition), went to Makkah. Thence he proceeded to the Dak'hin, and afterwards to Hindústán, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines, and invite converts to the Shí'ah persuasion: but in a short time he met the penalty of his evil deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faizí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the *bázár*, where some 'Iráqís took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this he addressed me and said: "I see the mark of a Shí'ah stamped on your forehead." (P. 318) I replied promptly: "Just as much as I see Sunní stamped on yours!" The friends, who were present, all laughed, and were pleased. I shall, if God (He is exalted!) will, notice the close of his life in its proper place.

The year 1,000 of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now on the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of the Islám to be written, which should in reality supercede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfí*. He further ordered the word *rihlat*[1] to be substituted for *ḥijrah*[2] in the different

[1] Marching.
[2] Flight.

dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace!) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world.

He assigned the first year to Naqíb Khán, the second to Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh, and so on to Ḥakím Humám, Ḥakím 'Alí, Ḥájí Ibráhím Sarhindí (who had just then arrived from Gujrát) Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.

During the time that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of the second true Khalífah (n[illegible]ay God be propitious to him!) I had just finished the account of t[illegible]he foundation of Kúfah, and the building and destruction of Qaçr-ul-imárat, which was narrated in detail together with the cause of its destruction, and the marriage of Amm Kulsún, daughter of the Amír-ul-muminín 'Alí (God be propitious to them both!), as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Naçíbín, and the scorpions big as cocks, which were made use of to effect its capture, when one night Áçaf Khán Sális, who was the same as Mírzá Ja'far, thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts. Notwithstanding this, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakhshí confirmed my assertions shortly afterwards. When I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, (P. 319) and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzat-ul-Aḥbáb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Naqíb Khán to verify the accuracy of the statement, which by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention.

At the recommendation of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changíz Khán, when Mírzá Fúlád one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullá Aḥmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Láhor, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. He was put to death in retaliation.

The remainder of the work was done by Áçaf Khán up to the year nine hundred and ninety-seven. In the year one thousand I was ordered to proceed to Láhore, to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I composed the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Áçaf Khán.

Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of the *Mahábhárata*, which is the most famous of the Hindú books, and contains all sorts of stories, and moral reflections, and advice, and matters relating to conduct and manners, and religion and science, and accounts of their sects, and mode of worship, under the form of a history of the wars of the tribes of Kurus and Páṇḍus, who were rulers in Hind, according to some more than 4,000 years ago, and according to the common account more than 80,000. And clearly this makes it before the time of Adam (P. 320): Peace be upon him! And the Hindú unbelievers consider it a great religious merit to read and to copy it. And they keep it hid from Musalmáns.

The following considerations disposed the Emperor to the work. When he had had the Shahnámah, and the story of Amír Ḥamzah, in seventeen volumes transcribed in fifteen years, and had spent much gold in illuminating it, he also heard the story of Abú Muslim, and the Jámi'-ul-ḥikáyát, repeated, and it suddenly came into his mind that most of these books were nothing but poetry and fiction; but that, since they were first related in a lucky hour, and when their star was in the act of passing over the sky, they obtained great fame. But now he ordered those Hindú books, which holy and staid sages had written, and were all clear and convincing proofs, and which were the very pivot on which all their religion, and faith, and holiness turned, to be translated from the Indian into the Persian language, and thought to himself, "Why should I not have them done in my name? For they are by no means trite, but quite fresh, and they will produce all kinds of fruits of felicity both temporal and spiritual, and will be the cause of circumstance and pomp, and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth, as is written in the preface of these books." Accordingly he became

much interested in the work, and having assembled some learned Hindús, he gave then directions to write an explanation of the *Mahábhárata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqíb Khán, so that the Khán might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On the third night the Emperor sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahábhárata, in conjunction with Naqíb Khán. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed. Two parts were written. Such discussion as one never heard! as, Shall I eat forbidden things? Shall I eat turnips? But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass.

After this Mullá Sherí and Naqíb Khán together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultán Hájí of Thánessar by himself. (P. 321) Shaikh Faizí was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Ḥájí aforesaid revised these two sections, and as for the omissions which had taken place in his first edition, those defects he put right, and comparing it word for word with the original, one hundred sheets were written out closely, and the work was brought to such a point of perfection that not a fly-mark of the original was omitted. Eventually for some reason or other he was ordered into banishment, and sent to Bakkar, and now he resides at his own city. Most of the scholars, who were engaged in this work, have now been gathered to the Kurus and Paṇḍus, and to those who still remain may God (He is exalted!) grant deliverance, and grace to repent, and may He hear the excuse of: "Whoso after he hath believed in God denies Him, if he were forced to it and if his heart remains steadfast in the faith [shall be guiltless]".[1] "Verily He is the merciful Pardoner."[2]

The translation was called the *Rázm-námah*, and when fairly

[1] Al Qur'án XVI, 108.

[2] Al Qur'án II, 35 &c.

engrossed, and embellished with pictures, the Amírs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, in opposition to the commentary on the *Kursí*[1] verse, which he had formerly composed, now wrote for it a *Khutbah* extending to two sheets—we flee to God for refuge from infidelities and unprofitable words!

The author (may God forgive him!) begs leave here to request, that the reader will excuse him if in the account of the events of this year (which have been introduced as a digression, written down by his rapid pen in an abridged form) he has not observed a strictly chronological order, nor preserved the exact sequence of events.

When the twenty-eighth year day from the accession was completed, the new year's day of the twenty-ninth, corresponding to the twenty-fifth of the month Çafar[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991), was celebrated, and according to the old custom, stalls in the fancy Bázár were distributed to the different Amírs, and arranged by them, and all sorts of festivities and amusements were the order of the day. And Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh in his stall exhibited all sorts of skill, such as the dragging about of weights, and other strange contrivances.

At this time His Majesty promulgated some of his new-fangled decrees. The killing of animals on the first day of the week was strictly prohibited, (P. 322) because this day is sacred to the Sun, also during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardín; the whole of the month of Ábán (the the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindús. This order was extended over the whole realm and punishment was inflicted on every one, who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts the Emperor abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with a view to eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

[1] Al Qur'án II, 256.

[2] The second month.

A second order was given that the sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names for the sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of his ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindú mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store-rooms and into Hindú guard-rooms. For the word *jamá'at*,[1] His Majesty used *jimá'*.[2] and for *hayya 'ala*,[3] he said *yalalá talalá*.[4] The cemetery within the walls was allowed to run waste.

He gave the sum of one *lac* of rupees in ready money, together with some elephants, and precious stuffs and gold and gilded vessels to his illustrious mother, and in the same way to his aunt Gulbadam Begum, and to the other Begums.

He also issued a general order, that every person from the highest to the lowest should bring him a present.

In this year A'zam Khán, and other great Amírs were appointed, and went and took possession of Tandah. Kháldí Khán Jabbárí, and Mírzá Beg Qaqshál deserted Ma'çúm Khán Kábulí, and came and had an interview with A'zam Khán. Then Ma'çúm Khán took refuge with some zamíndárs, and the whole province of Bengál became settled and quiet.

In this year in order to gratify the feelings of the rulers of the Dak'hin (P. 323), His Majesty gave the governership of Bengál to I'timád Khán, and made Sháh Abu-Tiráb *Amín*, and Khwajah Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad *Mír bakhshí*, and Abu-l-Qásim Tabarízí, brother of Mouláná 'Abd-ul-Qádir, the Emperor's tutor, he made *Díwán*;

[1] Public prayer congregation.

[2] Cohabitation, copulation.

[3] A phrase which occurs in the form of calling to prayer *(azán)*.

[4] A phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth. *Blochm.*

and a number of people, such as Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Mír Abú-l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khán, and Mír Háshim, and Mír Çáliḥ Da'í, and Sayyid Abu-Isḥáq, and he ordered to hold *jagirs* in that province.

In this year the Emperor who had imprisoned Shahbáz Khán on account of some insolence, having taken a strict account of all his improper and unprofitable behaviour, now set him free from clutch of the Rájah,[1] and through the intervention and patronage of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he released him from captivity. On the eighteenth of Jamáda's-sáni[2] the Emperor sent him off to Bengal, with instructions to hand over all that district to the jágírdárs, and to drive Ma'çúm Kábulí (of whose movements news had arrived) from the province of 'Ísa,[3] for "when the river of God comes, the river of 'Ísá is useless"; and if in this context for *Nahr-u'-lláh* you read *Shahr-u'-lláh*, the saying is not without point and appropriateness.[4] Meanwhile news arrived that Khán-i-A'zam had sent Shaikh Farid Bokhárí to Qatlú Afghán Noḥáni,[5] governor of Oṛisá with a view to pacification. Qatlú on account of his confidence in the Shaikh Farid's holy descent went out to meet him, and assumed the post of servant to him. After this bond of friendship had been tied, Bahadúr Kúr Farah[6] one of the *zamíndárs* of Bengál, coming up very unceremoniously wished to be hale fellow well met with the Shaikh, but the Shaikh assumed *zamíndár-ish* airs. Upon this

[1] Rái Sál Darbárí. *Blochm* p. 400.

[2] The 6th Month.

[3] 'Isá Khán, *zamíndár* of Oṛisá. *Blochm.* p. 352.

[4] In the original proverb the (Freytag i. p. 139) name is Ma'qil, one of the companions of the prophet; Nahr-u-Ma'qil being the name of a river near Basrah. Our author seems to call the *Mahánadí* of Oṛisá the *Nahr-u-'Ísá* after the name of the zamíndár of the place. The month Rajab, which follows Jamáda's-sání is also called *Shahr-i-Khudá*, *i. q.*, *Shar-ulláh*. He means that when Rajab came in, Oṛisá was conquered.

[5] Generally spelt *Loḥání*.

[6] Another reading is *Kúrdah*. *Tabaqáti Akbarí*, Elliot, V, p. 422, has *Gauriya*.

Sháhú, son of Shaikh Rájú Bokhárí, of Sarhind, who was not (I. 324) always just in his behaviour, and some other Bokháris, all showed some ill-tenper. Bahádur was so enraged that at the time of the Shaikh's return, when Qatlú was travelling in his retinue, he seized the road and opposed his progress by force of arms. Sháhú, with a number of men was killed, and the Shaikh escaped without injury.

In this year Burhán-ul-mulk, brother of Murtazí Nizám-ul-mulk, governor of the Dak'hin,[2] fled from his brother. First he came to Málwah to Quṭb-ud-dín Khán. From thence, in obedience to the Emperor's command, he came to Court in the north Rajab,[3] and did homage. Some time before this an unknown vagabond, who falsely called himself Burhán-ul-mulk, had come to the Court, and had received a *jágír* in Oudh. But since he was unable to bring *proof*[4] that he was *Burhán*, he had fled and hid himself among the Jogís. After the lapse of a week the Emperor detected him from the rest, and had him imprisoned. After these transactions that ignoble fellow was never heard of again, for he lived a donkey, and was a donkey, and died a donkey.

In the same year His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindús and Musalmáns, one of them being called *Khaipúrah*, and the other *Dharmpúrah*. Some of Abu-l-Fazl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of *Jogís* also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of *Jogípúrah*.

His Majesty also called some of the Jogís, and gave them at night private interviews, enquiring into abstract truths; their articles of faith; their occupation; the influence of pensiveness: their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul.[4]

[1] That is of Aḥmadnagar. Elphinstone, p. 522.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] A play on the name *Burhán*, which means *proof*.

[4] So *Blochmann*, p. 201. But might not *rímiyá* be formed from *rímán* = *Ahrímán*, after the analogy of the two preceding words *kímiya* alchemy, and *símiyá* natural magic, and mean "devilry?"

His Majesty even learned alchemy, and showed in public some of the gold made by him. On a fixed night, which came once a year, a great meeting was held of Jogís from all parts (P. 325). This night they called *Sívrát*.[1] The Emperor eat and drank with the principal Jogís, who promised him that he should live three or four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, it became impressed on his mind as indelibly as though it were engraved on a rock. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs of the longevity of the Emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind, would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years; and in Thibet there was even now a class of *Lámahs*, or devotees, and recluses, and hermits of Cathay, who live two hundred years, and more. For this reason His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lámahs, limited the time he spent in the Haram, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hair at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening of the human body) with a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul by metempsychosis will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king. His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tauḥíd-i-Iláhí*[2] :—

> " You want to have this world at your wish,
> And also the right Religion :
> These two are not compatible,
> Heaven is not your slave. "

[1] Sanscrit *Śivarátri*, " night of Śiva.

[2] Divine Monotheism.

And a number of disciples, who thought themselves something particular, he called *Chelah*, in accordance with the technical term of the Jogís. And another lot, consisting of wolves among the sheep, and hunters of the weak,[1] who were not admitted into the palace (P. 326), stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared that they had made vows not to rinse their mouth, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the Emperor. And every evening there was a regular Court assembly of needy Hindús and Musalmáns, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, queer gathering and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the thousand and one names of the "Greater Luminary," and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. [illegible] Brahmans collected other set of one thousand and one names of "His Majesty the Sun," and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rám, Krishna, and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmans and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it:—

"Every one to whom thou saidst, Welcome! was welcome."

And some of these different bands, whichever they may be, they called *Aḥadí*, who will in the world of "Monotheism" obtain complete salvation, and in the deluge of water or fire will form an army that will sacrifice themselves:—

"O my heart do not make a boast of offering thyself,
Whenever the Beloved may happen to come.
The doings of every individual will be known,
When the time for action comes."

[1] Instead of از دال شیا و صیاد زبون read از دال شیاد صیاد زبون

In this year also in the State Hall of Fatḥpúr having filled the 100 *square cubits* of the Hanafís, and the *Qullatain*[1] of the Sháfi'ís and Shí'ahs, and drawn off the water, the quantity of the Hanafís (P. 327) was greater than that of the others.

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnís should stand separately from the Shí'ahs, when the Hindústánís, without exception, went to the Sunní side, and the Persians to the Shí'ah side.

But, as we have often said, it is not possible for the most voluble historian to explain fully all the particulars, and minutiæ of his proceedings, and therefore, giving up all idea of so doing, we must take our own course.

When I'timád Khán was appointed to the governorship of the province of Gujrát,[2] which was the ladder of his ambition, he went to Sáróhí[3] He severed that district from Sarnál, and entrusted it to Jakmál, brother of the Ráná. On the twelfth of the month of Sha'bán[4] of this year he arrived at Aḥmadábád together with the Amírs, who were appointed to accompany him.

Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, who was absolute ruler of that place and had repelled all calamities and quelled all disturbances, upon this came out of the town with the intention of proceeding to the Court, and encamped at Osmanpúr. Here his lords and attendants, who detested their supersession and removal, deserted him, and together with other malcontents,[5] went to Káthiwár to seek Muzaffar bin Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, who had fled from the Court, and taking refuge with his mother's relatives in the mountain districts, kept himself hid by day, and only dared to appear by night. Him they proclaimed Sulṭán.

I'timád Khán, although Shiháb-ud-dín had the means of quieting these people, would not accept his assistance, but said: "These men have sought their fate from God, and have tried to kill me.

[1] See Blochm. p. 202, *note*.

[2] Text, 322, last line.

[3] A small district of Rájpútáná.

[4] The eighth month.

[5] Compare Text, p. 249, l. 10.

Now the matter has passed out of my power to pacify, as you and all the kingdom know." So he retired to the town of Karí, which is twenty *cosses* from Aḥmadábád.

One or two persons on the part of I'timád Khán and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad went, and tried to quiet those rebels, but without success.

On the twenty-seventh of Sha'bán Muzaffar with the people of Kát'híwár and the rebellious Muguls came to Dholqah, which is twelve *cosses* from Aḥmadábád.

Meanwhile I'timád Khán, and Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad abandoned the city,[1] and together (P. 328) went to Karí with the intention of bringing back Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, and appeased him by offering to restore to him his old *pargannahs* as *jágír* on the same terms as before, and by giving him two *lacs* of rupees in ready-money as a subsidy. They left the care of the town of Karí in charge of Sher Khán, son of I'timád Khán, and left Mír Muḥamand Ma'çúm there with a strong force, in order that making that place the base of operations they might rally the scattered troops.

The next day Muzaffar moved from Dholqah, and some of the devotees of Sarkij,[2] which is three *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, took from the tombs of the late Sulṭán's an umbrella, which was ready to hand, and placed it over his head by way of omen, and congratulated him on his Sultanate. Thus, having heard good news from the unseen world, he entered Aḥmadábád.

Two[3] Amírs, imbecile in their actions, to whom the following verse applies :—

"I and my tutor are two poor old men,
Who want, the two of us, two good tutors."

with twisted reins, and broken crupper :—

"Their body not strong, their heart not patient,
Their fortune not friendly, their intellect not their guide,"

rode by night from Karí with a few followers, and arrived in the morning at Osmánpúr. Muzaffar made his *entrée* without fear o

[1] Aḥmadábád.

[2] Blochmn. p. 507 *note*.

[3] I'timád Khán and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán.

shame, with his troops drawn up as an *istiqbál*,[1] and stood on the sandy shore of the river of Aḥmadábád. Meanwhile those two old men as a means of scattering the rebels, and with a view to re-encouraging the scattered royalists were occupied in collecting debts, and wri g requisitions, and despatching letters! And when things became des erate, not having any confidence in their followers they did not dare to offer battle, but helpless as sheep for the slaughter fled to the town of Patan, which is the same as Nahrwálah, and situated four or five *cosses* from Aḥmadábád, which they reached in one day. All the goods and chattels of the army were looted, and the wives and families of the soldiers were made prisoners (P. 329). Muḥammad Sharíf, son of Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad with his soldiers abandoned the protection of house and family, and managed to join his father. The fugitives, together with another body of Amírs, who had come to their assistance from Fatḥpúr, and amounted to one thousand horse, repaired the fortress of Patan, and made a stand there.

Muzaffar gave all sorts of grand titles to his worthless soldiery, and exciting their hopes of recovering the kingdom, grew so in dignity that, thanks to the power of God![2] he who had been a Court menial with a monthly stipend of thirty rupees, is now lord of thirty thousand clients. And sending for Sher Khán Fíládí, who had been formerly governor of Patan, from the province of Súrát, where he had been in misfortune, sent him with 4,000 horse against Patan.

The leaders at Patan sent Zain-ud-dín Kambú, brother of Shahbáz Khán, to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán requesting him to march on Aḥmadábád from one quarter; while they would do so from the other, and so surround Muzaffar. But Muzaffar was too quick for them, and advancing with his army gave battle to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán at Barodah. And that person of great hopes and little management, who in comparison with the energy of those two old men, was a paragon of the age :—

[1] A troop of horse which meet a person as a guard of honour See Atkinson's *Shāhnámah*, p. 522.

[2] *Názam* is from *Názídan* to boast. *Názam baqudrat-i-Khudá* is an exclamation in admiration of the power of God, who made an insignificant person rise to so high a dignity.

"There are two fortunate heavenly bodies, the Sun, and the Moon,
And time hath found thy fair cheek a third,"

made but little resistance, and was defeated and shut himself up in the fortress of Barodah. And the chief of his army, and his auxiliaries with one consent went over to Muzaffar.

Before this incident Sher Khán[1] with 5,000 horse, had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village of Miyánah, fifteen *cosses* from Patan. And Shiháb-ud-din Aḥmad Khán and I'timád Khán after much hesitation and cowardice determined to flee towards Jálor. But by the exertions of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad they were restrained and remained at Patan.

The rest of the leaders with some veterans, who did not number more than 2,000, all told, (P. 330) marched with Nízam-ud-dín Aḥmad, and a great battle took place between the two armies. The breeze of victory and success fanned the banners of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, and Sher Khán fled and retreated in haste towards Aḥmadábád. But, however much Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad strove to impress on the Amírs the importance of following up the victory by proceeding against Aḥmadábád, they would not consent. And this was the very crisis of affairs, for they had not yet received news of the defeat of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán. In this battle a great deal of spoil fell into the hands of the Amírs, so that they went to Karí and waited there twelve days waiting for the soldiers, who had gone with the spoil to Patan. Meanwhile intelligence arrived, that Muzaffar had bombarded the fortress of Barodah, which has a wall old as the building of his age, and weak[2] as the sense of Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán. Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, the foundations of whose life were even weaker than theirs, sent out Zain-ud-dín to Muzaffar to make terms of capitulation. Muzaffar at a moment's acquaintance treated Zain-ud-dín as if he had known him for a thousand years. To Khwájagí Muḥammad Çáliḥ, a former Çadr,[3] who had been appointed to accompany I'timád Khán, he from a

[1] Son of I'timád Khán, not Sher Khán Fúládí.

[2] We follow the Lakhnou lithograph, which reads, *sost* after *Muḥammad Khán*.

[3] See *Blochmann*, p. 528.

feeling of generosity granted his life, and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage. And to Quṭb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, the eye of whose penetration was blinded by the injury of fate, and whose bark was fonndering through calamity, he gave quarter, and so enticed him out of the fortress. He, little suspecting the treachery of Muzaffar, came out with the greatest weakness, and when he saw him offered him boundless salutations :—

" Fate is a person which has five fingers,
When she wishes to get her will on any one,
She puts two on his eyes, and two on his ears,
And one on his lips, with the words ' Be silent !' "

(P. 331) Muzaffar at the time of their meeting advanced towards him with greatest respect, and gave him a place on his own privy sofa, and although he treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not cease to oppose his being put to death. At last at the instigation of one named Nawárí, a *zamíndár* of Rájpíplah, and others of the soldiery, he had the ground levelled over his head like his own buried Qárún treasures.[1] Then going from Parwár to Baroṇch, he took that fort from the wife and dependants of Quṭb-ud-dín by capitulation. And there he found fourteen *lacs* of rupees from the treasury of Cambay, which I'timád-ud-dín, the *krorí*, had carried off, together with all the property moveable and immoveable, and the immense private treasures of Quṭb-ud-dín Khán which exceeded 10 *krors ;* and collected them together. And as for the other goods and chattels how can one describe them ! And, which is very strange, Naurang Khán, the able son of Quṭb-ud-dín Khán, together with Qulíj Khán, and Sháríf Khán, and Tulak Khán, and other Amírs of Málwah, in these harrowing circumstances[2] did not stir a foot from Nazarbár and Sulṭánpúr, which were very near, and so could not receive any news of his parents :—

" When once you know that Destiny is all tangles,
Nobody is anything to you."

[1] The Arabic name for Korah.

[2] Lakh'nou lithographed (edit. reads لڅنؤ not لڅنؤ).

And the army, the number of which has been before mentioned, consisting of Mogúls, Afgháns and Gujrátís, gathered round Muzaffar. On hearing this news Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and the other commanders went to Patan, and joined those two[1] renowned Amírs. There they kept expecting the arrival of Mírzá Khán, son of Bairám *Khán Khánán*, and all the Amírs who had been appointed to go from the Court, and were marching towards Aḥmadábád through Jálor and Patan. Mirzá Khán remained one day at Patan, and then marching on halted at Sarkich.[2] And (P. 332) Muzaffar returned from Barodah, and committing the charge of the fortress of Baroṇch to his wife's brother, Naçír by name, and to a Rúmí named Jarkas,[3] (who was a servant who had fled from the imperial Court,) and having pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of the burial place of Sháh B'hekan (?), (God sanctify his glorious tomb !), which was but two *cosses* distant, he there encamped. The next day a fierce battle took place, and Muzaffar was defeated, and retired to Ma'múrábád. And Sayyid Háshim Bárhah and Kizr Aqá the *wakíl* of Mírzá Khán were stained in the gore of victory,[4] and many men were wounded ; and on the side of the enemy, who could number the slain ! This action took place on 16th of the forbidden month of Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991). And, since Mirzá Khán before the victory had vowed that if the bride of victory showed her face from behind the veil, he would give all the goods and chattels that might be among the baggage, as a thank-offering for that event,[5] to the poor and needy, with a view to paying this vow he ordered some of his servants to fix a price on all stuffs and horses and elephants and furniture, that he might expend that money in disbursements. These untrustworthy, deceitful, irreligious valuers set such a price on them, that not a fourth, or a fifth or even a tenth of the market-value came to the poor. And some things they gave away in order to

[1] Text 329 last four lines.

[2] Text 328. l. 6.

[3] Possibly a Greek named George Γεώργιος.

[4] To become the "Rose of Victory" means to be slain in gaining a victory.

[5] *Rnaánú*, "showing of face," "event" a *double entendre*.

bring joy to their own hearts, and to comfort their own hearts, and so it did! And some domestics,[1] who were servants of Mirzá Khán, such as Daulat Khán Afghán Lodí, Mullá Maḥmúdí, and others, represented to him: "Ever since we have been your attendants, we have not committed a fault. How comes it then that we should be so lorded over and oppressed by the imperial servants, and that they should always take precedence of us at assemblies, when they are really our inferiors with respect to salutations and other points of court etiquette? Mirzá Khán found these weak and fallacious arguments very agreeable and reasonable, and having got ready some dresses of honour and many horses destined for each one of the Amírs, and having caused their names to be written on them, (P. 333) he prepared a great *levée*. He himself went into an attiring room, and became engrossed in the occupation of making his guests sit down, and in putting their dresses on them. Then he sent for Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad (who some time during the life of Bairán Khán *Khán Khánán* had married his foster-sister) and put the case before him. He gave the following advice. These followers[2] of yours are possessed by a spirit of wrong-headedness in this matter, if the Emperor were to hear of it, what would he order? As far as salutation on your part is concerned, what reason would there be in his ordering you to salute Shiháb-ud-dín Khán who is your superior both from the dignity of commanding 5000 and also from being older in years[3]? and similarly, how would it be right for him to order I'timád Khán, who once upon a time was commander of 20,000, horse, to salute you? And since Páyandah Muḥammad Khán Moghul has most unmistakably declared himself opposed to it, and the others are not in the least worth considering, you had better ignore the matter altogether. Mirzá Khán accepted their advice, and gave up the pretension.

[1] See p. 194 note 4.

[2] Lak'hnou Ed. reads تابینان a corruption of Ar. تابع with addition of Pers. plural termination.

[3] Since you would do it naturally without being ordered.

Three days after the victory Qulíj Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah came to Ahmadábád. And when they heard that Muzáffar, had gone to Cambay from Ma'múrábád, which is on the banks of the river Mahindra, and a company of 20,000 horsemen had gathered round him from the fugitive, Mirzá Khán with the Amírs went in that direction in pursuit. Muzaffar betook himself to Barodah, and thence towards Rájpíplah, and Nádot. And Mirzá Khán having come to Barodah, sent an army against a servant of Muzaffar's, named Daulat to the gates of Cambay, and brought him out, and then hastened to Nádot; Qulíj Khán and the rest of the great Amírs he appointed to go to the mountain district of the interior, where Muzaffar had taken refuge. And everywhere Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad kept that force continually on the move, which entailed much baggage and munitions requiring heavy dragging about, and showed a gallant perseverance quite exceeding what could be expected of one in his poor position, (P. 334) nay even beyond the limits of human power. At last through his efforts a great battle, like the first battle of Sarkich, took place with Muzaffar. They gained the victory, and Muzaffar's forces were dispersed in all directions. Mirzá Khán came to Aḥmadábád, and directed the Amírs of Málwah, and the rest, to besiege the castle of Baroṇch. After seven months, Jarkas Rúmí, who held the command of that fort on the side of Muzaffar, was killed, and Naçír Muzaffar's wife's brother capitulated.

This year after sending Mirzá Khán and the army of Málwah to Gujrát the Emperor started from Ágrah in a boat on a pleasure expedition to Iláhábád, which is a new erection on the site of Prayág, an old sacred city of the Hindús, where they had built several fortresses. On the day of his starting they brought from Makkah the news of the death of Shaikh Badr-ud-dín, son of Shaikh Islám Chishtí, who had kept a voluntary fast for seven whole days, and in intense ecstacy had made the circuits of the Ka'abah barefooted until his feet were blisted, and violent fever supervened. On the Feast of Qurbán in the year nine hundred and ninety he drank the draught of martyrdom of death, in the path of God from the hand of the cupbearer of eternal grace:—

"Last night on account of my sincerity and purity of my heart
In the wine tavern that soul-gladdener of my heart
Brought me a cup, saying 'Take and drink,'
I said 'No!' he said 'Do! for my heart's sake.'"

This news the Emperor sent to Ḥájí Ḥusain, the attendant of the monastery of the said Shaikh, and great dismay and distress found its way into that family, and the line of guidance (P. 335) and teaching which he had left was cut short. The Emperor stayed four months there, and sent Zain Khán Kokah, and Bír Bar, who had formerly been a servant of Rájah Rám Chand B'hatta, on an embassy to Chorágarh. Rám Chand agreed to submit, and after paying Zain Khán all sorts of hospitality, he kept him with him, until he came in his company to Fatḥpúr, and did homage there. There he offered 120 rubies, and other jewels in the same proportion as a proper present. And among those jewels was one, the worth of which was 50,000 rupees. He left his son, named Bábá, in the service of the court, and himself after some time obtained leave to go home. And soon after he went to his natural abode—Hell, where he got into hot water.[1] This Rám Chand in his natural disposition was of such high spirit, that he has none equal in our days. And among his presents was this: he gave in one day a *kror* of gold pieces to Miyán Tánsingh, the musician. And I have mentioned above,[2] how that he gave to Ibráhím Súr the ensigns of royalty. Miyán Tánsingh did not wish to leave him. Finally Jalál Khán Qurchí came, and brought him back to his sense of duty.

At that time A'zam Khán came in haste from Ḥájípúr to Iláhábád and did homage, and receiving leave to depart he went quickly back again to bring his army. And the Amírs laid in that city the foundations of a great building; and it was determined that thenceforth that place should be the Capital. And they struck a new coinage, and Sharíf Sarmadí, the registrar of outposts of whom some one said:—

"There were two registrars, and both were coarse,
One was Sharíf and not Nafís,

[1] A pun on *Jaḥím* and *ḥammím*.

[2] Vol. I, p. 432, text. Compare Erskine's *Húmáyún*, ii, p. 501.

The other was Nafís and not Sharíf,"[1]

wrote this verse for the coin :—

"Ever may it current be,
Like the gold of sun and moon,
(P. 336) From east to west of the world,
The coinage of Iláhábád."

About this time Mullá Iláhdád of Amrohah and Mullá Sherí attended the Court in order to flatter the Emperor; for they had been appointed to *Cadr*-ships[2] in the Duáb of the Panjáb. Mullá Sherí presented to His Majesty, a poem composed by him, entitled *Hazár Shu'á'*,[3] which contained 1,000 *qiṭ'ahs* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased.

In the month Zí-ḥajjah[4] of this year the Emperor returned thence, with a view to going to Fatḥpúr to quell the disturbances in Gujrát; but in environs of Aṭáwah news arrived of the victory of Mirzá Khán.

And in the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992), when the Emperor returned to the capital gracious *farmáns* were issued to the Amírs of Gujrát. To Mirzá Khán was given the title of *Khán Khánán*, and a horse and a dress of honour, and jewelled girdle and dagger, and a *tumantoq*,[5] and the rank of a commander of 5,000, which was the highest dignity of Amírs. And to Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, who had been the cause of their persevering in the conquest of that country, he gave a horse and dress of honour, and a rise in rank. And the ranks of the others also he increased, *viz.*, raising them from 10 to 20, or from 10 to 30 according to the circumstances of each.[6]

In this year the Emperor commanded me to make a translation of the *Rámáyana*, which is a superior composition to the *Mahábhá-*

[1] I suppose the other was called *Nafís* "precious." *Sharíf* means "noble."

[2] See p. 295 of Text.

[3] The thousand rays.

[4] The twelfth month.

[5] A standard of the highest dignity. Bloch. p. 50.

[6] These are the three lowest ranks. He means that each was promoted either *one* step or *two*.

rata. It contains 25,000 couplets,[1] and each *çlok*-portion consists of 65 letters.[2] The story is about Rám Chand Rájah of Oudh, whom they also call Rám. And the Hindús pay him worship as a god in human form. And the sum and substance of it is that a demon with ten heads named Rávan, ruler of the island of Lanká deceived his wife Sítá and carried her off. And Rám Chand with his brother Lach'hman went to that island. And a great army of monkeys, and bears (P. 337) whose number the intellect cannot count, gathered together, and threw a bridge of the length of 400 *cosses* over the briny ocean. And some of the monkeys they say leapt that distance, and others of the monkeys went on foot. And there are many contradictory idle tales like this, which the intellect is at a loss whether to accept or reject. At any rate Rám Chand mounted on the monkeys passed over the bridge, and for a whole week made a tremendous fight of it, and killed Rávan and all his children and relatives, and put an end to his family which had lasted a thousand years. And having entrusted Lanká to Rávan's brother[3] he turned to his own city. And in the opinion of the Hindús he reigned 10,000 years over the whole of Hindústán, and then returned to his original abode. And the opinion of this set of people is, that the world is very old, and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event 100 thousand thousand years have passed. And yet for all that they make no mention of Adam, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the *Sháhnámah*, and the stories of Amír Hamzah,[4] or else it must have happend in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the *jinns*—but God alone knows the truth of the matter.

[1] *Çloka*.

[2] More accurately 32 syllables.

[3] He joined Rám early in the conflict. His name was Vibhíshaṇa.

[4] An uncle of Muḥammad, who named him *Asad-ulláh* "Lion of God" on account of his courage and valour. His wonderful exploits are celebrated in the *Hamzahnámah*.

And among the remarkable events of this time was this. They brought a low-caste woman into the Audience hall, and said that she had become a man, and one of the translators of the *Rámáyana* went out of the company of the translators, and saw her, and came back and testified that she was a woman, who through shame covered her face, and uttered not a word. And the doctors brought forward many proofs confirming this matter, and said that such things often occurred, (glory to God who rules in his kingdom as he will!)

And in this year Mullá Alim of Kábul, who was very learned, and sweet-voiced, and of pleasant (P. 338) conversation, and was the most cheerful fellow imaginable,[1] died, and the date was found to be given by: "*The greedy man's hair is covered with dust,*[2]" and the *Fawátiḥ-ul-waláyat*[3] is his work.

At this time the thirtieth year from the accession, and the *Nowroz-i-Sultání*,[4] which corresponds with the *Nowroz-i-jaláli*,[5] arrived. On the eighth of the month Rabi'-ul-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992) the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place. And the customary fancy bazzaar and festival was held,[7] and a great concourse came together, and new-fangled customs came into *vogue*, and beards were sent flying. And bells—brazen bulls, like the calf of Sámarí[8]—were played, and made a great noise. And *bílan*,[9] which are tents looking like domes, and are an invention of the Europeans, were set up. And they sacrificed their wealth, and life,

[1] *I. e.*, by no means a saint. He was no favourite with our author. See Vol. iii, p. 153. Text., and Blochm. pp 159. 546.

[2] 30 + 70 + 500 + 9 + 41 + 70 = 991.

[3] First steps towards saintship.

[4] The new year's day of the *Iláhí* era.

[5] See Blochm pp. 183, 276.

[6] The third month

[7] See above, p 321 Text.

[8] A relative of Aaron according to Al Qurán.

[9] Apparently a mistake for بيلان the Portuguese *Pavelhão*, Pavillion. Lakhnow edition has بيلان.

reputation, and religion[1] to their friendship for the Emperor. And so many holy souls rushed upon this trial, that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons, by turns, and in exactly the same same way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship[2] he gave them a likeness; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousnness, and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And *Alláh Akbár* was used by them in the prefaces of their writings. And dice-playing and usury were allowed, and other forbidden things in like manner. And gambling houses were set up at the Court, and the Emperor lent money to the players at interest from the treasury. And borrowing on interest, and giving money away to the spectators was looked on as a branch of economy.[3] He forbade girls before twelve, and boys before sixteen years of age to be married. And the story of the consummation of the Prophet's marriage with *Çadíqah*[4] (God bless him and his family and give them peace!) he utterly abhorred And all his other heretical attacks on othodoxy who can speak of! Would that my ears were filled with quicksilver, so that what things would they escape hearing! And the failings of all the prophets (God's blessings, and His peace be on them all!) the Emperor cited as reasons for disbelieving, especially the story of David (P. 339) and Uriah, and the like. And whosoever did not agree with his creed, he considered worthy of death, and a reprobate, and eternally damned, and gave him the nickname of Lawyer and Enemy of the State, but in accordance with the proverb:—

"What a man sows that shall he reap,"

they themselves became notorious throughout the world for the errors of the most infidel religion; and the *Mujtahid* and spiritual director,[5]

[1] The grades of devotion, see abeve.

[2] Bloch. 203, *note*.

[3] This is a philosophical use of داخل. The word کیانت means "economy," as well as "ability", "sufficiency." The whole is sarcastic.

[4] *I. e. Aishah*, who was only 9 years old at the time.

[5] *Viz.* Abu-l-l-Fazl.

got the name of *Abu-l-l-jahl*, yea "when the ruler is oppressive, the vazír becomes deceitful." The Emperor considered his secular power as subservient to his spiritual power, and so he considered these affairs the most important of all, and other things as mere accessories. And in order to abolish the stall of the glory of our religion, he ordered the stalls of the *nowróz* to be thrown open from time to time for the amusement of the Bégums and people of the ḥaram, and the wives of high and low, and on such occasions distributed gold. And the important affairs of those, who were outside the ḥaram, and marriage contracts and betrothal of sons and daughters were transacted in those assemblies. Nothing except an official post, and an eye to the Emperor's friendship, was looked on as worth anything. And, however much the Emperor endeavoured to remove this bond, yet of Hindú infidels, (who are indispensable, and of whom half the army, and country will soon consist, and as whom there is not among the Moghuls[1] or Hindústánís[2] a tribe so powerful), he could not have enough. But to other people, whatever they might ask for, he gave nothing but kicks and blows, and utterly disregarded all their devotion, and zeal, and complaisance.

In those days A'zam Khán came by forced marches from Ḥájípúr [opposite] Patnah in accordance with his promise. And representations arrived from Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím to the effect, that Badakhshán had entirely fallen into the power of Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, for that Mirzá Sulaimán, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Makkah, had seized Badakhshán, and that Mirzá Sháhrukh had fought with the Uzbek, and being defeated by him, they had both of them fled for refuge to Hindústán.

(P. 340) In the first part of the month Zíqa'dah[3] of this year a communication arrived from Mán Singh from the banks of the Indus, saying that Mirzá Sháhrukh had arrived at the Indus, and that he had gone to meet him, and had offered him as a present 6,000 rupees, and much cloth &c., and five elephants, and that Mirzá Sháhrukh

[1] The then dominant race.

[2] Native Musalmáns.

[3] The elevanth month.

had then crossed the river Indus. This service of his was favourably received by the Emperor.

In this year many of the Amírs and magnates of the Empire died, and among them was Muḥammed Báqí Khán, brother of Ahdam Khán, in the district of Karahkatangah, which was his jágír.

Another was Ghází Khán Badakhshán, who had obtained leave to go from Iláhábád towards Oudh, and there he answered to the Apparitor of God. During the latter days of his life he had been so weak, that they used to take him up in a blanket and bring him to the palace. When any one asked him "How are you?" He would answer "Thank God, my appetite for avarice is still hearty!" And to any one of his importunate servants, when he asked him for anything, he used to say: "My God! you will also become a commander of a thousand, for you appreciate my power of getting on[1]." One night in front of the house of Qulij Khán, where a great company had gathered together to break the Fast, he interpreted the Surah "*Anná fataḥná.*"[2] I struck in; he made his statement, and then was angry. I said: "Thank God, that the dispositions of the great ones of the kingdom are becoming known." He said: "Perhaps you may have imagined that this vehemence was for the sake of a *mançab* of a thousand horse." I said, "So it seems." Many were angry at this. Afterwards by the intervention of Áçaf Khán, *bakhshí*, we read the verse[3] "Peace is best," and that trouble was got over. On another occasion when he was going from Iláhábád, I had a discussion with Ghází Khán for a part of the way on scientific matters and the traditional words of the Shaikhs, and then we took leave of one another, and that was the last time I met him.

Aud another was Sultán Khwájah. He also was one of the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him in his tomb (P. 341) which was of a peculiar new-fangled kind, they put a grating facing the light of the sun, so that its rays, which cleanses from sins, might every morning fall on his face. And they say that tongues

[1] That is, You will never lose anything for want of asking for it.

[2] The initial words of Al Qur'án, XLVIII.

[3] Al Qur'án, IV. 127. See p. 48 *note* 1.

of fire used to rest on his mouth; but God knows best the truth of the matter. And Mullá Aḥmad of Tattah found out a *mnemosynon* with one unit short:—

"The Sulṭán of heretics."[1]

At the beginning of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) which was the end of the thirtieth year of the Emperor's reign, Mirzá Sháhrukh and Rájah Bhagván Dás arrived near Fatḥpúr, and having sent the Prince Dányál with Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí, and a number of the Amírs to meet them, they conducted them to the Court. And the Emperor gave him a *lac* of rupees in ready money, and goods out of the wardrobe, and three Persian horses, and five elephants, and ever so many camels and mules and servants.

Mean while the Emperor, in accordance with his established custom,[2] married the Prince Sulṭán Salím to the daughter of Rájáh *Bhagván Dás*. And going himself to his house the Emperor celebrated the ceremony of mariage in the presence of the Qazís and nobles. And the sum of two *krors* of *tankahs* was fixed as the marriage settlement. And they performed all the ceremonies, which are customary among the Hindús, such as lighting the fire &c., and over the litter of the Princess the Emperor ordered gold to be scattered all the way from that house to the palace:—

"From the quantity of jewels and gold, that were scattered,
Peoples hands were weary of picking them up."

And Rájah Bhagván gave as his daughter's dowry, several strings of horses, and a hundred elephants, and boys and girls of Abyssinia, India, and Circassia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels, and jewels, and utensils of gold, and vessels of silver, and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation. And to each one of the Amírs, who were present, according to their station and rank, he gave Persian, Turkish, and Arabian horses, with golden saddles, &c. (P. 342).

And on Thursday the nineteenth of Rabi' ul-awwal[3] of the year

[1] 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 50 1 + 30 + 600 + 6 + 1 + 200 + 3 = 991.

[2] *Viz.*, of connecting himself with Hindú families.

[3] The third month.

nine hundred and ninety-three, the scouts of the army of spring, and the advance-guard of the *Nouróz-i-Sultání* came up, and according to the writings of Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, who has preserved all the dates in his history, the thirtieth year from the Accession began. But the fact is the beginning of the second cycle from the Accession started in Atak Banáras from 25th of Rabí'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-four, as shall be related[1] hereafter if God, He is exalted, will. And at the same time the origin of the mis- on the part of the Mirzá was forgetfulness of the fact that, on ount of the intercalated days, which every three years makes a ference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a hole year, between the solar and the lunar years. And I, as I had no almanack with me, allowed myself necessarily to follow the Mirzá, and the responsibility rests on him (but God knows best!). More- r the Mirzá during these years was in Gujrát, and not with the In. ial Camp.

To return to our story. He kept the festival in the old manner, and held a high feast. And every day he received hospitality from every stall-holder[2] among the Amírs, and suitable presents, so that even food, and scents, and presents fit for dancing-girls, were admitted into the treasury. And from a commander of 5000, down to an *Aḥadí* they were all obliged to bring presents and gifts and offerings. And even this worthless atom, who is of no account at all, except that I am called an *Hazárí* on account of my being honoured with l. *bíghahs* of land, followed the example of the old father of Joseph (peace be on him!) and brought my 40 *rupees*,[3] and they had the honour of being accepted :—

"My service is not according to my liking,
Pray give me another service."

At this festival they gave to the eldest prince the rank of commander of 12,000, and to the next 9,000, and to the third 7,000, and

[1] Text, p. 351.

[2] See p. 321 Text 4 *infra*.

[3] Referring to the "small sum of money which Jacob's sons brought to Pharaoh, Al Qu'rán XII, 88.

gave them a separate wardrobe, and royal insignia, and a *tumantogh*,[1] and kettle-drum.

And at the beginning of this year Mír (P. 343) Murtaza', and Khadáwand Khán, the Amírs of the Dak'kin, who had gone from the district of Berár against Aḥmadnagar, which is the metropolis of Nizám-ul-mulk, were beaten in a battle with Çalábat Khán, the Vazír of Nizám-ul-mulk. Then they went to Rájah 'Alí Khán to Burhánpúr. And Rájah 'Alí Khán plundered them of all their elephants, sent 150 of them by his son, Ibráhím Khán, to the Court, where he arrived at the festival of *Nouróz*. After he had done homage he presented the rest of the goods,[2] which remained over, and stimulated him to conquer the Dak'hin. In consequence of this the Emperor made Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh (whom he afterwards called Mír Fatḥ Ulláh), with the title of 'Azud-ul-doulat and a present of 5,000 rupees, and a horse and a robe of honour, Çadr-in-chief of the districts of Hindústán, and appointed him to the Dak'hin; in order that looking after Khán-i-A'zam and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán and the other Amírs, and leading an army into that district he might become a rallying point for the Amírs.

And he left his servant Kamálái Shírází at home as his Deputy, to bring to Court the lackland Aimahdárs, some of whom still remained scattered here and there. And under him the Çadrate reached its acmé,[3] but afterwards little by little things reached such a point, that Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh, for all his pomp and circumstance, could not make a grant of 5 bígahs of land! Nay, after withdrawing the whole of the grants of lands, his duty of collecting[4] from them became a mere phantom. The very land in the same manner became the dwelling-place of wild animals, and of noxious beasts and reptiles, not of *Aimahdárs* and *ryots*. And now those oppressions are chronicled in the books of the acts of the Çadrs, although their names are forgotten :—

[1] See P. 346, note 4.

[2] Instead of *aspáni* the Lak'hnou reads *asbábí*.

[3] *Kamál*, a pun on his name.

[4] See Blochm. 274.

Of all the *Great Çadrs* naught remains
In the heart of the Earth but the *bones* of the *Çadrs*.[1]

In the month of Rajab[2] of this year news arrived from Kábul, that Mirzá Sulaimán, who after being defeated had gone from Badakhshán to Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, had been satisfied (P. 344) with one village called Asálú (?). Then with the help of the Uymáqs[3] he fought a battle with the Uzbeks within the boundaries of Badakhshán, and gained the victory. He put many of them to the sword, and to those whom the sword had spared he gave dresses of honour, and dismissed them. And that district found as it were a second life: "He it is who sendeth down rain, after that they have despaired[4]".

And in the month of Shábán[5] of this year the Khán Khánán, in accordance with orders, came by forced marches from Gujrát to Fatḥpúr, and Muzaffar once more created a disturbance in Gujrát. And on account of the great trouble which the Jám[6] and Amín Khán Ghorí, governor of Júnágaṛh, gave him, and the tricks they had played him, he went and laid seige to the fortress of Júnágaṛh. Qulíj Khán remained in Aḥmadábád, and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad sent the Amírs of that district against Muzaffar, who was not able to withstand them. He crossed the marsh of the Rin[7] (which is separated from the salt sea by a distance of from ten to thirty *cosses*, and entering the sandy desert of Jaisalmír, there loses itself), and came into the district of Kachh.

At this time Nizám-ud-din Aḥmad wrote a letter to me from Gujrát, saying that since the Khán Khánan at the time of setting out [for Fatḥpúr] made a promise, that if he got the Emperor's leave he would at this time bring with him Mullá Iláhdád Amrohah, and

[1] A play on *Çudúr-i 'izám* and *'izám-i Çudúr*.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Blochm. 371 *n*.
[4] Al Qurán, XLII. 27.
[5] The eighth month.
[6] Blochm p. 516. Elliot, VI. 356; V. 438, and especially I, 495.
[7] The printed text has by accident زن.

yourself[1] from the Court. Consequently it is right that he should treat you both with every proper politeness, and having got leave for you from Court should bring you at once hither. As a wise man has it:—

"And afterwards, whatever may be best."—

So I saw at once the Khán Khánán, when he came into the writing office, which had been set apart in Fatḥpúr as the translation-department. But he, as quickly as possible, was sent off to Gujrát (P. 345), and then immediately afterwards Kábul came in the way, and so my hope of employment, which I had looked on as the key of salvation, and a secured provision for life, became clouded over: "wish for nothing, but what God wills."

And the Khán Khánán having arrived within 10 *cosses* of Sarohí, determind to take Sarohí and Jálór. And Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Bárhah hastened thither to meet him, and arrived with a large force. The Rájah of Sarohí brought many presents, and give in his submission. And as for Ghaznín Khán of Jálór, although he had an interview with him on this occasion, yet, since before, when the Khán Khánán had gone to the Court, he had exhibited some unpleasing actions, and shown tokens of rebellion, the Khán Khánán made him prisoner and brought him to Aḥmadábád. He deprived him of Jálór, and left his own army in that place.

And some time before this Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín, the grandson of Maḥmúd Bárhah, on account of a love affair with one of the dancing-girls of the Court by name Siyáh Yamín, who may now be called Ahrimaní,[2] had fled from the Court and gone to the skirts of the mountains. There he had collected a force, and kept looting the *pargannas* of that neighbourhood, and robbing on the highways. Afterwards he left the skirts of the mountains, and took refuge at Patan in Gujrát with his uncle Sayyid Qásim. Some time after the events related above, the Khán Khánán, in accordance with a *farmán*, demanded him from Patan (which was Sayyid Qásim's jágír) and sent him bound to Láhór. And eventually he married Ghaznín

[1] Lit. A certain person.

[2] A child of the devil, meaning that she was dead and gone to hell.

Khán to the little daughter of Muḥammad Wifá, the late treasurer, and to please Miyán Fatḥullah Sharbatí, his wife's brother, he treated him with great kindness and consideration, and allowed him to remain in attendance at Court. And Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín they hung on a stake in the same market,[1] and shot at him with arrows. So that was the only exaltation he got from love!

And in those days a representation came from Mán Singh and Khwájah Shams-ud-dín from Aṭak Banáras (P. 346) to the effect, that Mirzá Muhammad Ḥakím had been taken sick, and that Faríd-ún having set out from Pasháwar with a caravan with a view to going to Kábul, had had an encounter in the Khaibar pass with the son of Roshaní[2] the heretic (who was a Hindústání and possessed of but little knowledge, and has now gained a reputation as a priest of darkness), and being defeated had returned to Pasháwar. By chance the fortress was set on fire, and 1,000 merchantmen's camels were burnt. And Farídún having escaped from that fire-like smoke[3] went towards Kábul by another route. Seventy persons through thirst, and want of water, perished on that journey.

Meanwhile news arrived that 'Abd'ullah Khán[4] had fitted out an army of superior numbers against Mírzá Sulaimán, and after a victory, which was as brilliant as a lamp's illuminating of a house, had expelled him from Badakhshán, and seized the whole of that country himself. The Mirzá being unable to withstand that army fled to Kábul.

At this time news arrived from Kábul that Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím through drinking habits had brought on a number of conflicting diseases, and having fallen sick had developed a palsy. And on the twelfth of Sha'bán of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) he passed from this dwelling of sadness and deceit, to the world of joy and happiness:—

[1] This meaning of *nakhkhás* is given by Shakespeare.

[2] Elphinston, p 517.

[3] A common expression in the Sháhnámah, and very appropriate in this context.

[4] Uzbek.

" See how many are the revolutions of the spheres,
Which bring from the dust some new fruit.
When that cypress tree is decked in beauty,
The wind dashes it to the ground at one blow."

And on the third of the month of Ramazán messengers brought this mournful news to Court. And the Emperor had to consider to whom he should commit Kábul and Ghaznín. At first he wished to confirm the government of that country on the children of Mirza Muḥammad Ḥakím. But when the Amírs represented that the sons of the Mirzá were still of tender age, and unable to discharge the duties of government :—

(P. 347) " Entrust not a hard matter to the young,
For you must not break an anvil with your fist.
Protecting subjects, and commanding an army,
Are not matters of play and joke."

Consequently the Emperor wrote a *farmán* in haste, and appointed the Khán Khánán to Gujrát, and sent 'Azúd-ud-doulat from the Court to Málwah and Ráisín to look after the affairs of the Dak'hin, and to help Khán-i-Azam and Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán, who had been ordered to conquer the Dak'hin. Then he set off in person on the 10th of the month for the Panjáb, and saw the new moon of Shawwál in Dihlí. When at the station of Pánípat he gave a jágír in the environs of Lak'hnou to Mír Abu-l-Ghais of Bokhára, and dismissed him thither. On the 19th of this month he arrived at the river Satlaj. And in those days, in the course of a week more or less, Shaikh Jamál Bakhtiyár, and Khwájah Isma'íl, grandson of Shaikh Islám, who was possessed of the most perfect personal beauty, by reason of perpetual wine drinking and continual debauchery, passed from this transitory world to the eternal habitation : the one at Lodhiyánah, and the other at T'hánésar : and this enigma was invented to give the date :—

Hemistich.

" The *beautiful Rose* left the *Garden of the World*."[1]

And at 8 *cosses* from Siálkóṭ Mullá Iláhdád Amrohah,[2] who had

[1] *Bágh-i Jahán* " Garden of the World " gives 1062 From this take *Zébá Gul* " Beautiful rose," which gives 70, and we get 992. This is one too little.

[2] Vol. III, Text, p 157.

received a wound in his breast, the fever of which had reached his heart, took a purgative from Ḥakím Ḥasan, and died in the course of the day. Death is the awakening [from the drunkenness of life]. The draught [of Death] to him was a good friend (God have mercy on him!):—

"O heart who told you: Cling to earth?
Put this tender soul of yours into security.
Consider, since you came, how many are gone,
At last you are alone, take warning from their going."

And the Emperor sent Çádiq Khán from the confines of Láhór to the government of Bakkar. And on (P. 348) 16th of Zi-qa'dah[1] he encamped on the banks of the river Chanáb. At this station Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥím of Lak'hnou, a friend of Mír Abu-l-Ghais and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhárá (who had come from the Khán-i-Zamán to the Court, and had been raised to the rank of Amír, and received as *jágír* the *pargannah* of Pathán in the confines of the mountains, and at this time had developed a temporary insanity) struck himself with a dagger in the tent of Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ. The Emperor bound up his wound with his own hand, and gave orders that he should be taken care of at Siálkoṭ. After a time he recovered, but by reason of his insanity his affairs slipped from his grasp, and now as ever [the verse is true]:—

"A bad habit, that has once fixed itself in the temperament,
Will never leave you till the hour of death."

And on the 27th of this month of this month he crossed the river Behat[2]. At this stage Muḥammad 'Alí the treasurer, who had been appointed to Kábul, represented, that after the death of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákím, Farídún Khán, and Kaiqabád, and Afrásiyáb, the sons of the Mirzá, who on account of their tender age were not allowed to enter into public business, had by the favour of the Amírs been presented to Mánsingh. And Mánsingh having left his own son, with Khwájah Shams-ud-dín Kháfí, in Kábul, and having spoken kindly to all those people, came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] The river Jelum.

On the fifth of the month Zi-ḥajjah[1] Ráwal Pindí, which is a town between Atak Banáras and Rohtás, became the Emperor's halting-place. And Mánsingh brought with him the children and servants of Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím. And the Emperor ordered for each of them gifts and assistance in money, and proper pensions. And from the confines of Aták Banáras he sent Mírzá Sháhrukh, and Ráják Bhagwán Dás and Sháh Qulí Maḥram, with 5,000 horse to conquerd the country of Kashmír.

And in these days he appointed Isma'íl Qulí (P. 349) Khán, and Rái Singh Darbárí, against the Balúchís; and Zín Khán Kokah he appointed with a well-appointed army against the Afgháns of Sawad and Bijor.

On the eleventh of Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) Atak became the Emperor's camping-place. Some twenty-five years before this a Hindústání soldier had made himself a religious teacher, with the name of Roshanáí, as has been mentioned above. He came among the Afgháns and made many fools his disciples, and set up an heretical sect, and gave it currency and lustre. He wrote a work called the Khair-ul-bayán in which he set forth his pernicious tenets. When he went headlong to his own place, his son, Jalálah by name, who was forty years old, came in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989), when the imperial army was returning from Kábul, to pay his respects to the Emperor, and was favourably received by him. But through his constitutional impudence both hereditary and acquired he fled, and returned to the Afgháns, and becoming a bandit; he collected many men around him, and blocked up the roads between Hindústán and Kábul: —

"If the egg of a black-natured crow
You put under a pea-hen of Paradise;
If at the time of sitting on that egg,
You give it its millet from the figs of Paradise;
If you give it its water from the fountain of Salsabíl,[3]
If Gabriel breathe his breath over that egg;

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] The first month.

[3] One of the rivers of Paradise.

In the end the young of a crow is a crow,
And the Pea-hen will spend her trouble in vain."

Consequently with a view to repressing this rustic band of Roshanáís (who are in very truth utter darkness, and hereafter will find their interpretation in darkness[1]) he appointed Kábul as the jágír of Mánsingh, that he might extirpate those rebels.

In the month of Çafar of this year the Emperor sent Sa'íd Khán Gakkh'har, and the accursed Bírbár, and Shaikh Faizí, and Fatḥulláh Sharbatí, and others, in the train of Zín Khán (P. 350). And afterward some days he sent Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ and another body of men after the first. And these armies having joined Zín Khán spoiled the Afghán, and showed no remissness in making prisoners of their women and children. And when they came down to a Pass called Karákar, a person brought news to Bírbar, that the Afgháns intended that night to make a sudden attack, and that if they could pass out of that narrow valley, into which they had descended, and which was not more that three or four *cosses* in extent, their minds might be at ease. Night was coming on, when Bírbar through his wilfulness and stupidity and arrogance, without taking counsel with Zín Khán made an ill-timed march, and resolved to pass through the defile. And the whole of this head-less army followed in his track. And, when at evening-tide they reached the narrowest part, the Afgháns appearing in crowds, like ants and locusts, from all sides of the mountains showered down stones and arrows like rain. And in that defile of the district of the cave of death through the narrowness of the way, and the darkness of the night the people lost their way, and in the pits they traversed the valley of death. And being perfectly helpless and separated one from the other, they sustained a great defeat. About 8,000 persons or more were killed. And Bírbar through fear of his life betook himself to flight, and was killed, and so entered the pack of the hell-hounds, and received a portion of the reward of his base deeds. And some of the Amírs and chiefs, such as Ḥasan Khán Paní, and Khwájah 'Arab, the

[1] Our author is playing on the word *Roshandi* which means 'bright.'

Khán Jahán's pay-master, and Mullá Shírí the poet, and a great multitude were killed in that night. And who can number the captives. And the date was found to be given by "*Alas for Khwájah 'Arab*,[1] with one unit too little. Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ and Zín Khán were defeated on the fifth of Rabí 'ul-awwál[2] of this year, and with great difficulty escaped to the fortress of Attak. And since (P. 351) they had dared to come after having basely betrayed such a prime favorite as Bírbar, and their treacheries became confirmed, and proved, for some time they were excluded from the Emperor's sight, but afterwards they attained their former rank, nay rather they rose higher than before. He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amír as he did at that of Bírbar. He used to say "Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames"! But afterwards they comforted him with these words: "Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification." And when a rumour arose that the Afgháns were coming against Attak, he sent the prince Murád the next day across the river Indus, and appointed Rájah Todar Mal to accompany him in driving back those rebels. But eventually he recalled his son, and appointed the Rájah to that duty.

In that mountain district he built many forts. In the other direction Mánsingh, who had been appointed to go against the Roshanáís, slew and took prisoners a large body of them.

At this time news arrived that Mír Quraish, the ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán, had arrived with a letter, and that Nazar Bey Uzbek, governor of Balkh, with his three sons had come to do pay homage to the Emperor, because they had quarrelled with the Khán. Consequently he sent Shaikh Farid *Bakhshí*, and a body of the Aḥadís to meet that caravan. And this body of men on their return conducted them through the Khaibar Pass. The Roshanáís seized the road, and attacked them, but were defeated.

[1] 8 + 615 + 772 + 98 = 993.

[2] The third month.

On the 25th of Rabí 'ul-awwal of this year, the sun entered Aries, and the thirty-first year of the reign began; but according to Nizámí's reckoning the thirty-second year. And having arranged the public audience-room at Attak the Emperor received on that day Mír Quraish. And Mánsingh (P. 352) came and did homage at that festival. And Shaikh Faizí composed a *qaçídah* of [illegible], of which the initial couplet is the following:—

"May the beginning of the second cycle, O Lord!
Come from the Source of Vicegerency a propitious era fresh conquest."

And let it not be concealed that at this juncture a doubt entered into my mind as to the proper settling of the beginning of the year from the Accession, and the excuse for it has been related above.[1] As a matter of fact the son of the Mírzá, named Muḥammad Sharíf, who investigated the dates in the Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí after the death of his father Mirzá Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad must here be acknowledged as the remover of the error.

At this time Mirzá Sháhrukh, and Rájah Bagḥwán Dás, and Sháh Qulí Khán Maḥram, who had come to the frontier of Kashmír and reached the Pass of P'hulbás, on account of the arrival of the news of the defeat of Zín Khán, saw the best course of action to lie in pacification. So they made peace with Yúsuf Khán, governor of Kashmír. And the product of the saffron-crop, of the shawl duty, and of the mint they attached to the royal treasury. And having appointed tax-gatherers they gave back the whole country to Yúsuf Khán; and then took him with them to pay his respects to the Court, for he expressed a very strong desire to do so. And when this peace was not accepted by the Emperor, a number of the Amírs were denied access to the Court and forbidden to travel abroad. But afterwards on the day of *Sharaf-i-áftáb* he sent for them and allowed them to prostrate themselves. And also on the day of the Sun's entering Aries the ambassador of 'Abd-ulláh Khán, and Nazar Bey with his children, came and did homage. Four *lacs* of *tankahs* were given to Nazar Bey which is equal to 500 Persian *tumáns*. Here is a copy of the letter of 'Abd-ulláh Khán * * * * *[2]

[1] P. 342 of Text.

[2] The letter seems not to have been inserted.

Ismáíl Qulí Khán and Rái Singh brought the leaders of the Balochís to the Court. Mán Singh was appointed to help Rájah Todar Mal, and so the Emperor's mind became at rest again about that province.

On the 24th of Rabí 'us-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) the Emperor started from Attak for Láhor. And from the banks of the river Behut he sent Ismá'íl Qulí Khán in place of Mán Singh to repulse the Afgháns, and Mán Singh he appointed to the government of Kábul. (P. 353.) And he kept Sayyid Ḥámid of Bokhárá in Pesháwar to help Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and to make a road.

On the 17th of the month Jamáda'-s-sání he arrived at Láhór. Contemporaneously with these events the worthless head of 'Açaf Bahádur, who in the neighbourhood of Bahraich had made war against the servants of Ḥakím Abul-Fatḥ, and was killed, [was brought; at least] most say, that he died by a natural death, and that they cut off his head and brought it to Court. And his head came down rolling from the mountains of Kamáon, and found its resting-place on the pinnacles of the fortress of Láhór. And thus this disturbance was quelled.

On the 19th of the month Rajab[2] the Emperor married the daughter of Rái Singh B'hatta to the Prince Sulṭán Salím.

And at the beginning of the month of Sha'bán[3] Muḥammad Qásim Khán, *Mír-baḥr*, and Fatḥ Khán, the Master of the Elephants, and general, started with a number of the Amírs to conquer Kashmír. When, before this the Emperor had imprisoned Yúsuf Khán Kashmírí, who had come under the safe-conduct of Rájah Baghwán Dás, and wished to have him put to death, Baghwán Dás in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger. But by the advice of Shaikh 'Abd'ur-raḥím the heretic, he gained his point, and eventually in companionship became a partner with him[4]. When the Amírs arrived at the Pass of Katríl,

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] Probably he means, that Baghwán Dás became as heretical as Shaikh Abd-'ur-raḥím.

Ya'qúb the son of Yúsuf, who had been received among the nobles of the Court, and like Muzaffar of Gujrát had received 30 or 40 rupees a month, and had fled to Kashmír, and on account of his bigotry for the *Shí'áh* heresy had killed the *Sunní* Qází of that place with his own hand, laid schemes for disaffection, and gathered round him the servants of his father, and considered his father as good as dead. He came to oppose the Amírs, and having fortified a defile of the mountain, he took up his portion there with a large force. As he was altogether a bad fellow part of his men left him, and came over to Muḥammed Qásim Khán, and some of them in Srínagar, which is the capital of Kashmír, raised the standard of revolt. Ya'qúb considering (P. 354) it the most important to stop rebellion in his own house returned to the city. And the Imperial army entered into the heart of Kashmír without any one to oppose them. Ya'qúb having no power to resist them flew for refuge to the mountains. Thus the kingdom of Kashmír at one blow came into their power. Again Ya'qúb collected a force and attacked Qásim Khán, but was defeated. Again he made a night-attack, and gained no advantage. And the Mírzádah 'Alí Khán was killed in this battle. And when they had driven him up into a narrow corner, and were on the point of making him prisoner, he came abjectly and had an interview with Qásim Khán, and went with him to do homage to the Emperor. Finally the Emperor sent him before his father to Bihár to Rájah Mán Singh. And Yúsuf and Ya'qúb were both of them imprisoned in the cell of affliction, and by the sickness of melancholy and spleen they were released from the prison of the body.

On the 19th of Ramazan[1] Mír Quraish the ambassador, with Ḥakím Humám, brother of Ḥakím Abul-Fatḥ, and Mír Sadr Jahán the *muftí* of the imperial dominions, an inhabitant of the village Pihání in the district of Qanouj, were despatched to Transoxonia in order to offer condolence to Sikandar Khán, the father of Abd-ulláh Khán. And he sent as a present nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, and all sorts of gifts of the valuable things of Hindústán by the hand of Muḥammad Alí the treasurer.

[1] The ninth month.

In these days the Roshanáís with about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse came against Sayyid Ḥámid of Bokhárá one of the great Amírs of the Sulṭáns of Gujrát. He having withdrawn with the few soldiers that he had, gave battle at Pesháwar, and was killed. And Zín Khán Kokah and Sháh Qulí Khán Maḥram, and Shaikh Fárid *bakhshí* were sent in that direction to repair this disaster. And Mán Singh came out from Kábul with all his force to the Khaibar Pass, and fought a severe battle with the Roshanáís, and defeated them. And there he held his ground. The next day they made a general onslaught throughout the night and day, and shouting like jackals (P. 355) poured their forces down on them from all sides. At this time his brother Mádú Singh, who with Ishmáíl Qulí Khán was at the station of Auband (?) with a well-appointed army, came to the assistance of Singh, Mánand the Afgháns fled. Nearly 2,000 of them were killed.

At the same time Mirzá Sulaimán who had fought a battle with the Uzbeks in Badakhshán, and been partly victorious and partly defeated, came from Kábul, and had an interview with Mán Singh in the Khaibar Pass. Thence he went to Hindústán, and in the month of Rabí'ul-awwal[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) he paid homage at Láhór.

Among the notable things which happened is the following: Muḥammad Zamán Mírzá, son of Sháh Rukh, in the twelfth year of his age, after his father's defeat in battle with the Uzbeks, had been made prisoner, and 'Abd'ulláh Khán had given him in charge to his own teacher and spiritual guide, Khwájah Kalan Beg Baqshbandí, one of the grandsons of Khwájah Aḥrár (God sanctify his glorious tomb!), intending that he should include him with the other prisoners, and put him to death. And they say that that holy man, punished in his stead a prisoner worthy of death, and set him at liberty and allowed him to depart.

At this time Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court in *incognito*, together with some beggars from Transoxiania, and paid homage to the Emperor. He received the sum of 1,000 *ashrafí* as a gratuity.

[1] The third month.

Thence he went on a pilgrimage, and returned to Badakhshán. There he collected a considerable body of men, and fought several times some gallant battles with the Uzbeks, and beat them. At last he gained possession of the mountain district of that country, and collected the spoil. The Emperor sent to him from Láhór by the hand of Mír Tughán an *Aḥadí*[1] 2,000 *ashrafí*, and a bow, and a number of muskets and other valuable presents. For several years he made head against the Uzbeks; but being defeated by them he retired to Kábul. The issue of his affairs will be related further on, if God, He is exalted, will.

On the eleventh of the month Rabí'-us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) the celebration of the Imperial New Year's Day (No. 356), and the commencement of the thirty-second, or according to the Mírzá the thirty-third, year from the Accession took place. And in the manner, which has been before described, the feast was held. And other customs were further introduced. Among them was this, that people should not have more than one legal wife, unless he had no child. In any other case the rule should be one man, and one woman. When a woman had passed the time of hope, and her menses ceased, she should not wish for a husband. And widows, if they wished to marry again, should not be forbidden, as the Hindús forbid[2] re-marriage. Also a Hindú woman of tender years, who could have got no enjoyment from her husband, should not be burnt. But if the Hindús take this ill, and will not be prevented, then in case of the wife of one, who had died, one of the Hindús should take the girl and marry her in that very interview. Another of these customs was, that when the Emperor's disciples met one another one should say "*Alláh Akbar*," and the other should say "*jalla jaláluhu*", and that this was to take the place of "*Salám*" and the response "*Salám*". And another was, that the beginning of the reckoning of the Hindí month should be from the 28th and not from the 13th[3] (which was

[1] For عهدي the Lak'hnou edition has احدي.

[2] Lak'hnou edition reads مي not نمي.

[3] The 'Vrihaspati Mána' makes New Year's Day always fall in the middle of the lunar month "Chait". Princep, *Ind. Ant.* ii. 155.

the invention of Rájah Bikramájít, and an innovation of his); and that they should fix the well-known festivals of the Hindús according to this rule. But it never attained currency, although *farmáns* went forth to this effect from Futhpúr to Gujrát on one side, and Bengál on the other. Another was that they were to prohibit the basest people from learning science in the cities, because insurrections often arose from these people. Another was that a learned Bráhman should decide the case of Hindús, and not a Qází of the Musalmáns. And that if there was any need of an oath, they were to put a red-hot iron into the hand of the denier, if he was burnt, he was to be known as a liar, but if not, he should be acknowledged as speaking the truth. Or else that he should put his hand into boiling oil; or that, while they shot an arrow and brought it back, he should dive into the water, and if he put his head out of the water before they returned, the defendant should satisfy the claims of the plaintiff. Another was that they should bury a man with his head towards the East and his feet to the West (P. 357): and he always fixed his own going to sleep in this manner.

In this year the Emperor sent 'Abd'ul-Maṭlab Khán to Bangash with a body of men to extirpate the Jalálah Táríkí[1]. And he defeated him together with the leaders of Afghán tribes, and slew an innumerable number of people, and in retaliation for each prisoner taken from Zín Khán's army he took them men and women to double (and quadruple) the number. And the wrath of God, which is a sore[2] calamity, ensued on the slaughter and capture of these people.[3]

And in this year, which was nine hundred and ninety-five, the birth of Sulṭán Khusrau, son of the Prince Sulṭán Salím by the daughter of Rájah Baghván Dáa, took place: and the Emperor gave a great feast.

And among lying rumours, which are one step beyond absolute impossibilities, the report was this year promulgated that the accursed Bírbar was still alive; after that he was safely located in the lowest

[1] *I. e.*, Roushanáí. See p. 361, note.

[2] Lak'hnau has ﺳﺨﺖ instead fo ﺳﺨﺖ.

[3] 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab went mad soon after. Blochm. p. 403.

grade of Hell. The following is a summary of the matter. When the malignant Hindús perceived that the inclination of the heart of the Emperor was fixed on that unclean one, and saw that through his loss he was in trouble and distress, every day they circulated a rumour, that people had seen him at Nagarkót, in the northern hills, in company with Jogís and Sannyásís; and that he was walking about. And His Highness believed, that it was not improbable that a cat[1] like him, who had become detached from the attractions of the world, should have assumed the garb of a *faqír*, and on account of shame for the misfortune he had sustained at the hands of the Yusufzáis should not have returned to Court. And the foolish people of the Court believed this report, and told all sorts of stories about him in Láhór. But after that an Aḥadí had gone to Nagarkót and investigated the matter, it turned out that this report was nothing but an idle tale.

And after this they heard that he had appeared at the castle of Kálinjár, which had been in that dog's *jagír*. And the Collectors of Kálinjár sent a written report to this effect: "when they were anointing him with oil[2] a barber, who was a confidant of his, recognized him by certain marks on his body, (P. 358), then he vanished." The Emperor sent a *farmán*.[3] The Hindú *Krorí* deceitfully took a certain poor traveller, who had been condemned to death, and treating him as Bír Bar kept him concealed. And he did not send the barber, but in order to keep the matter secret he made away with the poor traveller, and wrote that he was Bír Bar, but that death had overtaken him before he had attained the felicity of coming to Court. The Emperor mourned for him a second time. He sent for the Krorí, and others, and kept them for some time in the stocks as a punishment for not having told him before; and on this pretext the Emperor got a good deal of money from him.

In this year Çádiq Khán having gone against the district of

[1] *Billí* is Hindí, Sanskr. *viḍálí*. The reference is again to that story in the Anwár-i Soḥailí, *ed.* Ouseley, pp. 274 *sqq.*

[2] *Tél* or *tail* Hindí and Sanscrit.

[3] That the barber should come to Court.

Tattah, laid seige to the fort Síhwán, and Mírzá Jání Beg, grandson of Muḥammad Báqí Tarkhán, who was commandant of that place, as his fathers had done, sent ambassadors, gifts and valuable presents to the Court. Eventually on the 25th of Zí-Qa'dah[1] the Emperor sent Ain-ul-mulk back with the ambassadors, and confirmed the government on Mirzá Jání, and issued a *farmán* to forbid Çádiq Khán to molest him.

At the beginning of Rábí'us-saní Zín Khán Kokah was appointed to be governor of Kábul, and Mán Singh was sent for from that place. At the end of this month the Khán Khánán, Mirzá Khán, came from Gujrát with that paragon of the age Sháh Fatḥ Ulláh of Shíráz, who was called Azd-ud-daulat, in haste to Láhór. And on the 27th of the month Rajab[2] Çádiq Khán came from Bakkar.

A summary of the affairs of Muzaffar and the Khán Khánan is as follows: Muzaffar after his second defeat at Nádot fled, by way of Chanpánír, to the district of Súrat, and took up his abode at Kundal,[3] which is 15 *cosses* from Chúnagar and 3,000 scattered horsemen rallied round him. And he sent a lac of *Maḥmúdís* and a jewelled dagger and girdle to *Amín* (P. 359) Khán, and so won him over to his side. And the same sum of money he sent to the Jám, who had a fixed idea in his mind of conquering Aḥamdábád, and so excited his cupidity. Amín Khán with the finest *finesse* sent him[4] deceitfully to the Jám, Satarsál by name, telling him "You go with the Jám, and I will come after you." But the Jám, playing his cards well, kept him from his purpose, and delayed his own movements on the pretext of fitting out his army. Muzaffar arrived at a place six *cosses* from Aḥmadábád and there waited for the fulfilment of the promise of Amín Khán Ghórí, and the Jám, while the Khán Khánán came in great haste with a strong body of men. And Muzaffar despairing of the help of the faithless[5] Amín,

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Text 333, 7 *infra*.
[4] Muzaffar.
[5] Punning on his name.

and the slippery Jám,[1] returned in confusion to the mountain district, and took refuge in Dwárká, which is the name of the capital of Súrat. And the Jám sent his *Wakíl*, and Amín Khán his son, through the intervention of Sháh Abu Turáb, to the Khán Khánán. The men of the Jám took a band of men for the Khán Khánán into the hill country, and there they seized a great deal of spoil. And Muzaffar with 1,000 horsemen, consisting of Moghuls and Kátís,[2] who were the clan of his mother, went towards Gujrát. He took refuge in a place called Asniyah, which is situated on the bank of the river Sárbarmatí and is very much delapidated, and is in rebellion from the kingdom of Kúlyán (?). And some Amírs, whom the Khán Khánán by way of precaution, at the time of his going into these dangerous districts, had left for this very emergency, under the command of Sayyid Khán Bárha fought a great battle, and Muzaffar[3] found his name deceptive. And his elephants and parasol fell into the hands of the people of the sun[4], and many of his people were killed. He himself fled to Kátíwár, which is outside the dependencies of Gujrát. The Khán Khánán returned from Barodah, and went against the Jám. The Jám, on the other hand, collected a force of 8,000 horse (P. 360), and 2,000 of his servants (they say), who had forsworn food, and sworn to die for him, came out to meet him. When a distance of 7 *cosses* remained the Jám sent his own son with three elephants, and eighteen Kachí horses, which are like Arabs, and other presents to the Khán Khánán, and tendered his submission.

At this time it was that the Khán Khánán went for the first[5] time in haste in accordance with a *farmán* to Fathpúr. And Muzaffar during his absence with the help of the Kátis and other *zamíndárs*, laid seige to the fortress of Chúnágarh. Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Bárhah, with a body of men, by command of Qulíj Khán went from Aḥmadábád towards Súrat, and Muzaffar

[1] Means "cup." Another pun.

[2] *Káthi.* The name of a tribe inhabiting *Káthiwár.* Wilson's *Gloss.*

[3] Victorious.

[4] Akbar was a great sun-worshipper, see p. 268.

[5] The second time is mentioned, p. 373.

not being able to withstand them went towards Gujrát, as has been described before.

After that the Khán Khánán arrived at Aḥmadábád by way of Sarohí and Jálwar, the Emperor appointed Sháh Fatḥ ulláh Azd-ud-doulah, together with Mír Murtazá and Khudáwand Khán, to govern the district of Barár, and sent them in the escort of A'zam Khán and Shiháb-ud-din Aḥmad Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah and Ráísín, and wrote a *farmán* to the fief-holders of that neighbourhood, whose names cannot be enumerated, to this effect: that they should first take Barár, under the leadership of A'zam Khán, out of the possession of the Dak'hinís, and afterwards should march in concert on Aḥmadnagar. These armies were collected at Hindia, which is on the confines of the Dak'hin, and behaved treacherously to one another. And A'zam Khán gave vent to an old grudge which he had against Shiháb-ud-dín Aḥmad Khán for the murder of his father, of which he was the instigator, and vexing him and Azd-ud-doulah, who was his factotum, he heaped abuse &c. upon him in every assembly, and in spite of the respect due to a teacher made unusual jokes against 'Azd-ud-doulah, till Shiháb-uddín Khán went with a vexed heart to Ráísín, which (P. 361) was his *jágír*. A'zam Khán went against him, and nearly brought a great disgrace on the reputation of the Empire. And Khwájagí Fatḥullah *bakhshí* and other upstarts stirred up the flames of strife, and confusion, but through the good offices of Azd-ud-doulah it all ended well. Meanwhile Rájah 'Alí Khán, governor of A'sír and Burhánpúr, looking on the quarrel in the imperial army as a boon to himself, united the army of Dak'hin with his own, and marched against them. 'Azd-ud-doulah went to him and gave him good advice, but he could make no impression on his anvil-like heart:—

"An iron nail will not penetrate a stone."

So he returned thence, and came to Gujrát, to stir up the Khán Khánán to the conquest of the Dak'hin, and bring him with him:—

"You have managed the affairs of the world so well,
That you now turn your hand to the affairs of heaven."

Rájah 'Alí Khán with the army of the Dak'hin marched against A'zam Khán, who had not the power to withstand him, and so retreated to Barár. Neither could he stand his ground there, and so having ravaged and laid waste Ilichpúr and not remaining even there, he hastened to Nadarbár. The Dak'hinís pursued him from station to station. A'zam Khán left his army at Nadarbár, and went alone with only a few men to Aḥmadábád to ask help of the Khán Khánán, who was his sister's husband. The Khán Khánán came out to meet him, and they had an interview at Maḥmúdábád at the house of Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad. And having by mutual consent, or by hypocrisy, made common cause, they agreed that Khán-i-A'zam with the Khán Khánán should go to Aḥmadábád to see his sister, and that thence they should set out to repel the Dak'hinís. And they sent Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad with a number of the Amírs, who were appointed to that district, to go together to Barodah, and those two (P. 362) leaders followed him thither. And thence A'zam Khán went in haste to Nadarbár to collect his army, and the Khán Khánan went to Behroṇch. A'zam Khán wrote to him, that since the rainy season was at hand they must keep the army for that year in camp. A'zam Khán went from Nadarbár to Málwah and the Khán Khánán from Behroṇch to Aḥmadábád, and Rájah 'Alí Khán and the Dak'hinís went to their own homes again. Five months had passed since this event, when the Khán Khánán sent from Atak Banáras, which he also called Atak Katak[1], a petition to Court in the following terms: "Since the Emperor has determined to attempt the conquest of Badakhshán, the desire to kiss his feet has possessed me, in order that I may accompany him in this expedition." And after the army came from Atak to Láhór a *farmán* was addressed to him, ordering that Qulíj Khán and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad should remain in Gujrát, and that the Khán Khánán should come to Court. This was the cause of the Khán Khánán's coming a second time in haste to Láhór, and of his bringing Azd-ud-doulah, as has been already related. During the time of the Khán Khánán's absence the most praiseworthy efforts were

[1] Lak'hnou lithograph has *Gang*.
Viz. to see the Emperor, the first time is mentioned, p 371.

made by Nizám-ud-dín in Gujrát, which are related at length in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*.

And in this year Mír Abu-l-Ghays of Bokhára, whose praise is beyond the power of the tongue or the pen :—

"How can the description of his praise be made
By a pen more broken than my heart,"

died at Láhór of an attack of cholic. This sacred bier was brought to Dihlí and buried in the *Rouzah-i A'bá-i-kirám*, and the date was found to be given by "The Mír of praiseworthy disposition[1]" :—(By the Author)

"I went into his cemetry one day to take warning,
I saw a world of sleepers together in its plain.
[P. 363] A multitude had gone from this side, but none returned from that;
That I could ask of his state, or news of us reach him.
In that city of the silent there was a multitude of my eloquent ones,
Gone from the palace of the world to become its guests.
Of that number was one pure-natured prince, like Buturáb[2]
Abu-Ghais, whom the Heaven calls a Gous,[3] the pivot of the sky.
Alas! for my lord of worthy disposition, and of as happy fortune,
The nature of Muḥammad was manifest in his smiling face.
A Bokhárái through whom Dihlí became the *Qubbat-ul-Islám* :[4]
What is become of that Qubbah, and that Islám, and where O God! is its Musalmán?

[1] 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.
[2] A title of 'Alí.
[3] One of the 7 *Abdál*, mysterious beings which hover round the world.
[4] A title of Basrah, a great place for learned men.

Since he was a derwish as well as a soldier, if I should meet with the dust of his feet,
I would put it on the eye of my fortune, as though it were collyrium of Ispahán.
At his pillow from the candle of my own heart I burnt a taper,
Although the light of his poverty was a divine torch.
I made the bed of his tomb wet with my tears,
Although the cloud of Mercy washed him with the rain of Forgiveness."

In this year a new command was issued that all people should give up the Arabic sciences, and should study only the really useful ones, *viz.*, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, and Philosophy. The date of this given by the words "Decline of Learning[1]."

And in Sha'bán of the said year Mán Singh came to Court. News also came that Abd-ulláh Khán had taken Harí[2], and slain 'Alí Qulí Khán, commandant of that place, together with an immense number of Turkománs and inhabitants of the town, and "the taking of Harí[3]" was found to give the date.

In the month Muharram[4] of the year nine hundred and (P. 364) ninety-six (996) Mán Singh was appointed to the government of the districts of Bahár, Hájípúr, and Patnah. And on the night of the tenth of this month having offered to him, together with the Khán Khánán, the cup of friendship, His Majesty brought up the subjects of "Discipleship," and proceeded to test Mán Singh. He said without any ceremony: "If Discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have already carried my life in my hand: what need is there of further proof? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to Faith, I certainly am a Hindú. If you order me to do so, I will become a Musalmán, but I know not of the existence of any other religion than these two." At this point the matter stopped, and the Emperor did not question him any further, but sent him to Bengál.

[1] 20 + 60 + 4 + 80 + 30 + 880 = 995.
[2] Another name for Harát.
[3] 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 + 5 + 200 + 10 = 995.
[4] The first month.

At this time he gave the government of Kashmír to Yúsuf Khán Razawí of Mashhad, and sent for Muḥammad Qásim Khán from that place.

On the twelfth of Çafar[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-six (996) he sent Muḥammad Çádiq Khán to expel Yúsuf Záí from Sawád-u-Bajór[2], and he gave the *jágír* of Mán Singh, consisting of Sawálikát[3] &c. to him. And he sent for Ismaʿíl Qulí Khán from Sawád-u-Bajór, and appointed him to supersede Qulíj in Gujrát.

In this month Mírzá Fúlád Beg Barlás managed to get Mullá Aḥmad the Shiʿah, on some pretext, out of his house at midnight and killed him, because he had reviled the Companions of the Prophet, and "Bravo! the dagger of Steel"[4] gives the date, and another suggested "Hell-fire Pig.[5]" And verily when he was at his last breath I saw his face look actually like that of a pig[6], and other persons also observed this phenomenon, God preserve us from the wickedness of our souls! They bound Mírzá Fúlád to the foot of an elephant and dragged him through the streets of Láhor, until at last he attained the grade of martyrdom. When the Emperor sent by Ḥakím Abu-l-Fatḥ and asked him: "Can zeal for the faith have been the motive of your killing Mullá Aḥmad?" (P. 365) He answered, "If zeal for religion had been my motive, I should have turned my hand against a greater one than he." He brought back this answer to the Emperor, and said, "This fellow is a regular scoundrel, he ought not to be allowed to live." So the Emperor ordered him to be put to death; although on account of his bravery, and the intercession of the people of the harem he wished to spare his life. The murdered man went to his own place three or four days after his murderer. The Shiʿahs at the time of washing the corpse, are said to have, according to the rules of their sect, put a nail into his arms, and plunged him several times into the

[1] The second month.

[2] Text, p. 349, l. 2, and 381.

[3] Called in the maps Scalcot.

[4] 7 + 5 + 10 + 600 + 50 + 3 + 200 + 80 + 6 + 31 + 4 = 996.

[5] 600 + 6 + 20 + 60 + 100 + 200 + 10 = 996.

[6] See *Blochm.* p. 206, *n.* 2.

river[1]. After his burial Shaikh Faizí and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl set guards over his grave, but in spite of all precaution in the year when His Majesty went to Kashmír the people of Láhor one night took up his gross carcass, and burnt it.

On the twenty-second of Rabí-us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-six the New Year's day of the thirty-third, or thirty-fourth, year from the Accession took place. The Emperor, in order to beguile the common people, had the public audience-hall which consists of one hundred and fourteen porticos, decorated with all sorts of ornamentations, such as valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. And all sorts of edicts contrary to the Law were issued, and "Publication of Heresy[2]" gives the date.

At this time Qulíj Khán came from Gujrát to pay homage, and brought all sorts of presents. And a command was issued, that he in conjunction with Rájah Todar Mall (who had become a very imbecile old man, and whom one night about this time a rival had lain in wait for, and wounded with his sword, and grazed his skin) should conduct the administrative and financial concerns of the Empire. In this year the Rájah of Kamáún, who had never, nor his father or grandfather before him, (God's curse be on them!) seen an Emperor even in imagination, came from the Sawálik hills to pay his homage to the Emperor at Láhor. He brought all sorts of rare presents, amongst which were a Yak, and a Musk-deer, which through (P. 366) the heat of the atmosphere died on the way. I saw it, and it was in form like a fox, and two small tusks prejected in front, and instead of horns it had an elevation, but since the lower half was wrapped up, it could not be seen. They said also that there were men in that country, who had wings and feathers, and could fly; and also in that kingdom a mango-tree which gives fruit all the year round. They told the tale, but God knows if it is true!

In these days Ḥakím Ayn-ul-mulk arrived with the ambassadors of Mírzá Jání[3], and brought all sorts of presents, and became the recipient of His Majesty's kindness.

[1] See *Blochm.* p 207, *n.* 1.

[2] 300 + 10 + 6 + 70 + 40 + 70 + 80 + 10 + 10 + 400 = 996 تاریخ is spelt with only one ی, but to make the date right it must be written with *tashdíd*.

[3] See p. 370.

In the month Jamáda'-l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven (997) I finished the translation of the Rámayaṇa, which had taken me four years. I wrote it all in couplets, and brought it to the Emperor. When I wrote at the end of it the couplet :—

"We have written a story, who will bring it to the Emperor?
We have burnt our soul, who will bring it to the Beloved?"

it was much admired. The Emperor asked me, "How many sheets does it contain?" I answered, "The first time, when written concisely it reached nearly 70 sheets, but the second time, when written more at length, it was 120 sheets." He commanded me to write a preface to it, after the manner of authors. But since it was no such great recovery from my former falling out of favour, and a *khutbah* would have to be written without praising God and the Prophet, I dissimulated. And from that black book, which is naught like the book of my life, I flee to God for refuge. The transcription of atheism is not atheism, and I repeat the declaration of faith in opposition to heresy, why should I fear (which God forbid!) that a book, which was all written against the grain, and in accordance with a strict command, should bring with it a curse. O God! I verily take refuge in Thee from associating anything with Thee, and I know, and I beg thy forgiveness for that which I know not, and I repent of it, and say: "There is no God but Alláh, and Muḥammad is the Prophet of Alláh". And thus my penitence is no penitence caused by fear. May it be accepted at the Court of The Gracious and Liberal!

At this time they brought an imposter Shaikh Kamál Bayáni by name (P. 367) from the banks of the river Ráwí and affirmed that in the midst of conversation he had in the twinkling of an eye gone over to the other side and called out "So and so go home!" So the Emperor took him privately to the banks of a river and said: "We are fond of investigating this sort of thing. If you can show us this miracle, all the wealth and dominions that we possess are yours, and we will become your property." When he made no sort of answer, the Emperor said: "Very well then we will bind you hand and foot, and cast you from the top of the Castle. If you come out of the water safe and sound, well and good, if not,

you will have gone to hell". Being brought to bay he pointed to his stomach and said: "I have done all this merely for the sake of filling this hell of my own!" The impostor had a cunning son, who lived at Láhor. While he was speaking, his son at the time of evening prayer, went to the other side of the river, and using the name of the person addressed, shouted out in a voice like that of his father: "So and so go!", while the impostor on the pretence of performing the ablutions had gone down to the edge of the river and hidden himself in the stream. Another time, when the Emperor had sent him to Bakkar, he there also set up a claim to working miracles, and performed in the presence of the Khán Khánán, and Doulat Khán, his *wakíl*, a hundred similar wonders. On Thursday evenings, dressed as a juggler, he used to show a hand, and head, and foot, all separated.[1]

He made Doulat Khán Afghán, who was the Khán Khánán's factotum and *âme damnée* his disciple:—

"A common person, if raised in rank above the sky,
Is but a common ass, and he that believes in him is less than an ass."

The Khán Khánán also became a believer, and swallowed the deception. And that cunning lad, having taken a golden ball from the Khán Khánán for the sake of that impostor of a Shaikh, said: "Elijah (peace be on him!) has sent you a request, and requires this ball in the water. By deceit and fraud he threw a brazen ball into the water in the sight of the Khán Khánán, and the golden ball (P. 368) he carried off by his trickery."

In this year the Emperor called to mind my gift of the book, which I was translating, and one day he ordered Abú'l-Fatḥ to give me a shawl from the privy wardrobe, and a horse and my expenses. Then he said to Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh 'Azd-ud-doulah: "the whole of Basáwar is hereby given to you as *jágír*, with all its charity-lands," and mentioning my name he said, "There is a certain man of *Bádáón*, we have of our own will changed his *madad-ma'áish* without abatement from Basáwar to Badáón.

[1] See Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir, p. 99.

Sháh Fatḥ-ullah presented in a bag an offering of 1000 rupees, which by oppression and secret false accusations he had tyrannously exacted from the wretched widows and orphans of the *aimah*-holders of Basáwar, saying that his collectors had saved it from the charity-lands. The Emperor made him a present of it. Not three months elapsed after this event, when Sháh Fatḥ-ullah died.

When my *farmán* was signed, I took a year's leave, and went first to Basáwar and then to Badáón. Thence I had in my mind to go to Gujrát to see Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad, but adverse circumstances occurred, which prevented my carrying this intention into effect:—

> "I am not vexed that my affair
> Turns out not well, but ill,
> If it happen, let it happen; if not, acquiesce,
> [Who knows] what will happen!"

In this year Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán *Chougán Begí*, and Mirzádah 'Alí Khán, who were of the most esteemed Amírs, died in Kashmír in the following circumstances. Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán on the twelfth of the month Rabí' ul-awwál[1] cooked some food in the name of the Soul of the Prophet (God bless him, and his family, and give them peace!), and gave some gold to the poor, and having sincerely repented of his sins went out hunting with Mírzá Yúsuf Khán, and caught a fever, and gave up his soul to the Beloved. And Mirzádah 'Alí Khán, was killed one year before (P. 369) thus, on the night when Ya'qúb made a sudden attack on Muḥammad Qásim Khán:—

> Alas! for the friends of spiritual insight,
> With whom we were but a short time together.
> Alas! for our friends of earthy composition,
> Who have left this dust-heap like the wind.
> Alas! that this blood-weeping eye of mine,
> Sees not now a trace of them.

[1] The third month.

They spake for a little while, they are now silent,
They are vanished from the memory of their friends.
Of all those consolers not one remains,
I and grief are left, for all my friends are gone.
How shall I lay my drowsy head on the pillow,
When my friends have made their pillow on the clay.
My heart desires the corner of solitude,
I have no desire for the companionship of any one.
Alas! that those, who now sit behind the veil of secrets,
Are not gone to a place whence they can return.
When in confusion on that bed of sorrow
I fell like clay, and settled like dust,
Over that mortal-clay I raised many a cry:
To my ear no answer came from any.

On the twenty-second of Jamáda'-s-sání[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor set out from Kábul for Kashmír, which he called his private garden. He left the ladies of his *ḥaram* with the young prince Sulṭán Murád at Bhimbar, where the road to Kashmír begins, and went on by forced marches. When he had visited that beautiful country, he sent a *farmán* to the Prince ordering him the take the *ḥaram* on to Rohtás and there await the Emperor's arrival.

At this time that wonder of the age Sháh Fatḥ-ulláh of Shíráz developed a burning fever in Kashmír, and since he was himself a skilled physician, he treated himself by eating pottage, and however much the Ḥakím 'Alí forbade it, he would not be prevented. So the exactor Death seized his collar and dragged him off to the eternal world. He was buried on Takht-i-Sulaimán, which is a mountain near (P. 370) one of the cities[2] of Kashmír, by the side of the tomb of Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khán Chougán Begí. And that king of poets Shaikh Faizí wrote as an elegy on him a *tarkíbband*,[3] of which the following verses form a part :—

[1] The sixth month.

[2] *Viz.*, Srínagar, *i. e.*, Kashmír the Capital.

[3] See Gladwin's *Dissertations, &c.*, p. 80.

"Again that time is come when the world falls out of gear,
On the world of Intellect at midday the banner of evening falls.
All the treasures of property fall into the hands of the base,
All the flood-tears of adversity fall into the cup of the generous.
Truth loses the clue of the investigation of its object,
Meaning deserts eloquence, and logic falls out of speech.
The tongue of folly wags heedlessly in talk,
Propositions are falsely stated, and proofs are inconclusive.
The heart of those who in the world seek perfection remains in eternal defect,
Like unripe fruit which falls suddenly half-ripened from the branch.
The spiritual child of the precious mothers[1] of excellence
Was the father of the fathers of spiritual insight, Sháh Fatḥ-ullah Shírází,
Two hundred Bu-naçars[2] and Bu-'alís[3] passed away before he appeared.
Many a dealer of this kind does Fate hold beneath its shop.
Sometimes with the camel-litter of the Peripatetics he went round the world,
Sometimes in the train of the Platonists he traversed the heavens.
The age was proud of his perfect nature,
In the time of Jalál-ud-dín Akbar Ghází.
The Emperor of the world had his eyes full of tears at his death,
(P. 381) Alexander wept tears of regret because Plato left the world!"

On the twenty-seventh of Ramazán[4] of this year the Emperor intending to go to Kábúl went by way of Pak'hlí to the fortress of Atak. During this journey Ḥakím Abu-l-fatḥ died at the halting-place of Damtúr,[5] and was buried in Ḥusn Abdál:—

[1] In ... and ... there seems to be an indirect reference to the "four elements" and the "nine heavens."

[2] A name of Al-Fáryábí a great Arabic Doctor who died 343 A. H.

[3] A name of Ibn Sina (Avecenna) who died 428 A. H.

[4] The ninth month.

[5] See Blochm. p. 524.

"The caravan of the Martyr has passed on before;
Consider ours too as past, and reflect.
To outward reckoning we have lost but one body,
But in the reckoning of the Intellect more than thousands."

And "May God give him his reward"[1] was found to give the date.

And outside of Atak, where the camp was, the Prince with the *ḥaram* met the Emperor. From this halting-place Shahbáz Khán was appointed to go and repel the remnant of the Yusúfzái Afgháns. On the twenty-second of Zí-qa'dah[2] of this year the Emperor arrived in Kábul. At this time Ḥakím Hamám and Çadr Jahán returned from being with Abd'ulláh Khán, and brought a book of 'Abd-ulláh Khán's treating of Union and Conjunction.

In the year nine hundred and ninety-eight Rájah Todar Mal, and Rájah Baghwán Dás *Amír-ul-umará*, who had remained behind at Láhor hastened to the abode of hell and torment, and in the lowest pit became the food of beasts and scorpions, may God scorch them both! And they found the *mnemosynon*: "One said: *Todar and Baghwán died*;"[3] and another made these verses on him:—

"Todar Mal was he, whose tyranny had oppressed the world,
When he went to Hell, people became merry.
I asked the date of his decease from the Old Man of Intellect:
Cheerfully replied the wise Old Man: *He is gone to Hell.*[4]

(P. 372). On the twentieth of Muḥarram of the year nine hundr and ninety-eight (998) having assigned the government of Kábul t Muḥammad Qásim Khán, Commander-in-chief by land and sea, the Emperor returned towards Hindústán. He appointed A'zam Khán

[1] 600 + 4 + 1 + 10 + 300 + 60 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 4 = 997.
[2] The eleventh month.
[3] 2 + 5 + 20 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 40 + 200 + 4 + 50 + 4 = 998.
[4] 6 + 10 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 204 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 40 = 998.

to the government of Gujrát, and sent a *farmán* ordering him to remove from Málwah to that place, and sent for Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad to return to Court. He gave Jounpúr to the Khán Khánán instead of Gujrát, and Málwah was given to Shiháb Khán. And A'zam Khán to spite Shiháb Khán laid Málwah waste, and levelled it all to the ground.

At this time Khudáwand of the Dak'hin, the heretic, to whom the sister of Abu-l-Fazl had been married in accordance with the Emperor's command, and who had received the town of Karí in the district of Gujrát, went to the abode of Hell. And the *mnemosynon* was found: "Khudáwand of the Dak'hin is dead.[1]"

And on the fourteenth of Jamáda-l-awwál of the aforesaid year the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which began the thirty-fifth year from the Accession, took place. And the Emperor sent orders for the decoration and reparation of the Díwánkhánah of Láhor, and on the second day of *Nouróz* that city became the royal camping-place. And on the third day Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad having travelled six hundred *cosses* in twelve days, with a body of camel-riders, arrived and did homage. The Emperor ordered that all the camel-riders should enter the city just as they had arrived; and it was a wonderful sight, and led to boundless favours from the Emperor.

At this time, after the death of Baghwán Dás, the Emperor gave to Mán Singh the title of Rájah, and sent him a *farmán* of condolence, in which were written kind and gracious messages beyond all bounds, and sent with it one of his own dresses of honour, and a body-guardsman's horse. And on the day of the "Honouring of the Sun" the compiler of this epitome came from Badáún to Court, and met Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad after a separation of seven years.

(P. 373). In this year A'zam Khán went from Gujrát to conquer the countries of Súrat and Júnágarh. And the Jám Satr Sál, and Doulat Khán the son of Amín Khán Ghorí, who had succeeded his

[1] Read دكهن instead of دكهني and we get the correct date, *viz.*, 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 4 + 20 + 55 + 40 + 200 + 14 = 998.

[2] The fifth month.

father, being beguiled by temerity and the number of his retinue, came to meet him with a body of men amounting to nearly twenty thousand, and a great battle took place:—

"Though that army be as numerous as ants or locusts,
The ant will be killed when it falls on the road."

A'zam Khán divided his army into seven sections, and fought such a battle that anything approaching it has never been described. Khwájah Rafí' Badakhshí leader of the left wing, who was a youth distinguished for his valour and courage, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, who was one of the old Amírs, attained the felicity of martyrdom. And of the division of the vanguard Sháh Sharaf-ud-dín, brother's son to Abu Turáb, was also martyred. And of the infidels four thousand men went to Hell in the company of the son of the Jám, who was his father's vicegerent:—

"The stock which was drunk through the passing of the *cup*,[1]
Behold now it is desolate and with his cup broken!
The king of the world is drunk with the joy of wine,
Because the Jám is come into the king's hand."

This victory took place on the first day of the week, the sixth of Rawwál[3] of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998), and Shaikh Faizí found the date to be given by "A glorious victory."[4]

In this year at Aḥmadábád that Pattern of learned and profound sages, the author of comprehensive works, the wise unto God, Shaikh Wajíh-ud-dín answered, "*Adsum*" to God's lictor's call, and "*Shaikh Wajíh dín*" was found to give the date:[5]

[1] There is a pun on the name *Jám* which also means "Cup"; also on *daur* "passing" and "age."

[2] That is, has broken up the assembly.

[3] The tenth month.

[4] 80 + 100 + 6 + 8 + 1 + 400 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 10 = 999, which is one too many.

[5] 300 + 10 + 600 + 6 + 3 + 10 + 5 + 4 + 10 + 50 = 998

"May God have mercy on him, abundant mercy!"

In this year too Shaikh Cháyan Ladah[1] successor to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-azíz of Dihlí, who was the chief orthodox religious teacher in the town of Sihnah (P. 374) departed this life, and one of his pupils found the date "Truth of religious poverty."[2]

At this time the Emperor took away Jounpúr from the Khán Khánán and gave him the government of Multán and Bakkar, and appointed him to subdue the kingdoms of Sind and Balúchistán, and to settle the hash of Mírzá Jání. And in the month Rabí'us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (999) the Emperor despatched to that quarter the Khán Khánán, with a number of renowned Amírs, such as Sháh Bég Khán, and Sayyid Bihá-ud-dín Bokhárí and Mír Muḥammad Ma'çúm Bakkarí and others, and a hundred elephants with them. And the prince of poets Shaikh Faizí found the date "On for Tatah!"[3]

In this year came from Málwah the news of the death of Shihábud dín Khán, and "I am Shihábud Khán"[4] was found to give the date; and another was "Base of disposition."[5]

At this time the Emperor ordered them to rewrite in any easy style the history of Kashmír, which Mullá Sháh Muḥammad of Sháhábád, who was a learned man, and a collector of all learning from both traditional and logical sources, had translated according to orders into Persian I made a compendium in the course of two months, and wrote this verse at the end of it:—

"In the course of one or two months,
In accordance with the Sháh's command,
This book was written in black,
Like the down on the cheeks of the fair."

[1] Our author in Vol. III, p. 110 says that Ladah Suhnah is a town about 18 *cosses* from Dihlí.

[2] 8 + 100 + 10 + 100 + 100 + 80 + 100 + 200 = 998.

[3] 100 + 90 + 1 + 800 + 5 = 999.

[4] 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 600 + 1 + 50 + 10 = 999.

[5] 700 + 40 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 6 + 90 + 1 + 80 = 999.

presented it, and it was put into the Imperial library, and it is read as a sample.

In this year Shaikh Ibráhim Chishtí died a natural death at Fathpúr, and having bid adieu to a world of wealth, went to give an account of it to his Creator. Of all this a sum of twenty-five *krors* of ready money together with elephants and horses and other chattels were appropriated by the Imperial treasury, and the remainder became the portion of his enemies, who were his sons and [illegible]ers. And since he was noted and notorious for avarice and vice, and was accursed, "Basé of disposition"[1] (P. 375), and "Vile Shaikh"[2] became the *mnemosynon* of his death.

In this year many of the chief men of Láhór died. Of this number were Khanjarí Turk, who died of emerods; and Shaikh Aḥmad the younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥím by a fatal accident with an elephant; and Mullá 'Urfí of Shíráz, the celebrated poet, of an ordinary[3] bodily ailment. And at the moment of departing he uttered the Rubá'í:—

"Urfí! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated,
After all of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To-morrow the Friend with the ready-money of Paradise in his [hand
Will ask for your wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand."

And since he had said a great many impolite words against the doctors, both ancient and modern, they found out this *mnemosynon* for his death:—

Said "*Urfí: O Death thou art but a young hand:*"[4]
And another "Enemy of God."[5]

[1] See above, p. 336, *n.* 5.

[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 30 + 10 + 40 = 1000, one too many.

[3] Punning on his name.

[4] 70 + 200 + 80 + 10 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 40 + 200 × 20 + 300 + 44 + 10 = 999.

[5] 4 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 600 + 4 + 1 = 999.

At this time Hakím Hamám praised the book *Mu'jam-ul-buldán*[1], which is comprised in some two hundred sheets, and represented to the Emperor that it should be translated from the Arabic into Persian, since it contained a host of strange stories and wonderful sources of profit. Accordingly he assembled ten or twelve men of learning, both Persian and Indian, and apportioned the book among them, and the amount of ten sheets fell to my portion. I translated it in the course of one month, and presenting it before any of the others, made it an excuse for asking leave to go to Badáún, and it was accepted.

On the twenty-fourth of the month Jamáda'l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine the Assembly of the New Year was arranged as in former years. This was the beginning of the twenty-sixth year from the Accession. And among the different edicts, which were fixed in this year, is the forbidding of (P. 376) flesh of cows and buffaloes and sheep and horses and camels. Another was that, if a Hindú woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced against her will. And that they should not circumcise a boy before twelve years of age, and then he could choose for himself, whether it should be done or no.

And another was that if any one should eat with a butcher they should cut off his hand, but if he belonged to the butcher's relatives, they should cut off only his little finger.

In this year Hají Mirzá Bég Kábulí, who had gone to 'Alí Rái, ruler of Little Tibet, brought his daughter and married her to the eldest prince.

And[2] a treatise was written concerning the manners and customs, and religious sects of those people from the account of Mírzá Beg, and Mullá Tálib Içfaháni, who had gone there a second time as ambassador. Those who wish for a full account had better refer to the book. If not he can read the *Akbarnámah*, in which is a description of the cities of Hindústán and Kabúl, and Tibet and Kashmír.

[1] Blochm., p 106.

[2] The Lak'hnau text has ﻭ instead of ﺩر.

Towards the end of Shabán[1] of this year the Emperor allowed Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad to go to the *parganna* of Shamsábád, which had been given him as his *jágír*. And the son of his maternal aunt, Muḥammad Ja'far by name, a very able young man indeed, and a regular Baháḍur in fighting and friendship fell in action at that place, and the following *mnemosynon* was found for the date :—

"When Ja'far attained the diploma of martyrdom from the Court of the Judge,
The date of his year was : *Ja'far is become a pure martyr*."

The Emperor gave Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad five months' leave of absence. And when the aforesaid Mirzá represented that my mother was dead, and asked leave for me to go and comfort my brothers and sisters, the Emperor reluctantly gave me permission. And when the Çadr Jahán repeatedly told me to do *sijdah*, and I did not do so, he said 'Get along then.' So the Emperor was vexed with me and gave me nothing. At any rate I went with the Mirzá to Shamsábád, and there (P. 377) I fell ill, and going to Badáún and visiting my relatives they occupied themselves in preparing plasters and cures. The Mirzá hastened to Láhór. And on account of the book *Khirad-afzá*, which had disappeared from the Library, and concerning Salímah Sulṭán Begum's study of which the Emperor reminded me, (and though many messengers consisting of my friends started for Badáún, on account of certain hindrances they never arrived,) an order was issued that my *madad-ma'ásh* should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me *nolens volens*. And the aforesaid Mirzá (may he be steeped in God's mercy,) did me many acts of kindness in secret. But Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl did not lay my repeated representations before the Emperor, so that no refutation at all should reach his ears.

In Shawwal[2] of this year four persons of the confidential servants of the Court were sent on an embassy to the four rulers of the Dak'hin.

[1] The eighth month.
[2] The tenth month.

Shaikh Faizí was sent to Rájah 'Alí Khán ruler of Asír and Burhán-púr. And Amín-ud-dín, who was formerly called Muḥammad Amín, and at his own special request got the name of Amín-ud-dín, was sent to Burhán-ul-mulk, who had left the Court, and with the help of friendly Amírs had raised himself to the Sultanate and assumed absolute power in Aḥmad-Nagar, which was the place of his ancestors. And one, Mír Muḥammad Amín by name, who was a former servant of Ṣádiq Khán, was sent to 'Ádil Khán ruler of Bíjápúr. And Mír Munír was sent to Quṭb-ul-mulk the ruler of Golkandah. The order was that Shaikh Faizí should deliver his letter to Rájah 'Alí Khán, and then go on to Burhán-ul-mulk. And there the friendship between the Shaikh and Amín-ud-dín came to an end, and ended in a quarrel.

In this year the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic, which could by no means be removed. In this unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicions of his eldest son,[1] and accused him of giving him poison, and said:

"Bábá Shaikhú[2] (P. 378) Jí since all this
Sultanate will devolve on thee, why
Hast thou made this attack on me:—
To take away my life there was no need of injustice,
I would have given it to thee, if thou hadst asked me."

And he also accused Ḥakím Hamán, in whom he had the most perfect confidence, of giving him something. The eldest Prince appointed some of his own confidants to watch the movements of the Prince Murád. In a short space of time the Emperor's sickness was changed into health, and the people of the harem and the Sháhzádah Murád told this incident to the Emperor.

[1] Prince Salím, afterwards *Jahángír*.

[2] *Jahángír* says in his Memoirs (*Tůzuk*, p. 1) that his father always called him by this name. *Shaikhú* is the vocative plural in Hindústání.

On this account on the twelfth of Zí-ḥajjah[3] of this year the Emperor gave the government of Málwah to the Prince Sulṭán Murád, who was entitled *Paháŕí*.[4] On appointing him to this government he granted him a pennon, kettle-drum, martial music, and a royal standard,[1] and all the paraphernalia of royalty, and he conferred on him a royal sleeveless dress of honour, which is an honour conferred only on princes. And he appointed Ismá'íl Qulí Khán as his *wakíl*, and other great Amírs he appointed as his attendants, and sent them with him, in order to set the distance between East and West between the two brothers, and that they might remain safe from the vain troubles of Empire. With the hope of further victories numbers of persons from every side gathered round the Prince, whom on the plea of the "golden mean"[2] they thought superior to the other princes in majesty and pomp. Having gathered together an immense army from the environs of Ágrah, Qunnauj, and Guáliyár, he fought in the neighbourhood of Narwar several engagements with Madhukar[3] the *zamíndár* of U'ndchah,[4] who was distinguished above all the Rájahs of Hind for his retinue and army, and had raised a rebellion in those parts; and defeated him. He fled and betook himself to the mountains and jungles, where he infested the roads, and killed many people, and took heavy black-mail from the caravans. The army of the Prince (P. 379) were put to the greatest straits by his robberies, and deserted him in every direction. But at that time Madhukar died a natural death, and went to Hell. His son came with fitting offerings, and had an interview with the Prince, who sent him with Yár Muḥammad, the son of Ṣádiq Khán, (who acquired the title of Yár, and is still known by that name) to do homage at Láhór.

The Prince took up his abode at Ujjain, and numbers of the men, who were appointed as his retinue, on account of his bad conduct in all relations of life, and court and ceremonial, and in his over-weaning pride and arrogance, in which he imitated his illustrious Father, and

[3] The twelfth month.

[4] Because he was born in the mountain district. See *Túzuk*, p. 26 (Trans.).

[1] See Blochm., plate 9, 4.

[2] The three princes were Salím, Murád, and Danyál.

[3] Means "Bee," "honey-maker."

[4] Spelt in our maps *Oorcha*.

which he carried beyond all conception, boasting of being a ripe grape when he was not yet even an unripe grape, with leave or without leave they left him; and it became known that all that transient pomp and circumstance was caused by his ignorance rather than his knowledge.

At this time Doulat Khán, son of Amín Khán Ghorí, governor of Jounágarh, who had been wounded in battle with the Jám, died. A'zam Khán had gone to try and reduce that fortress, and the Amírs of Amín Khán under the leadership of the son of Doulat Khán for some days held out against him, but at last they asked for quarter and gave up the keys of the fortress on the fifth of Zí-qádah[1] in the aforesaid year.

And on the twenty-sixth of Muharram[2] of the year one thousand (1000) corresponding to the thirty-sixth year from the Accession, the Khán Khánán fought with Jání Beg for a whole night and day continuously. On both sides great valour was shown. The Khán Khánán slew two hundred of Jání Beg's troops and defeated him. Jání Beg after this defeat entrenched his army in the island, and the Khán Khánán blockaded him for two months. Then the Emperor sent one lac and fifty thousand rupees at the time, and one lac of *mán* of grain, with one hundred cannon at another time by water, and by way of Jasalmír many gunners and Rái Singh, who was one of the Amírs (P. 380) of four thousand, to the assistance of the Khán Khánán. And Jání Beg, after a most valiant resistance was at last conquered and reduced to extremities, so that he submitted and gave his daughter to the son of the Khán Khánán. After the conquest of Kashmír he came with the Khán Khánán (as will be related) and did homage to the Emperor.

On the fifth of Jamád'as-sání[3] of the year one thousand the Sun entered Aries, and the beginning of the thirty-seventh year from the Accession took place, and they diligently shaved their beards, and this hemistich was found to give the date :—

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] The first month.

[3] The sixth month.

"They used to say that: *ever so many scoundrels Have given their beards to the wind.*"[1]

The rules and customs and observances on the occasion were the same as usual, with the addition of some new ones on the old lines. Of them are the following. The *Dirhams* and *Dinars* which had been coined with the stamps of former Emperors were to be melted down and sold for their value in gold and silver, and no trace of them was to be left of them in the world. And all sorts of *Ashrafís* and *Rupees*, on which there was his own royal stamps whether old or new, should all be set in circulation, and no difference of years was to be regarded. And Qalíj Khán, being very diligent, every day sought at the bankers, and took bonds from them and inflicted fines on them, and many were put to death with various tortures. But for all that they would not desist from uttering counterfeit coins. The Emperor wrote and sent *farmáns* into the uttermost parts of his dominions, containing stringent orders with regard to this matter. But it had no effect. At last by the care of Khwájah Shams-ud-dín the Chief *Diwán*, that command was really put in force.

On the day of *Sharf-i-Ishtab*, which was the 14th degree of Aries, Ja'far Beg, whose title was Asaf Khán *Bakhshí*, the Emperor appointed to march against Jaálah the *Roshaníí*, who had got in advance of Abd-ullah Khán and was marching on Kábul, that with the help of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, the commandant of Dihlí, he might exterminate those rascals. And Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad (P. 381) he appointed to the post of paymaster-general. And at the end of Sha'bán[2] he appointed Zín Khán Kókah to help Asaf Khán to exterminate the remnant of the Roshaníís and to colonise the district of Sawád-u-Bajúr, which had been completely desolated. In the middle of the month Shavvál[3] of this year Háfiz Sulṭán Rakhmah of Herát, who was a most excellent person, of whom a host of worthy traces are remaining, notably the garden and buildings of Sarhind, which

[1] 200 + 10 + 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 4 + 1 + 4 + 6 + 40 + 80 + 60 + 14 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 1000.

[2] The eighth month.

[3] The tenth month.

have no parallel in Hind, passed in his ninetieth year from this lodging of deceit to the abode of happiness. The date was found by way of riddle in the following verse :—

"A fissure came into the garden,
And the water flowed away."[1]

And Faizí of Sarhind found two lines to give the date :—

"The garden became without water,"

And another :—

"Since he was buried in a corner of the garden,
Seek his date from the corner of the garden."[2]

And another .—

"O Háfiz "[3]

On the twenty-fourth of Shavvál [news of the rebellion of] Yádgár Kal, nephew of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Razwí, who had left him as his deputy in Kashmír and set off to the Court, arrived. And the Emperor having left Qulíj Khán to settle some affairs in Láhór, himself crossed the river Ráwí in the middle of the rainy season, and joining his eldest son advanced, hunting as he went, as far as the river Chanáb At this place the news became current that Yádgár had fought a battle with Husain Bég[4] Shaikh 'Umrí Badakhshí, who was collector of the revenues of Kashmír, and had come off victorious; and that the Kashmíris had cut off the ears and nose of Qázi Alí Baghdádí, the enemy of the *armakdárs* (who held the post of *Díwán* of Kashmír, and had brought forward accounts wide of the truth, and containing absurd details and so vexed the soldiery and the ryots), and had stuck his pen through the lobe of his ear (P. 382),

[1] His name *Rukhnah* means "fissure" The verse may also be rendered "Rukhnah went to Paradise, and glory departed" The numerical value of *bágh* "garden" is 1003 that of *áb* "water" is 3, take 3 from 1003 and you get the date 1000.

[2] *I. e.*, from غ 1000 which is at the end of the word باغ "garden."

[3] 11 + 8 + 1 + 80 + 900 = 1000.

[4] Husain Beg and Qázi 'Ali had been sent by Akbar to Kashmír to look into the revenue. Blochm., p. 346.

and sent him back again; and this *mnemonynon* was found for the date:—

"When Qází 'Alí Baghdádí
Brought the anger of Yádgár upon him,
The pen of the Munshí of Fate wrote
The date of his death, *the obnoxious one is dead.*[1]

After this Yádgár in accordance with the ancient customs of the place set a jewelled turban on his bald[2] head and borrowed the name of Sulṭán:—

"The crown of empire, and diadem of royalty
How shall it come to every bald man, God forbid!"

They say that the custom of Kashmír is that on the day of the Accession they stand drawn up in two ranks holding their naked swords over the new king's head. They say that on this account Yádgár at the time of the reading of the *khutbah* fell into a tremour, and fainted, and did not recover for some time. One of the incidents which occurred is the following. The very same day that he found a posie for his seal, and ordered it to be cut in his presence, a splinter from it came off and struck him in the eye. He rubbed his eye for a long time and cried out. From these omens they perceived that his rule would not be a long one:—

"Empire which comes quickly, lasts not long;
That is true empire, which comes gradually."

Ḥusain Bég Shaikh 'Umrí fled, and thinking half a life a great gain left the passes of Kashmír as quickly as possible, and reaching Rájúrí,[3] which is between Kashmír and the end of his journey, he there waited for orders. Yádgár gave *manṣabs* and *jáírs* to his men, and giving them all sorts of titles appropriated the treasures and horses and arms of Mirza Yúsuf Khán. And his wives and

[1] 46 + 700 + 10 + 10 + 200 + 4 = 1000.

[2] His name *Kal* means "bald."

[3] On the frontier of the Panjab and Kashmír.

family, after taking away all the gold and ornaments and useful female slaves, he mounted on small horses, and sent out of Kashmír with the greatest ignominy, together with the disagreeable sons, the very counterpart of the disposition and nature of their father Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, of whom the following verse would be a good description: (P. 383)

"All your Amírs are babblers
And all their sons are disagreeable"

The Emperor suspecting Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, who was in the camp, consigned him for some days to the charge of Shaikh Abu l-Fazl. Meanwhile he sent forward Shaikh Farid *bakhshí* with Shaikh 'Abd-ur rahím of Lak'hnou and another army, and himself awaited the Prince's arrival on the banks of the Chanáb. At B'hambar, which is the beginning of the passes and mountainous country, news arrived, that Yádgár had come out of the city Kashmír with a large force intent on fighting, and that he had alighted at a pass called Hirápún, and at night with the greatest carelessness had given himself up to debauchery in his tent. In the middle of the night some of the servants of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán together with a band of Afgháns, attacked him and put him to death. They brought his treacherous head after three days to Court.

This victory so quickly gained was a lesson to men. They reckoned that from the accession of Yádgár to the day that his head was brought into the camp was forty days. His head came into the army like a ball in a game at tennis, and afterwards was exalted to the battlements of the fortress of Láhór.

When in the month of Zi hujjah[1] of this year the Author came from Badáún[2] to the Camp in accordance with orders, Hakím Humán represented to the Emperor at the station of B'hambar, that I wished to pay him homage. The Emperor asked how long I had been absent from my post? He replied, Five months. The Emperor asked, On what pretext? He replied, On the score of sickness. And he brought a petition from the grandees of Badáún, and

[1] The twelfth month.
[2] See n. 376.

a report from Hakím 'Ain-ul-mulk to the same effect from Dihlí. When the Emperor had read them all, he said "A sickness won't last for five months." And so he did not give me permission to make the *Kúrnish*. So I remained repulsed, grieved, and disappointed in the camp, which was left with (P. 384) Prince Dánvál at Rohtás But I made my fortress the reading through of that impregnable castle, *viz*, the words of the Best of the Prophets (God bless him, and his family and give them all peace!) and the repetition of the *Qaṣídah e burdah*,[1] and He who answers the prayer of the distressed accepted this my sad and humble petition, so that after five months the occasion of His Majesty's return from Kashmír to Láhór rendered him favourably disposed towards me, and on the pretext of my making a translation of the *Jami'-i Rashídí*[2] which is a very huge volume, some kind and true friends, such as Mír Niẓám-ud-dín &c, mentioned my name confidentially at his private audiences. And so a command was issued that I should wait upon him After his return from Kashmír on the day of *Bahman-khur*,[3] of the festival month of Bahman, the divine month,[4] which corresponded with the seventeenth of Rabí ul-ákhir[5] of this year the Emperor granted me an audience. I offered him an *ashrafí*, and approached him with the greatest respect, and so the removal of that cloud of alienation and suspicion became facilitated, thank God for it! An order for making an epitome of the Jami'-i-Rashídí was with the approval of 'Alám Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl issued to me Of this whole book I took the genealogical tree of the Khalífs of the Abbásides and of the Ommiades of Egypt, which is traced to The Prophet (God bless him, &c,) and thence down to Adam (peace be upon him!), and also the pedigree of the other prophets I translated in *extenso* from Arabic into Persian, and presented it to the Emperor, and it was put into the imperial library

[1] A famous ode in praise of the Prophet by Abu 'Abd-ulláh Muhammad Sharf-uddín.

[2] Merely, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp 1-11.

[3] The month of January was called *bahman*, and so too the 2nd days of every month, but of that month in particular, on which day they eat *bahman* saffron.

[4] That is, according to the *Illahi* reckoning

[5] The fourth month of the Muhammadan year.

But to return to the history of the Emperor. On the sixth of Muharram[1] of the year one thousand and one, he arrived in Kashmír, and having spent a whole month minus two days in enjoying himself in that "his private garden," and having committed the government of that province to Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, on the sixth of the month of Çafar[2] of the year one thousand and one he embarked in a boat on his way back, and reached Bárah Múlah on the confines of Kashmír (P. 385) and at the end of the road to Pakhalí.

On the road he came to a lake, which is known as Zain-lanká,[3] and enjoyed himself there. This lake, which is between two mountains, one on the east and one on the west, has a circumference of thirty *cosses*, and is very deep. The river Bahat[4] flows through it. Sulṭán Zain-ul-'ábidín, whose history has been written succinctly in my abridgment of the history of Kashmír, had a *jaríb* of stones thrown into the water and built thereon a stone throne, so lofty and grand that the like of it has not been seen in all the provinces of India.

Among the wonders which the soldiers saw in the country of Kashmír is a sensitive tree in the village of Khánpúr, the width of its stem is two *arash*[5] and its height more than a *gaz*, and its branches are like an inverted Béd-i-Majnún,[6] and for all that if a child do but take hold of one of its branches and shake it, the whole tree trembles and shakes. And some of the wonders of that country have been described by the late Sháh Fatḥ-Alláh Shírází, and his account has been inserted in the Akbarnámah by 'Allámí Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl.

During the first part of the month Rabí'-ul-awwal[7] of this year His Imperial Highness took up his abode at Rohtás. On the fifteenth of this month he returned to that abode of delights Pe-

[1] The first month.

[2] The second month.

[3] According to the Fúzuk (Sayyid Aḥmad's Text, p. 45, last two lines) it was the building which was called *Zain-lanká*. The lake was called *Ulur*.

[4] Jellum or Hydaspes.

[5] A cubit. *Vullers.*

[6] Weeping willow.

[7] The third month.

sháwar, and on the sixth of the month Rabí'-us-sání[1] he took up his abode in that city which is the city of all arts. At that time news came, that Bahádur Kodrah, a little account of whom has already been given, after the death of Qutlu Lohání[2] governor of, had fought a great battle with Sakat Singh the son of Mán Singh, and defeated him. When Mán Singh marched against him, he was not able to withstand him, but fled and hid himself in the deserts and mountain, and the kingdom of Bengál to the sea-shore was brought entirely into the power of Mán Singh.

On Sunday the seventeenth of Jamáda's-sání[3] of (P. 386) the year one thousand and one (1001) the passage of the Sun from Pisces into Aries took place, which was the beginning of the thirty-eighth year from the Accession. More new regulations were published.

On the twenty-fourth of Jamada's-sání the Khán Khánán and Mirzá Jání came to Court, and became the recipients of the Emperor's bounty. He distinguished the Amírs, who had been with the Khán Khánán on service, each according to circumstances with additions to their *manṣabs* and *jágírs*. At first, Multán was fixed as the *jágír* of Mirzá Jání, after some time he was transferred to Thathah, and Multán was given to Mirzá Rastam, as shall be hereafter narrated, if God, He is exalted! will.

At this time came news that, when the Khán-i-A'zam took possession of Súrat Muzaffar Guzrátí, who was in that neighbourhood, fled to Kangar the *zamíndár* of the province of Kach'h and took refuge with him. Then A'zam Khán went against Kangar. And he with a view to preserving his name and reputation came and had an interview with Khán-i-A'zam. The son of Khán-i-A'zam took Muzaffar Khán[4] prisoner unawares, in the place where he was, and sent him to the Khán-i-A'zam. And Muzaffar on the journey on the plea of a call of nature sat down with his canopy over him, which he always carried about with him together with his other property, and cut his throat and died. And, not being able to

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Or *Nohání*.

[3] The sixth month.

[4] The text here is very much confused; but I think I have given the right sense.

do anything else, they sent his head to the Khán i A'zam, and he sent it on to Court: —

"Heaven turns away its face
From every one who turns from it;
You should not turn your face from it,
That it turn not its face from you."[1]

At this time Rájah Mán Singh sent from Bengál the 120 elephants, which had fallen into his hands at the conquest of Orísah.

In this year in accordance with the decree that all the Amírs of the frontier at the end of a certain fixed period should come to Court, which was a very wise and politic provision, a *farmán* was issued to A'zam Khán, who (P. 387) for a period of six years had absented himself, ordering him to repair to Court. The Emperor took away from him Júnágarh[2] which he had conquered, and gave it to Rájah Mán Singh. On the last occasion, when he came from Bengál to Fathpúr, he had let fall some harsh words concerning the sect and creed, and in his bigotry had brought the names of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Bírbar before the Emperor, and carried his speech to wonderful excesses, so that he became the common talk of high and low. Eventually on account of their affair he was looked very much askance at, and so [he left Court] on the pretext of letting his beard grow, which he had vowed in his war with the Jám, and concerning which the Emperor had written to him, saying: "Is your beard not yet grown, that you do not come?" and he had written a long and rude letter in reply, which made an impression on the Emperor's mind. Some of the hypocrites about Court told tales of him, and got him removed from his post. On this account he put his children and his wives and treasures into a boat on the first of

[1] For the sentiment compare the saying of Rabban Gamliel, son of Rabbi (Mishnah, *Aboth* ii 4) "Make His will thy will, that He may make thy will His will" And for the "turn" of the verse, compare Rapin's line on the Marigold:

Calthaque, solis amans, solem dum spectat amatum,
Ducit eum, quem fert, ipsa in sole colorem.

[2] The capital of Surat.

Rajab[1] of the aforesaid year he left Júnágarh and went to the port of Díú intending to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and the following *mnemosynon* for the date, which is one too many, was composed:—

"To the place of the *upright* Khán-i-A'zam went,
But in his despite of the king he went *wrong*,
When I asked of my head the date of the year,
It said: *Mirzá Kókah is gone on a pilgrimage.*[2]

And this affair of his,[3] which they compared with that of the chief of anchorites Ibn Adham,[4] after all was all the same to him whether he accomplished the journey or not. On the arrival of the news a *farmán* was sent to the Prince Sultán Murád that he should become governor of Guzrát, and the Emperor having appointed Muḥammad Ṣádiq Khán, in the place of Ismá'íl Qulí Khán as his *wakíl*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Súrat and Baroṇch, on account of the removal of Qulíj Khán, was fixed as his *jágír*. In this year Zaim Khán Kókah and Ḳaṣf Khán who had been appointed to punish the Afgháns of Swát and Bajúr, and to extirpate Jallálah the Roshanáí (P. 388), killed many of them, and captured the wives and family of Jallálah, and his brother Wahdat 'Alí with their relatives and brethren to the number of nearly 14,000, and sent them to Court. And of the rest of the prisoners who can take account!

On the twenty-ninth of Zi-l-qa'dah[5] of this year the government of the district of Málwah was given to Mirzá Sháh Rukh. And Shahbáz Khán Kambú, who had been kept in confinement for three years, and had paid a fine of seven *lacs* of rupees, the Emperor sent for

[1] The seventh month.

[2] 40 + 10 + 200 + 7 + 1 + 20 + 6 + 25 + 2 + 8 + 3 + 80 + 200 + 400 = 1002. The date is therefore 1001.

[3] He went with all his children and a tremendous suite.

[4] Abu Isḥaq bin Adham a great saint, died 166 A. H. He made a very famous pilgrimage alone to Mekkah. See D'Herbelot *sub voce* "Adhem." He is well-known from Leigh Hunt's poem.

[5] The eleventh month.

from Kángarh and set him free. He was then appointed to manage the affairs of Málwah, and to be *wakíl* to Mirzá Sháh Rukh.

On the seventeenth of Zí-qa'dah of this year the learned Shaikh Mubárak[1] departed from this world. At his funeral his sons shaved their heads and beards and mustaches and eyebrows as people do the beard. And Faizí, the king of poets, found the date: *Pride of*[2] *perfection*; and I found the date: The *perfect Shaikh*.[3] And *A new law*[4] gives the date on which these people had their hair, beard, mustaches, and eyebrows shaved.

On the eighth of the month Muḥarram[5] of the year one thousand and two (1002) Mirzá Rustam bin Sulṭán Ḥusain Mirzá bin Bahrám Mirzá bin Isma'íl Ṣafawí, who himself held the government of Zamíndáwar and its environs, and his elder brother Mirzá Muzaffar Ḥusain held the government of Qandahár and the Garmsír,[6] being angry with his brother, came to Court with his children, wife, family and brother-german. The Emperor sent Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk and others to meet him, and take to him a private pavillion, and an audience tent, carpets and other paraphernalia of the *farrásh khánah*,[7] and a belt and jewelled dagger. And at four *cosses* from Lahór he ordered the Khán Khánán, and Zain Khán Kókah, and the other great Amírs to go and meet him. After he had done homage the Emperor made him a present of the sum of a *kror* of *tankhs* in small change,[8] and enrolled him among the Amírs of five thousand, and appointed Multán as his *jágír*. (P. 389).

At this time coming four months after the king of poets Shaikh Faizí,[9] the other ambassadors arrived from the rulers of the Dak'hin

[1] Father of Faizí and Abul-Fazl.

[2] 80 + 600 + 200 + 31 + 40 + 30 + 20 = 1001.

[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 21 + 40 + 30 = 1001.

[4] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 + 3 + 4 + 10 + 4 = 1001.

[5] The first month.

[6] The temperature in Persia, India &c. depends more on elevation and soil, than on latitude. The higher and cooler regions are called *sarsír*, the hotter *garmsír*. See Balfour's *Álí Hazár*, p. 100, *n.*

[7] See Blochmann, p. 53.

[8] It was the custom to keep bags of *100 dám* at hand ready for distribution. Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 421, *n.* 1.

[9] See *supra*, p. 377.

having succeeded in their negotiations; and paid their respects. And since Burhán-ul-mulk[1] had not sent any acceptable present on the twenty-first of Muharram the Emperor appointed the Prince Dányál to this service, as *sardár* to the Khán Khánán, and Ráí Sing (whom I should rather call Sag)[2], and other Amírs with 70,000 specially assigned troops.

The Emperor married the Prince Dányál to the daughter of the Khán Khánán, and gave a great feast, and received such a quantity of presents of gold, and all sorts of precious things, that he was able to equip the army therefrom. And having given the ensigns of Royalty and insignia of pomp and dignity to the Prince, he sent him off. He himself immediately afterwards went out to the chase, when he had reached the banks of the river of Sulṭánpúr, which is twenty-five *cosses* from Láhór. He changed his mind and ordered the Prince to return. In order to take counsel with the Khán Khánán, who had got as far as Sarhind, he sent for him. He made him turn back to go and meet the Leader of the army with orders to abandon the enterprise, and again dismissed him, and himself returned to Láhór.

On Friday the seventeenth of Jamádá 's-sání[3] of this year Miyán Shaikh 'Abd'-ullah the lawful heir of his reverence Miyán Shaikh Dáúd (God sanctify his spirit!) passed to the eternal world, and *The Pure Spirit of Shaikh Dáúd* gives the date "God knows what is best, and to Him do we eventually return."

Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaḳát-i Akbarí Sháhí*, the date of which I, this erring author, (P. 309) after much thought found to be *Nizámí*.[4] Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself, and so from this point onwards the events of the two following years will be chronicled in a compendious style.

On Monday the twenty-eighth of Jamáda 's-sání[5] of the year one

[1] King of Ahmadnagar.

[2] *I. e.*, Dog.

[3] The fifth month.

[4] I cannot make it give more than 992.

[5] 30 + 900 + 1 + 10 + 10 = 1001.

[6] The sixth month.

thousand and two (1002) the sun passed out from the extremity of the sign of Pisces into the commencement of the sign of Aries. And this was the beginning of the thirty-ninth year from the Accession. These eighteen days were spent, as were those of the years preceding, in feasting and jollity of all sorts. New decrees were promulgated. Of this number are the following:

The chief police officer was to take cognizance of the streets and houses of the city one by one, and to require of the heads and chief persons of every street a bond that he would perform the following duties. To keep a close watch on every one who came in or out, of whatever degree he might be, whether merchant, soldier or otherwise. Not to allow troublesome, and disorderly fellows, or thieves to take up their abode in the city. That if he saw any one whose expenditure was greater than his receipts, he should follow the matter up, and represent to the Emperor through the chief police officer, that all this extravagance of his is probably paid for with money, irregularly acquired. That he would inform the Chief of Police of all rejoicings and feasts, and mourning, and lamentation which might take place, especially marriages, births, feasts[1] and such like. That he should have continually in his employ in every street, and lane, and bazar, and at every ford of the river a person, whom he could trust, to keep him informed of everything that went on, whether good or bad. And that he would so manage the roads, that no one who had lost his way, or who was a fugitive should be able to get out of reach, and that no merchant should be able without an order to take away a horse, nor to bring in a pack from Hindústán.

The price of gold, silver, and precious stuffs was to remain fixed, and they were to be bought at the imperial tariff. A fixed profit was to accrue to the imperial treasury.

An inspector and registrar of the effects of those who died or disappeared was to be appointed. So that if any one who died had an heir (P. 391), after it had been proved that he did not owe anything to the imperial exchequer, and was not *krorí* (tax-gatherer), or a banker receiving deposits, the heir might take possession of it; otherwise it

[1] Or خوی may mean "bloodshed"; but I have taken it as the Arab. pl. of the Persian خوان a table, food.

passed into the imperial treasury, and until they got a receipt from the treasurer, they were not to bury the deceased.

In order to show respect to the Sun the Emperor ordered, that [the coffins] should be placed in the grave-yard on the eastern side of the city. If any of the disciples called *Darsaniyyah*[1] died, whether male or female they were to hang some uncooked grain and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and to throw it into the river. Then they were to take out the corpse and burn it in a place where no water was; or else after the manner of the inhabitants of Cathay[2] to bind it to a tree. This order is based on a fundamental rule, which His Majesty had defined, but which I have not room to mention here.

No son or daughter of the common people was to be married until they had gone to the office of the Chief of Police, and been seen by his agents, and the correct age of both parties had been investigated. In this way a host of profits and perquisites surpassing all computation, guess, or imagination, found their way into the pockets of those in office, especially certain police officers, and effete Khán-lings,[3] and other vile oppressors.

Another rule was this: If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her. And if a young woman were found running about the lanes and bazars of the town, and while so doing either did not veil herself, or allowed herself to become unveiled, or if a woman was worthless and deceitful and quarrelled with her husband, she was to go to the quarter of the prostitutes, and take up the profession.

Another rule was this: A father or a mother might, if forced by hunger and extreme misery, sell their child, and afterwards when they had the means to pay, might buy it back again from servitude.

If a Hindú, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Musalmán against his will, he was to be allowed, if he pleased, to go back to the religion of his fathers.

[1] So called, because they came to feast their eyes on the Emperor every morning at his first public appearance called "Darsan." See Blochmann, *Ain-i Akbari*, p. 157. *Darçana* is Sanskrit for "sight," Gr. δέρκομαι.

[2] Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo mentions the custom of exposing the dead as current in Cathay. (vol. II, pp. 117, 118).

[3] *Khánú* is a diminutive, from *Khán*. See Vullers's *Inst. ling. pers.*, p. 235.

No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and any one was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased.

If a Hindú woman fell in love with a Musalmán (P. 392) and entered the Muslim religion, she should be taken by force from her husband, and restored to her family.

If any of the infidels chose to build a church, or synagogue, or idol-temple, or fire-temple, no one was to hinder him.

All these laws, of which I have given a short account, refer to matters of religion, and it is not in the power of the compiler of these pages to include them all. But the laws of government and finance and households, and the mint, and the army, and the agriculturists, and the merchants, and the custom-house, and the chronicle-writing, and the *kroris*, and the *dák-u-mahálí*, and the fights[1] between elephants, and deer and cheetas, and tigers, and birds, and goats and dogs and bears, and of observing established rules on the part of the dependents of a household, and of the disposition of one's time in matter of eating and drinking and sleeping and waking, and other actions and functions, how can they possibly be described! for the intellect is incapable of attaining to it, and to recount them all, would take a life-time of more than the human span:—

"Every day Heaven brings forth a new event,
The like of which Thought cannot fathom:
It requires an Intellect brighter than the Sun
To solve the difficulties of this age."

Some of these may be found in the second volume of the *Akbar-námah* which was composed by the very learned Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and forms a large book.

On the day the "Eminence of the Sun," the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'hah, the Heretic, (be on him what may) and the third by A'çaf Khán. And an order had been issued to me to revise and

[1] See Blochmann, p. 218.

[2] I propose to read راى instead of راهى which might, however, be rendered "a method."

collate it, in conjunction with Mullá Muṣṭafá Kátibi of Láhór, who is a worthy friend of mine, and is become one of the Abadís. I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry," (P. 393) I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury. My condition with regard to these books was like that of one who eats one date together with the stones, and another says to him, "Why don't you throw away the stone?" and he answers, "They have apportioned me only just this amount[2]."

At this time Shaikh Faizí, the king of poets, finished the commentary on the Qurán[3], which is altogether without diacritic points, and is of the thickness of seventy-five *yards*. And he found nine lines without diacritic points which gave the date of its completion. And some sheets he sent into Írán that it might become generally known. And now he is occupied with *Amrár i Sháhí*, which also gives the date of its revision and collation. And the learned men of the age wrote their *imprimatur* on it. Thus Shaikh Yaqúb of Kashmír wrote an *imprimatur* in Arabic; and Miyán Amán-ulláh Sarhindí found the verse of the Qurán:[4] "There is nothing green nor sere, but is noted in the Perspicuous Book[5]," and Mír Muhammad Haidar Muammáí, the whole of *Surat-al-Ikhlás* without the "*bismi'llah*." And the author of these pages found, "One of the

[1] See Text, p. 317.

[2] He means that he could not afford to reject work for which he was paid.

[3] Called *Sawá'ı'ul ilhám*. The rays of inspiration. See Blochmann, p. 519.

[4] 1 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 200 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 = 1063.

[5] Al Qur'án, VI, 59.

[6] [Translation of Editor's note.] Be it known that the sum-total of the numerical values of letters of the verse "There is nothing green &c." is 1099, and that of the line "Praise be to God! &c." is 973, and that of the line "O God &c." is 1031. Thus each of the lines gives a different date. [This being the case we leave it to our more patient readers to discover the solution of the enigma. Tr.]

[7] Al Qur'án, chap. CXII. The whole *surah* added does give 1002.

best of commentaries, is the *Bismi'lláh* in the name of the Compassionate, and the banner of the Qur'án" to give the date. And a copy of an *imprimatur*, shall soon be given in its proper place (if God will). And some of the thirty lines, giving the date of the composition, which were written by me from the hunting-ground at Láhór are the following: —(P. 391)

"Thanks to God who grants desire, he has finished the *Sawáti'*-
O God the unique writer has not erased The Word. [*ul-ilhám.*
The limits of the secrets of the Word of God, who revealed
the pearls of the thrones.
The thrones are lofty, the pearls are sublime."

And the remainder are similar.

In the month Ṣafar of the year one thousand and two (1002) Khwájah Ibráhím Ḥusain Aḥadí, who was one of the author's particular friends, departed this life. And Khwájah Ibráhím Ḥusain[1] (God have mercy on him!) was found to give the date.

This same year God (He is praised! glorious is His Majesty!) granted this scribe grace to write a copy of the Glorious Word. When I had written it in clear legible *naskh* hand-writing, with the pages and marginal lines perfect in their way, I presented it, as an offering at the luminous shrine of his holiness that Ghaus of mankind, orthodox teacher, and asylum, Miyán Shaikh Dáúd Jhanní Wál[2] (God sanctify his tomb!), in the hopes that it having removed the infidelity of former books, which is black as the record of the deeds of the author, may be his friend throughout life, and his intercessor after death: "and this would not be too hard for God."[3]

On the seventeenth of Zí Qa'dah[4] of this year Muḥammad Qásim Khán Mír Baḥr, and Mirzá Muḥammad Zamán, who was one of the sons of Sháhrukh Mirzá, were killed in Kábul. It happened as follows: When Muḥammad Zamán Mirzá came to Badakhshán, after returning from his pilgrimage, the inhabitants of Badakhshán

[1] 600 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 + 10 + 50 = 1002.

[2] Jhanni is near Láhór. He died in 982. Blochm., p. 539.

[3] Al Qur'án, 14, 23.

[4] The eleventh month.

were in despair at the oppressions of the Uzbeks. They made him Commander-in-chief, and hoping continually for help from Hindústán, they carried on a brave resistance, and continually held their own against the enemy. But when their hopes were not realised, and the Uzbeks brought

"A host more numerous than ants and locusts"

against Muḥammad Zamán Mírzá, he resisted and withstood them for some years to the best of his power and ability, but in the last throw he was worsted, and being no longer able to stand his ground, he made for Hindústán in company with some 14,000 or 15,000 horse (P. 395), and arrived in the neighbourhood of Kábul. But through the instigation of certain persons he conceived some seditious disaffection, and repented of his intention. He was taken prisoner by some followers of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, commandant of Kábul. Muḥammad Qásim Khán treated him with the greatest respect and honour, and presenting every one of his followers with a horse, and a robe of honour, and money for expenses, appointed 150 horsemen to accompany him, and wished him to depart for Láhór. Meanwhile some of the confidential servants of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, who were Badakhshís and Kábulís, having made friends with the Mírzá, broke into the house at midday and entered the bed-chamber of Muḥammad Qásim Khán by force. They put him to the sword, and sent him to his last resting-place. Muḥammad Háshim, son of Muḥammad Qásim Khán, who had a house outside the citadel of Kábul, got certain gunners, and servants of his father to join with him, and besieged Mírzá Muḥammad Zamán. For one night and a day he kept the fire of battle alight, and then slew the Mírzá, and sent his head to Court.

The Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulij[1] Khán, who for some time had been manager-in-general,[2] to be commandant of Kábul, and dismissed him to go to his command. He appointed Shams-ud-dín Muḥammad Khawáfí[3] to the office of superintending the affairs of State and finance, and made him absolute *Díwán*. At this time the Emperor sent Áçaf Khán[4], *Bakhshí*, to Kashmír to look into the affairs of the military and civilians of that country.

[1] *Qulij* properly *Qúlij*, means in Turkí *a sword*. Blochm., 355, *n*.

[2] *Jumlat ul Mulk*, see Blochm, p. 349.

[3] See p. 290, *n*. 1.

[4] *Viz.*, Ja'far Beg, see Blochm., 528.

In this year God (praise be to Him!), when the successive blows of misfortune, and the scourges of vicissitudes were battering me, graciously granted me repentance from some follies and transgressions with which I had been afflicted, and opened my eyes to the vileness of my actions, and the baseness of my deeds :—

"Ah! if I remain so, ah!"

(P. 396) And by way of good omen "Rectitude[1]" was found to give the date. And the king of Poets (Faizí) composed this verse :—

"My Shaikh has indeed repented of sinning:
His date is *Excelling in penitence.*[2]
The thought of wine and beloved has left my head,
The sound of lute and tambourine has left my heart."

In the first part of the blessed month of Muḥarram[3] of the year one thousand and three (1003) Shaikh Farid Bukhári, who was associated with Áçaf Khán in the duties of *Bakhshí*, received orders to repair to the mountain district of the north, and reduce to obedience the rebellious Rájahs of those districts, and having made a settlement of their holdings, to bring back suitable presents to the Emperor.

In the beginning of the month Çafar[4] of this year the Emperor crossed over the river Ráwí, and spent twenty-five days in amusement and hunting in the neighbourhood, and then returned.

At this time the king of Poets[5] was ordered by the Emperor to compose the *Panj-ganj*, and in the short space of five months, more or less, he finished the *Nal u Daman* (who were a lover and his beloved, the story of whom is famous among the people of India,) and comprised it in 4,200 verses odd, and presented it to the Emperor as a gift together with some *ashrafís*. It was very much approved by the Emperor, and he ordered it to be transcribed and illuminated

[1] 1 + 60 + 400 + 100 + 1 + 40 + 400 = 1002.
[2] 60 + 1 + 2 + 100 + 1 + 30 + 400 + 6 + 2 + 400 = 1002.
[3] The first month.
[4] The second month.
[5] Faizí.

and read like the translations by Naqíb Khán. The first couplet of the book is the following :—

"O in the search of Thee from the beginning
The 'Anqá of sight is soaring high."

And verily it is a *Masnaví*, the like of which for the last 300 years since Mír Khusrou no poet has composed.

At this time Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad[1] fell out with Qulij Khán, and was continually in opposition to him, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind (P. 397) of the Emperor, and had entered on affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance. And this to such an extent, that the Emperor appointed Qulij Khán and other courtiers, who had always been attendants at Court, to out-lying provinces. The Emperor considering this matter as but the forerunner of his patronage, and the beginning of his favour, had all sorts of bounties laid up for him in the treasury of his heart, and wished to bring forward his exalted ability, which was capable of growth, into the arena of notice. Suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever, and left this transitory world taking nothing with him but a good name. A host of friends and companions, who had been witnesses of the excellence of his qualities, and had entertained great hopes of him, and especially the poor author who cherished for him a kind of religious unanimity, and a sincere friendship free from all worldly motives), poured tears of regret from their eyes, and beat their bosoms with the stone of despair, and in the end had no resource left, but patience and endurance, which is a characteristic of the pure, and a quality of the pious. I looked upon this event as the greatest misfortune, and took therefrom a perfect warning, so that I never afterwards formed a friendship with any human being, but regarded the corner of obscurity as best suited to me :—

[1] Author of the *Tabaqát-i Akbarí*.

"The discourse that preaches of thy departure is mere vanity,
The death of thy companion is sufficient preacher for thee."

This event took place on the twenty-third of Çafar of this year. They carried his bier from the camp to Láhór and buried him in his own garden. There was scarcely any one of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret:—(P. 398)

of misfc
gracic
sic

"Death grants perpetuity to no human being,
The rigorous King shows no respect of persons.
The decree of Death is common to all earth's habitants,
He issues not this decree to me or thee alone."

And this *qiṭ'ah* was composed to give the date:—

"Mírzá Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad is departed,
Brisk and beautiful went he towards the other world.
His spirit on account of its sublimity
Became the protegé of the Lord Most High.
A clever man found the year of the date,
A pearl without price has left the world.[1]"

At this time Shaikh Farid Bukhárí, who had been sent[2] to reduce the State of the Sawálik mountain-district to order, was sent for to administer the affairs of the office of *Bakhshí*, which had been committed exclusively to him. The Emperor appointed Qázi Ḥusain Qazwíní to succeed him [in the Sawálik mountains].

At this time A'zam Khán returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharífs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings, and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from his reverence 'Allamí,[3] and received Gházípúr and Ḥájípúr as *jágír*:—

[1] 20 + 6 + 5 + 200 + 12 + 2 + 5 + 1 + 7 + 4 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 1003.

[2] See p. 396.

[3] *I. e.*, Abu-l-Fazl, see p. 201.

"I have spent my life at this learning,
And am still learning the Alphabet;
I don't know when I shall become
So proficient in the letters as to find my way in his Díwán.

And the saying about repressing one's whims came true.[1]

On the ninth of the month of Rajab[2] of this year the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place (P. 399), and the fortieth year from the Accession began. The customary assembly was held in the same manner as in former years. Two days before the entrance of the Sun into Aries, the Emperor called to me to come from the window[3] in the public and private audience-chambers; and said to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, "We thought that so and so" (meaning the writer of these pages) "was an unworldly[4] individual of Çúfí tendencies, but he appears to be such a bigoted lawyer that no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry." He enquired, "In what book has the author thus written, that your Majesty says this of him?" He replied, "Why, in the *Razm-námah*" (which is a name for the *Mahábhárata*) "and last night I called Naqíb Khán to witness of this matter." Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl admitted that it was a fault. I was obliged to make my appearance, and humbly stated, that I was a translator, nothing more, and that whatever the sages of India had represented therein, I had translated without alteration, but that if I had written it myself, I should have been to blame, and should have acted wrongly. The Shaikh supported me, and the Emperor was silent. The cause of this *contretemps* was as follows: I had translated in the *Razm-námah* a certain story in which it is narrated, that one of the teachers of the people of India, when on the point of death, said by way of advice to those present: "It is right that a man should step out of the limits of ignorance and negligence, and should first of all become acquainted with the peerless Creator, and should pursue the path of knowledge; and not be satisfied with mere knowledge without practise, for that yields no fruit, but should choose the path of virtue, and as far as in him lies withdraw his

[1] The text here seems corrupt.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] See *Blochm.* p. 337, *n.* 2.
[4] See فنا in De Sacy, *Pendnamah*, p. liv.

hand from evil actions, and should know for a certainty that every action will be enquired into." And on this passage I wrote this hemistich :—

"Every action has its reward,
And every deed its recompense."

(P. 400) This passage he considered as referring to Munkir and Nakír[1] the general Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, &c. things contrary to his own fixed tenets, who never talked of anything but metempsychosis, and so suspected me of theological bias and bigotry :—

"How long reproach me for my weeping eyelashes,
Let me for once have also the sympathy of thy dark eye."

Eventually I impressed upon all the courtiers the fact, that all the people of India speak of the reward and punishment of good and bad actions. Their belief is as follows: When a person dies the scribe, who writes the chonicle of the deeds of mankind throughout the course of their lives, takes it before the angel, who is the Seizer of Souls, and is called the King of Justice. After he has examined into their good and bad actions, and has seen which has the preponderance, he says, "This person has his choice." Then he asks him: "Shall I first for thy good actions take thee to Paradise, that thou mayest there enjoy to the full delights in proportion to thy good actions, and after that send thee to Hell to expiate thy sins; or *vice versâ?*" When that period comes to an end, then he gives orders that the person should return to the Earth, and entering a form suitable to his actions should pass a certain period. And so on *ad infinitum*, until the time when he attains absolute release, and is freed from coming into and leaving the world. So that affair passed off well. On the day of *Sharaf-ush-shams* the Emperor said to Çadr Jahán, without any one's having suggested it to him: "How would it be if I were to appoint so and so[2] to the guardianship of the blessed tomb of his holiness the Khwájah of Ajmír, which is without a guardian?" He answered, "It would be a very good thing."

[1] The judges of the dead.

[2] *That is*, the Author.

for the space of two or three months I did much running about in the service of the Court, all the time hoping for a release from this confusion. And for a time I wrote some formal petitions, to which I got no answer, and so it became necessary that (P. 401) I should take my departure. And the Inward Monitor said this :—

"If thou put thy hand to anything,
I will put a chain on thy hand.
I will drown thee in a butt of wine,
If thou mention the name of sobriety."

On the night of the last of the blessed month of Ramazán[1] of this year, when Çadr Jahán asked the Emperor, what order should be given with respect to my dismissal? he replied: "He has business to do here, and every now and then I shall have some service for him to perform, produce me some one else." But the omniscience of God (praise be to Him Most High!), and His will (glorious is His Majesty!) did not coincide with this intention, and I do not know what is best to do in this uncertainty and very gadfly's condition :—

"Thou takest me from thine own door to the door of the rival,
Then thou sayest, why dost thou go to the door of the rival?
I have wandered for years in search of thy good face,
Show thy face, and deliver me from this wandering."

Contemporaneously with these events he one day said to Abu-l-Fazl in my presence; "Although the guardianship of Ajmír suits so and so very well, yet since, whenever I give him anything to translate, he always writes what is very pleasing to me, I do not wish that he should be separated from me." The Shaikh and others confirmed His Majesty's opinion of me. That very day an order was issued that I should translate and complete the remainder of those Hindú lies, part of which had been translated by the command of Sulţán Zín-ul-'ábidín, king of Kashmír, and named the *Baḥr-ul-asmár*,[2] while the greater part had been left untranslated. I was commanded to finish the last volume of that book, which was of the

[1] The ninth month.

[2] "The Sea of Tales." It is probably the *Rájatarangini*, "The Ocean of Kings," the only piece of History in Sanskrit. The Kathá Sarit Ságara could hardly be meant.

thickness of sixty *juz'*, in the course of five months. At this time also one night he called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot of (P. 402) the bed, and till the morning asked for stories out of each chapter, and then said: "Since the first volume of the *Baḥr-ul-asmár*, which Sulṭán Zín-ul-'ábidín had translated, is in archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book, which you have translated." I performed the *zamínbós*, and heartily undertook the commission. I began to work, and after showing me a great deal of favour he presented me with 10,000 *tankahs* in small change, and a horse. If God (He is exalted!) will, I hope to have this book well finished in the course of the next two or three months, and that it will obtain me leave to go to my native country (which is the grave). But He is the right one to give permission, and He hath power over the wishes of his servant.

During this year reports came from Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-mulk, and Shahbáz Khán from the confines of Hindiah, that they had put to death Burhán-ul-mulk on account of his bad conduct, and had set up his son, who was twelve years old, as his heir.

The Emperor sent a *farmán* to the prince Sulṭán Murád, and another *farmán* to the Khán Khánán ordering them to set out with haste, and proceed to the subjugation of the Dakhin.

During the first part of the month of Zi-ḥajjah[1] of this year Sháh Beg Khán Kábulí went to Qandahár, and Mírzá Muzaffar Ḥusain, commandant of Qandahár, came to Court in company with Qará Beg *Mír-shikár*, and brought valuable jewels with other precious things as a present to the Emperor. The Emperor treated him with special favour and kindness.

Sháh Beg Khán fought a battle at Zamín Dáwar with a great army of the Uzbeks, and defeated them. He slew most of their leaders, and to those whom the sword spared, he gave dresses of honour and released them. Another body of them fled to a fortress, and were beseiged there. He bombarded the fortress and took it by storm. Then he continued his advance and took the Garmsír.

(P. 403). The Emperor conferred the province of Chítór on Mírzá Rustam, and took away the district of Samb'hal from Abu-l-

[1] The twelfth month.

Fazl and gave it as *jágír* to Mírzá Qandahárí.[1] And Multán, which had become completely desolated by the ty[illegible] of Mírzá Rustam, he converted into Crown property.

At this time Sa'íd Khán Mughul came from Bangálah to Court, and brought an elephant and much money and precious products of that country from 'Isá Khán the *Zamíndár* as a present to the Emperor.

In this year Shaikh Ya'qúb Kashmírí, who had the *takhulluç* of Çarfí,[2] had obtained permission to leave the Court, and return to his native country, when he died: "Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him do we return"[3]:—

"All our friends are gone, and have taken the road to the Ka'bah,
We with tipsy foot remain at the door of the wine-seller.
Not a word of the points we proposed has been solved,
We are left beggars, without this world or the next."

On the night of the twenty-seventh of Zí-ḥajjah of this year Ḥakím 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to Rájah 'Alí Khán, and had returned thence to Hindiah (which had been appointed as his *jágír*), after an illness of five months departed to the other world. Extolled be the perfection of God! our acquaintances and friends one by one withdraw their hearts from our companionship, and lightly hastened, and still do hasten, to their everlasting home, while we in this sadness and despair drag on an existence in folly and forgetfulness of our end:—

"O heart, since thou art aware that death follows existence,
To what end this desire for length of days?
Thou did'st make a pact with Fate,[4] not Fate with thee,
Why then this cry, that Fate is treacherous?"

[1] The Mirzá Muzaffar Ḥusain mentioned above.

[2] See Vol. III, p. 148 of Text.

[3] Al Qur'án II, 151.

[4] Referring to the well-known verse of the Quran vii. 171.

On the third of the month of Muḥarram of the year one thousand and four (1004) Ḥakím Ḥasan Gílání (P. 404), who was of a very dervish-like character, and kind, and possessed of excellent qualities, departed this life :—

"If a Rose were possible without a Thorn,
Every moment in this world would be a new delight ;
We should be happy enough in this old caravansarai of Life,
If Death were not always at the door."

At this time Shaikh Músá Gílání Qádirí, son of the Master, Shaikh Ḥámid (God sanctify his tomb !), younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ul Qádir[1] who is a devotee at Uchh, chose to do homage to the Emperor, and was raised to the rank of Commander of five hundred.

During this month Çadr Jahán, the *Muftí* of the imperial dominions, who has been appointed to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two foolish sons ; and having taken the *Shaçt*[2] of the new religion, he went into the snare like a fish, and so got his commandership of One Thousand. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day Mullá Taqí of Shustar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of the learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the *Sháhnámah* into prose in accordance with the Emperor's orders, and whenever the word 'Sun' occurs he uses such phrases as *jallat 'azamatuhu* and *'azza shánuhu*.[3] Among others that joined was a Shaikhzádah, one Gosálah Khán by name, of Banáras, (but what good can be expected from a *zádah !*)[4] and Mullá Sháh Múḥammad of Sháhábád, and Çúfí Aḥmad musician of the Masnad-i-Çád of Dihlí, who claimed to belong to the progeny of his holiness Ghaus-us-saqalain (God be favourable to him !) :—

[1] He had been deprived of this grant, and had returned to Uchh. *Blochm.*, p. 544.

[2] *Shaçt* was the symbol which the Emperor presented to each novice of his Divine Faith (*Blochm.*, 166). It also means *a fish-hook*.

[3] Because Muslims use such phrases after the name of God.

[4] Literally "There is no good in *bán*, and *zádah*." A possible explanation of this saying is, that some words expressive of contempt, such as *ḥarámzádah* bastard, and names of menial servants, such as *pílbán* &c., end in *bán* and *zádah*.

"Alidís cub is like it ;
How art thou like a prophet ? say ! "

They all conformed to the four degrees of the Faith, and received appointments as Commanders of from One Hundred to Five Hundred. They gave up their beards in the earnest pursuit of the new religion, and became hairless and beardless, and "Some shavers[1]" was found to give the date. These new-religionists behaved like Hindús turned Musalmáns, and like one who is dressed in red clothes, and in his conceit looks at his relatives, who say to him (P. 405) : —

"My little man, these rags will be old to-morrow,
But the Islám will still remain on your neck."

Aḥmad "the little Çúfí" is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor of Shaikh Aḥmad Bikrí of Egypt. He said, that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age he had come to India, and the Shaikh had frequently told him, to assist the Sulṭán of India, should he make a slip, and to lead him back from his place of danger. But the opposite was the result :—

"A boastful spider said : I am so very clever,
That it would be only right if to-morrow I were made
"Weaver by appointment to the Houris."
Hast not heard what another spider said to him ?
Brother, why boast ? first weave, then boast ! "

The issue of the affair of Gosálah Banárasí, who was a catamite of "a calf in bodily shape, and lowing[2]," was as follows : Through the intervention of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he was brought into proximity to the Emperor, and by deceit and trickery getting himself made *Krorí* of Banáras he managed to leave the Court. He in company with Aḥmad the little Çúfí set his eyes on a certain prostitute, and having left a considerable sum of money with her appointed a guardian over her and went away. When the overseers of the prostitutes and dancing-girls represented this to the Emperor, one night at the New

[1] 40 + 6 + 400 + 200 + 1 + 800 + 3 + 50 + 4 = 1004.
[2] Al Qur'án vii, 146. *Gosálah* is Persian for "a calf."

Year's assembly he allowed the matter to transpire, and took away the jágír of Two-Hundred from Aḥmad Suflí[1], and Mullá Sháh Muḥammad, which they held conjointly in the skirts of the mountains, and recalled Gosálah of Banáras.

On the tenth of the month of Çafar[2] of this year the King of Poets, Shaikh Faizí, after suffering for a long time from conflicting diseases, *viz.*, from the trouble of a difficulty in breathing, and from dropsy and swelling of the hands and feet, and from a vomiting of blood, which he had borne for six months, passed from this world. And since he had, in despite of Mussalmáns, associated and been mixed up with dogs day and night, they say that at the moment of (P. 406) death they heard him bark like a dog. And through his bigotry in the matter of heresy and denial of the religion of Islám, he involuntarily at that moment even in the presence of men of learning, lawyers and ascetics, uttered meaningless words and such foolish gibberish, and stuff and nonsense, and unbelief in religious matters, as he was accustomed to, and in which he had formerly so persisted. At length he went to his own place, and a *mnemosynon* for the date is "Woe to the heretic, and Shi'ah, and natural-philosopher, and the worldly man;" and another "The pillar of heresy is broken[3]." And one of his friends invented this *mnemosynon*:—

> "Seest thou what a number of tricks the Heaven plays,
> The bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale.
> That bosom, which treasured in itself a whole world,
> Became too contracted to draw half a breath."

At the time of his last agony the Emperor came in the middle of the night and took up his head and caressed it. Several times he cried out and said: "O Shaikh Jí I have brought Ḥakím 'Ali[4] with me, why do you say nothing?" But since he was unconscious no voice or sound proceeded from him. When the Emperor had repeatedly

[1] The title *Sufli* "base" seems to be given him in contempt instead of *Çúfi*.

[2] The second month.

[3] 100 + 1 + 70 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 = 1004.

[4] See *Blochm.* p. 466.

questioned him, he cast his turban on the ground.[1] And after he had given some words of sympathy to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl the Emperor went away. Just about this time news was brought that Faizí had breathed his last.—"O God make us firm, make us to die and raise us again in the Faith and the Islám!"

A few days after this event Ḥakím Humán died on the sixth of Rabí'-ul-awwal,[2] and on the seventh Kamáláí Çadr passed away. The riches of both of these were at once [confiscated and] locked up in chambers, so that they were too poor to afford themselves a shroud.

These are some of the events of various dates, which in the month of Çafar (may God conclude it in happiness and success!) of the year one thousand (P. 407) and four (1004) of the era of the Hijrah, which corresponded to the fortieth from the Accession, were written down in a concise form by the *shikastah* pen of this broken-hearted one, and without reservation have been strung unceremoniously on the string of narration. But, although with respect to details it is but as a bubble from the sea of Umán,[3] or like a drop from the clouds or the rain, everything that I have written is as far as I am conscious deliberately guarded from every trace of error, unless (God's will be done!) in the case of some years a postdating or antedating, or inversion or alteration may have crept into the original sources, which is not the business of the compiler. And if my span of life give me a little assistance, and the divine grace be my companion, and my brain have leisure from other occupations (if the glorious God will) I will write also a compendium of the events of the years to come. And if not, any one, who is an inhabitant of India, can after us compose a rough epitome, for such has always been the Law of God:—

> "My object has been to give good advice, I have spoken,
> I commit it to God, and go my way."

[1] In extreme grief or vexation, *cf.* p. [53]; and *Masnawí*, "Merchant and Parrot."

[2] The third month.

[3] The sea between India and Africa.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Page 10, ll. 12-14. These lines should be,

" Is life's one lesson to the wise ;
That man an arrant fool doth live
Who *leaves* his money when he dies."

P. 14, ll. 5, 6. These lines should be—

" Of earth or man there was no trace upon the board of life,
When in love's school my soul from thee first learned its passion's art."

P. 24, note 3. *Instead of* " Probably the *Díván-i-Háfiz*, for " *read* Our author means the *Díván-i-Háfiz*. Ouseley in his *Lives of the Persian Poets* says that the terms *lisán-i-ghaib*, and *tarjumán-ul-asrár* were first applied to Ḥáfiz by Jámí.

P. 37. For note[2] substitute, " the phrase *dar wádí-i* means 'in the subject of,' see *text*, p. 185, l. 3, *infra*, p. 187, l. 4 and 14, p. 305, l. 10."

P. 45. Add to note[5] "the passage may refer to the *zikr-í arrah*, a mode of saying *ḥaqq* without moving the tongue, see Vullers, i. 964 *a*."

P. 53. Add to note[2]—" Compare *infra*, p. 294, note."

P. 73, ll. 1–5. This passage should run

" In this year the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Fatḥ-púrí Chishtí,—who in the year 971 had returned from Mekkah and Madínah, and for the date of whose return the author of this history had discovered two *mnemosyna* and included them in an Arabic letter which he wrote and sent him from Badáún, which will be given in its proper place if God, He is exalted, will,—laid."

P. 105, l. 29. See *supra*, p. 67.

P. 118, l. 22. This line may mean

" Who brought news to Sorrow? Who gave warning for Misfortune to come?"

P. 125, ll. 14—16. Rather,

" The coming of a son would add to the adornment of a king, if
The incomparable Lúlú would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl ;"
I. e., each is in itself incapable of receiving an addition of splendour.

P. 126, l. 6. " Onslaught,"—reading هجوم for تجوم.

P. 129, l. 3. In the text here (p. 125, l. 7) گذرا should probably be read گذار.

P. 138, l. 11. Our author should have written Maḥmúd for Muḥammad as he has done below.

P. 150, l. 17. There is something wrong in the text here.

P. 157, ll. 8—17. This passage should run thus: "the next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ullah Tarín, who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-Islám Fatḥpúrí, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of us together with Tolak Khán Qúchín and Bég Núrín Khán and Raḥman Qulí Khán and Kákar 'Alí Khán and the other Amírs of the *jágír* of the neighbourhood of Dihlí (who were come to repulse the Mirzá and were waiting for us in the *pargana* of Ahár on the bank of the river Ganges) should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon, as soon as a junction should have been effected."

P. 162. Add to note[8]. "This is a Turkí word and means a servant but not a royal one."

P. 169, l. 17. Add after "to rest." "On the ninth day they marched from thence without stopping to within 3 *cosses* of Ahmadábád."

P. 170, l. 26. On *wádí* see note *supra* on p. 37.

P. 174, l. 26. Probably for "the Emperor" we should read "the Saint."

P. 178, last l. Add note, "perhaps تکرار may mean disputations."

P. 181, l. 14. Rather "who relishes this *fresh* new wine?" reading بیاشامد.

P. 182, last l. Add in note after *Gajpati*,

"See Blochmann Transl. *Aín i Akb.*, pp. 399, 400."

P. 185, ll. 1—3. These lines should run,

"He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and hastening on by forced marches, arrived at Daryápur on the bank of the Ganges, distant 26 *cosses* from Patna. About 400 elephants fell into his hands."

P. 189, l. 28. This line should rather run,

"Gog, as they say, is where thy army is."

P. 192, l 9 after "measured" add as a parenthesis the following omitted couplet:

"In the eye of the experience of the jesting man
A two-headed snake is better than the surveyor's measuring-line."

P. 195, l. 7. This son's name is given in the text as Habárí, but Blochmann, p. 370, gives it as Jabárí.

P. 216, l. 1. "In the hot air" should perhaps rather be "in his intense fervour."

——— ll. 9—12. This passage should rather run;

"In this year a learned Bráhman, Shaikh Bháwan, who had come from the Dak'hin and *nolens volens* turned Musalmán, came to visit his Majesty and was admitted to great intimacy; and his Majesty gave him the order to translate the Atharva Veda, which is one of the four well-known sacred books of the Hindus. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islám. I was appointed to render it from Hindí into Persian.

P. 217, l. 12. Walí Ni'mat Bégum was Mírzá Sulaimán's wife, see *sup.* p. 61, l. 9.

P. 230, ll. 18—21. These lines come from Háfiz, see lithogr. ed. with comm. p. 136.

P. 234, ll. 9, 10. These lines are prose; the whole passage should run,— "The Emperor replied, "If God (He is exalted) will, thou shalt return the bearer of news of victory," and he repeated the Fátiḥah with all earnestness and devotion."

P. 245, l. 27. This may mean "to spare his life would be to incur the risk of future revolts."

P. 258, l. 30. Instead of Multán, the Tabaqát-í-Akbarí calls it Mulathán, see Elliot, v. 406.

P. 268, l. 13. Can مقهور mean "certain men who had been brought over to his views?"

P. 276, l. 19. Bíjágarh should be Bíjánagar if the Persian text is correct, but it no doubt refers to Bíjápur.

P 284, *l. l.* Instead of "and to God" it should rather run, "and God has made the same encroachments on his empire."

P. 293, l. 1. This is a hard passage, and its meaning is very doubtful.

P. 298, l. 5. *Patnah* should be *Pannah*, see Blochm. p. 425, note.

P. 308, l. 18. We should read بامعارض for بمعارض and translate it "with my opponent I will enter into it," instead of "in the presence of his Majesty we will pass through it."

P. 312, l. 8. This passage should probably be translated, "would proudly rush forward to carry on the game."

P. 315. Dele note[1] see note *supra* on p. 37; and read in ll. 1, 2, "who were become a very proverb in all departments of pleasantry and in the realm of poetry, used to take dogs to their table and eat with them."

P. 320, l. 4. For *Khabísah* read *Khabítah Bahádur*, see Blochmann, p. 356, note.

P. 325, l. 12. For "discovering treasures" we should probably read "moving heavy weights," cf p. 331, l. 19.

P. 327, l. 9. Perhaps we should read بقرائیان for تبرائیان as Butríyah is the name of a Muhammadan sect. "He became orthodox," of course means sarcastically "according to their views."

P. 330, ll. 10—13. Blochmann (p. 105) translates this, "the emperor took exception to my translation and called me a *Harámkhur* and a *turnip-eater* as if that was my share of the book." But the truth is that it refers to a Persian proverb in Roebuck, p. 192, and should run "What objections did I not have to hear, and I learned the full force of the proverb,—am I to eat forbidden food and be content with turnips after all?"

P. 367, ll. 24—27. This passage more probably means, "If the Hindus take this ill and will not prevent it, the wife of some Hindu who has died shall take her as a daughter and shall adopt her in that interview."

P. 368, ll. 23, 24. This should be "to quadruple the number," (cf. p. 157, l. 19.) See Defrémery, Mirchond, *Saman.* p. 10, l. 17.

P. 373, l. 24. This should be "to Atak Banáras, which is also called Atak Katak;" Blochmann, p. 374, *note*, says that Atak was so named because it rhymes with Katak.

P. 378, l. 13. The translation rests on a conjectural reading انتعاش for انتياش

P. 385, ll. 15, 16, for تُهْ read تُهْ and translate,

Tatah which was drunk through the passing of the cup,
Behold now it is desolate and with its cup broken!"

P. 389, l. 20, for the *Khirad-afzá*, see, *supra*, p. 186.

P. 399. l. 29—32. Read this passage as follows; "and Muzaffar sat down during the journey on the plea of a call of nature, and with a razor which he always carried about with him together with his implements, cut his throat and died."

P. 411, l. 1. The phrase در مثل is obscure, cf. p. 374, l. 17 (*text*), could the line mean "he ordered Naqíb Khán (the translator) to take it as a model"?

PREFACE.

I had been interested in Al-Badáóní's history of Akbar's reign, from my first commencing the study of Muhammadan Indian history; and when I began to read it, some years since, with my friend and pupil, the Rev. W. H. Lowe, of Christ's College, Cambridge, I suggested that he should undertake to translate it for the Bibliotheca Indica, in which the original text had appeared. This plan was carried out, and the translation was sent in instalments to Calcutta, where it was printed, and eventually published in the series. Unfortunately the work was not done with the care which it deserved, and the four numbers are full of misprints and errors which never should have been left there. For some of these I must myself plead guilty. Al-Badáóní is by no means an easy author, and he abounds with obscure phrases and far-fetched allusions, which I no doubt in some cases misunderstood and explained wrongly. For some more mistakes the Calcutta printers are responsible. In fact this seems a necessary drawback, when a book is printed at such a distance from the author. But I must not exonerate Mr. Lowe himself; for most of the errors are due to his haste and carelessness in the preparation of the original MS. of his translation* as well as in the correction of the proofs received from Calcutta.

When I found out the unsatisfactory state of the book, I went carefully through the Persian text and compared it with the translation,—partly by myself, and partly with Mr Lowe; and the long list of errata and corrections which

* In many places he was misled by relying too much on the translations given by Professor Dawson in Vol. V of the Elliot Papers.

is subjoined, will show that we have tried to do our best to atone for the original neglect. It has been a great grief to me to find that a book in which I felt such a keen interest, should appear in such a maimed condition; but I hope that even in its present form it will be of some use to the student of Muhammadan Indian History.

E. B. COWELL.

Cambridge, July 15th, 1889.

ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

Page	1	l.	16	*for* the desire of fortune *read* the granter of desires.	
„	2	„	6	„ enjoined on	„ sent for
		„	9	„ not to	„ so as not to
„	3	„	13	„ empty	„ fulsome
„	4	„	12	*dele*	[*i. e.* Mecca.]
		„	22	*dele*	again
„	5	„	6	*for* a number of royal Kháns	*read* the Imperial work-shops
„	6	„	22	„ for Ḥájí Khán who	„ just as Ḥájí Khán
„	10	„	2	*infr. for* b. II.	„ l. 11.
„	11	„	20	„ defeated the rebels	„ wielded his sword with effect
„	13	„	11	*dele* royal	
„		„	20	*for* court of judicature	„ court.
„	14	„	19	„ Bokhárá	„ Bokhárí.
„	19	„	17	„ had been advanced to such a degree that he became	„ as has been related, he had become the
„	21	„	6	„ a suspicion of	„ suspicious
„	24	„	9	„ the servants of the Emperor	„ the Emperor
„	25	„	20,21	„ and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view to acting upon the Khán's feelings, asked for	„ asking for some mediator to plead his cause with the Kháns, and requested
„	27	„	5	„ a	„ the
„	28	„	2	„ to	„ of
„	29	„	2, 3	„ both in thought and expression	„ from the point of view of reason or tradition
„	30	„	18	„ in concert with all the others	„ they two in concert
„	31	„	16	*dele* the mystery of	
„	32	*note*	1	*for* Najad	„ Najd
„	34	l.	10	„ people	„ wives
„	35	„	9,10	„ all his effects, which were not secured in the fortress,	„ immense spoil (cf. p.125 l. 11, *text*)
„	37	„	22	„ view	„ rim
„	38	„	12,13	„ and the state of the public exchequer he laid bare	„ and the saying came true, "one minister comes in and the other goes out."

Page	39	l.	5	*for* veil !	*read*	handkerchief
„	46	„	9	„ when the imperial troops were entering	„	at the time of withdrawing
„	—	„	12	„ Jaimall himself	„	he himself
„	49	„	2,3	„ because his jurisdiction &c.	„	and his authority was more that of a clerk
„	52	„	28	„ Ghazzá	„	Gharrá
„	53	„	17	„ satyr	„	satire
„	58	„	1	„ who was passing by	„	who, as has been related, was
„	64	„	5	*after* Máham Ankah	„	and Adham Khán
„	—	„	17	*for* emancipation	„	my writing this (*dele* note)
„	66	„	22	„ in	„	into
„	69	„	16	„ disappointed	„	conquered
„	72	„	12	„ 200 or 300	„	3000
„	73	„	26	„ 7	„	8
„	—	„	27	„ seven	„	eight
„	76	„	7	„ raising	„	raised
		„	11	„ Dívání	„	Dívánah
„	77	„	19	„ kind	„	bond
„	78	„	14	„ fort	„	ford
„	79	„	26	„ outside	„	inside
„	80	„	23,24	„ after the manner of an old man	„	in his old way of intimacy
„	81	„	6	„ Darbán	„	Darbár
„	—	„	2*infra*	„ Múzá Razá	„	Imám Rizá
„	82	„	27	„ Haráwal	„	in the van
„	83	„	5	„ the body	„	a number
„	—	„	17	„ Uzbeks	„	the Uzbeks
„	84	„	10	„ two very quarrelsome females	„	who were the subjects of strife and contention
„	85	„	11	„ Asraf	„	Ashraf
„	88	„	19	*dele* "and an attendant at the mosque."		
„	89	„	8	*for* 3	*read*	30
„	92	„	18	„ of his, said	„	said to him
„	93	„	5	„ to	„	from
„	94	„	21,22	„ which is an assembly-place	„	a host
„	—	„	23	„ Hindús	„	Hindús, to the number of
„	95	„	11	*dele* for all that		

Page	96	l.	21	*for*	Munçúr	*read*	Ḥusain
,,	—	,,	26	,,	found it so refreshing that	,,	which he had lately acquired
,,	97	,,	1			,,	bore witness. A few days before this it happened that, on a certain night
,,	98	,,	18	,,	van	,,	archers
,,	100	,,	11	,,	had	,,	has now
,,	—	,,	18	,,	Maakarwál	,,	Mankarwál
,,	102	,,	16	,,	the court	,,	Biyánah
,,	—	,,	18	,,	mankind, behold him	,,	the intelligent
,,	—	,,	28	,,	Dihlí	,,	Ágrah
,,	103	,,	8	,,	son	,,	father
,,	104	,,	8	,,	Dihlí	,,	Kaṛah
,,	—	,,	21	,,	Zanániyah	,,	Zamániyah
,,	—	,,	27	,,	Bartas	,,	Barlás
,,	—	,,	31	,,	Amír's	,,	Amírs
,,	105	,,	19	,,	Sargún	,,	Sarjan
,,	106	,,	32	,,	an unbeliever	,,	believer
,,	108	,,	23	,,	granted him a subsidy	,,	entreated his prayers
,,	109	,,	16	,,	day	,,	date
,,	110	,,	12	,,	Sarouj	,,	Saronj
,,	112	,,	5	,,	a new gate	,,	the name of the gate of the new fort
,,	—	,,	21	,,	any inhabited quarter	,,	the habitable world.
,,	113	,,	11	,,	the Emperor	,,	the Shaikh
,,	114	,,	14	,,	cupola	,,	roof
,,	116	,,	3,4	,,	over me like one bewildered——pass	,,	he, reciting a charm over me like one bewitched, infatuated me with his beauty
,,	117	,,	22	,,	their	,,	this
,,	—	,,	30	,,	as she was	,,	in a way that all can imagine
,,	—	,,	34	,,	steps	,,	stages
,,	118	,,	3	,,	to-night and	,,	one night
,,	—	,,	7	,,	trusting her affairs to her modesty	,,	after her other ventures risking her modesty
,,	120	,,	7	,,	the	,,	this
,,	122	,,	13	,,	Court	,,	the Court
,,	—	,,	17	,,	his	,,	this

Page	123	l.	23	*for*	and on account of the fate of her lover	*read*	But any rate
,,	—	,,	26	,,	unveiling in the house	,,	secret chamber
,,	124	,,	14	,,	reputed son of Bahádur Khán	,,	adopted son of Pahár Khán
,,	125	,,	6	,,	on the ground	,,	in the circle
,,	126	,,	5	,,	religion-protesting	,,	religion-protecting
,,	—	,,	26	,,	beauteous	,,	bounteous
,,	127	,,	13	,,	when our king comes to an end	,,	Long live our king and
,,	129	,,	10	,,	unguarded	,,	unlimited (cf. p. 35, 9)
,,	—	,,	15	,,	Muḥammad	,,	Maḥmúd
,,	—	,,	20	,,	he marched two days' journey as far as Ajmír	,,	he was only two days' journey from Ajmír
,,	131	,,	14	,,	men	,,	me
,,	—	,,	21	,,	star	,,	store
,,	132	,,	4	,,	O Jewel	,,	A Jewel
,,	—	,,	19,20	,,	lay my hand in the dust	,,	throw dust on my head
,,	—	,,	31	,,	a pity, in	,,	a pity, a
,,	—	,,	33	,,	Thou, pure spirit, wast	,,	Thy pure spirit was
,,	135	,,	18	,,	women	,,	woman
,,	135	,,	9	,,	constellation	,,	revelation
,,	—	,,	2*infra*	,,	977	,,	982
,,	138	,,	8	,,	nephew	,,	grandson
,,	—	,,	15	,,	had	,,	has
,,	139	,,	17	,,	Kamál Khán	,,	Jamál Khán
,,	142	,,	3	,,	may God &c.	,,	whom God (praise to Him! He is exalted) will ere this have brought
,,	144	,,	12	,,	100 or 50	,,	150
,,	—	,,	23	,,	his	,,	their
,,	147	,,	28	,,	their	,,	that
,,	148	,,	18	,,	18th	,,	7th
,,	149	,,	6	,,	orthodox	,,	honest
,,	150	,,	14	,,	centre	,,	ceinture
,,	151	,,	27	,,	returned	,,	went
,,	152	,,	2	,,	soldier	,,	soldiers
,,	—	,,	14	,,	charged those men on	,,	many troops came up from
,,	158	,,	15	,,	Sha'íd	,,	Sa'íd
,,	—	,,	16	,,	Ibráhím	,,	Ibráhím Ḥusain

Page	154	l.	31	*for*	who was	*read* who were
„	156	„	30	„	fourteen	„ seven
„	157	„	19	„	twice or four	„ four (cf. p. 368, 23.)
„	157	„	34	„	in turn held a council with them	„ repeated the same counsel to them
„	163	„	2	„	ceremonies	„ unceremonious
„	—	„	17	„	Nas'úd	„ Mas'úd
„	164	„	1	„	Mírzá Ibráhím Mírzá	„ Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain
„	—	„	14	„	Brahmaindás by name	„ Brahmadás by name, from the district of Kálpí
„	165	„	4	„	Koltah	„ Kotlah
„	—	„	7	„	suit	„ suite
„	—	„	24,25	„	they let loose and the Musulmáns killed them all.	„ and let loose there, were killed by the Musulmáns.
„	—	2	*infra*	*dele*	note [2].	
„	168	l.	17	*for*	had gone	„ had not gone
„	169	„	29	„	days' march off	„ days ago
„	—	„	34	„	500	„ 5000
„	170	„	1	„	Moghuls belonging to Fidái	„ devoted Moghuls
„	—	„	2	„	was	„ were
„	—	„	3	„	was a man	„ were men
„	171	„	26	„	open plain	„ open plain with 5000 horsemen
„	172	„	30	„	submission	„ homage
„	173	„	14	„	Qazawání	„ Qazwíní
„	174	„	26	„	Sharaf-ud-dín	„ Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain
„	175	„	6	„	white of foot	„ white of one foot
„	—	„	7	„	observes	„ observed
„	—	„	8	„	passes	„ passed
„	176	„	15	„	hundreds	„ hundreds of thousands
„	177	„	9	„	Bengál	„ Bihár
„	—	„	14	„	Lodí	„ his Amír-ul-Umará Lodí
„	178	„	19	„	bank	„ back
„	179	„	25	„	16th	„ 6th
„	181	„	10	„	at the removal of	„ by avoiding
„	—	„	18	„	reached	„ reaped
„	182	„	15	„	disloylaty	„ displeasure
„	—	„	17	„	mountains	„ the mountains
„	182	„	25	„	presented him with	„ scattered as *nisár* several

Page	183	l.	12	*for*	16	*read*	18
,,	185	,,	12	,,	to	,,	from
,,	—	last	l.	,,	from	,,	had attained a thorough acquaintance with
,,	186	ll.	1, 2	*dele*	had attained many high degrees		
,,	—	ll.	26,28	*for*	sheet	,,	leaf
,,	187	l.	2	,,	Samaqand	,,	Samarqand
,,	—	*note*	3	,,	*Imán* and *Imám*	,,	*Amán* and *Ímán.*
,,	188	l.	3	,,	one of his own quivers and arrows	,,	an arrow from his own quiver
,,	—	ll.	9, 10	,,	and though—exhibition of it	,,	far beyond his power and resources
,,	—	l.	12	,,	kept close to	,,	kept trying to conquer (cf. p. 130.)
,,	—	,,	33	,,	Núri	,,	Mír
,,	189	,,	3	,,	mango-trees	,,	many trees
,,	—	,,	10	,,	privy-counsellors	,,	confidential friends
,,	—	,,	24	,,	Lákẖr	,,	Lakhnou
,,	190	,,	27	,,	Mufliz	,,	Muflis
,,	191	,,	9	,,	This sort of thing has gone on for ten years	,,	A matter of ten years has passed
,,	192	,,	5	,,	an order was promulgated	,,	a new idea came into his mind
,,	—	,,	18	,,	Shespúr	,,	Shethpúr,another Ayyúbpúr
,,	193	,,	4	,,	those	,,	those lands
,,	194	,,	28	,,	Dáúd	,,	Dáúd, after his flight from Tánḍah
,,	195	,,	12	,,	Gaur	,,	the fortress of Gaur
,,	—	,,	19	*dele*	and Muḥammad Qulí Khán		
,,	196	,,	2	*for*	Tamkúr	,,	Tamkín
,,	197	,,	20	*after*	bolted with him	*add*	and his rider, losing all command, struck the foot of his dignity against a stone and got a fall.
,,	198	,,	22	*for*	mountain-like	*read*	the mountain-like
,,	199	,,	12	,,	and	,,	Peace was renewed on a firm basis and it was decided.
,,	200	,,	1	,,	wrist	,,	waist

Page	200	l.	23	*for* victory	*read*	wisdom
,,	—	,,	28	,, not devoid of	,,	since it would not be devoid of
,,	201	,,	8	,, all	,,	a good many of
,,	205	,,	5	,, ascertain their thoughts	,,	discuss philosophical subjects
,,	—	,,	29	,, *de omnibus* &c.	,,	together with several other new-comers
,,	[illegible]	,,	12	,, Another device &c.	,,	Another tale was that of Makhdúm ul Mulk's device for avoiding
,,	207	,,	2	*after* and	*add*	once or twice he even stood before him without his shoes and
,,	—	,,	17	*for* principles	*read*	dogmas
,,	208	,,	28	,, in the hope of securing &c.	,,	so that eventually they got back all that he had received from them
,,	211	,,	4-6	,, from that time *down to* a large number	,,	in early youth he had not regarded the question and had married what number of women he pleased
,,	—	,,	10	,, had had	,,	had allowed
,,	—	,,	26	,, *mut'ah*	,,	such *mut'ah*
,,	—	,,	29	,, and	,,	or
,,	213	,,	30-32	,, he merely looked &c. *down to* extreme	,,	he merely looked to the propriety of the words, —how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted?
,,	215	,,	12	,, reason	,,	reason, not tradition
,,	—	,,	25	,, were no longer observed	,,	were no longer observed by him
,,	217	,,	4	,, that every five or six years	,,	for five or six years that
,,	218	,,	1	,, Arab	,,	'Iráqí.
,,	—	,,	28	,, and first	,,	On the 15th of Rajab Mírzá Sulaimán reached the neighbourhood of Fathpúr; and first
,,	219	,,	12	,, without ceremony	,,	without hesitation

Page	219	l.	20	*for* painted canopies, brocade	*read* figured canopies of gold cloth
,,	220	,,	2	,, Fátiḥah	,, Fátiḥah after the prayers
,,	—	,,	19	*after* Sulaimán	,, and then return to Láhor.
,,	—	,,	22	*for* meanwhile	,, For meanwhile
,,	221	,,	7	*dele* head-foremost	
,,	222	,,	7	*for* Khan Zamán	,, Khán Jahán
,,	—	,,	14	,, 20	,, 20,000
,,	223	,,	8	,, took a moonlight flit	,, he went off
,,	224	,,	1	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd
,,	—	,,	2	,, Amráhah	,, Amrúhah
,,	—	,,	4	,, he	,, Ḥusain Khán
,,	—	,,	10	,, when they came on him —orders	,, whence, as he was disabled by his wound, in accordance with their orders, they
,,	—	,,	15	,, friendship	,, religious sympathy
,,	229	,,	last l	,, bankrupt	,, borrower
,,	230	,,	8	,, Arabs	,, 'Iráqís
,,	—	,,	16	,, Arab	,, 'Iráqí
,,	232	,,	5,6	,, a stipend—present	,, to look after me that I should be present
,,	—	,,	7	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd
,,	—	,,	11	,, at one of the stages	,, when one stage distant
,,	—	,,	26	,, 'Agrah	,, Ajmír
,,	—	,,	28	*after* defeated them	,, with some 1500 killed or taken prisoners
,,	233	,,	15	,, I	,, returned and
,,	236	,,	29	*for* Sár	,, Súr
,,	239	,,	5	,, Sálabhán	,, Sálabáhan
,,	—	,,	18	,, fifty	,, twenty
,,	—	,,	22	,, would keep	,, must have kept
,,	241	,,	14	,, Muḥammad	,, Maḥmúd
,,	—	,,	16	,, and examine	,, He examined
,,	—	,,	17	,, having seen [from his investigation of the field]	,, reported from what he had heard
,,	—	,,	28	,, through his being a particular favourite of his majesty	,, merely to acquire religious merit and for the love of God
,,	—	,,	31-34	*dele* note [3]	
,,	242	,,	34	*for* Saqqár in note [4]	,, Saqqá
,,	243	,,	5	,, ul-awwal	,, ul-ákhir

p.	243	l.	17	*for* succinctly	*read* exactly
,,	245	,,	4	,, sent	,, brought
,,	246	,,	25	,, revese	,, reverse
,,	247	,,	14	,, Jounpúr	,, Khánpúr
,,	—	l.	l.	,, Muzaffar Khán	,, Todar Mall (see Blochm. p. 430.)
,,	249	,,	18	*dele* military commanders	
,,	—	,,	20	*after* hill district	,, of Mudáriya
,,	253	,,	21	*for* blind to God's mercies	,, like brute beasts
,,	255	,,	12	,, pray	,, bray
,,	256	,,	7	,, from there	*add* thither
,,	257	,,	7	,, anxious	*read* disaffected
,,	—	,,	29	,, many	,, some
,,	258	,,	6	,, festival	,, festival of
,,	—	,,	15, 16	,, when I brought a petition, &c.	,, when I brought a petition to Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabí that I might receive permission to go, the Shaikh asked me
,,	—	,,	18, 19	,, who withdraws from the fulfilment of his obligation	,, who will fulfil the obligation of serving her
,,	259	,,	10	,, Nánúl	,, Nárnúl
,,	260	,,	11	,, Hásdí	,, Hánsí
,,	—	,,	17	,, concerning	,, by the hand of
,,	—	,,	32	,, p. 265	,, *infra*, p. 274
,,	261	,,	18	,, Bahrah	,, Bíhrah
,,	—	,,	29	,, 5th	,, 3rd
,,	—	,,	34	,, disembarking	,, disembarked
,,	262	,,	2	,, 5th	,, 6th
,,	—	,,	5	,, arrived	,, arrived at Todah
,,	—	,,	9	,, names	,, name
,,	263	,,	21	,, nature	,, tradition
,,	265	,,	13	*dele* some	
,,	—	,,	14	*for* look on them as gods	,, they look on some of them as gods
,,	—	,,	28	,, principle	,, principal
,,	—	,,	34	,, *muzhat*	,, *nuzhat*
,,	266	,,	8	,, who naturally turn themselves from	,, overlooking
,,	267	,,	6	,, past ages	,, ancient and modern times
,,	—	,,	13	,, a cause	,, another cause

p.	269	l.	3	*for* the many lights off His creation	*read* His lights	
,,	—	,,	6	,, burn	,,	offer
,,	—	,,	23	,, of	,,	and
,,	270	,,	14,15	,, "who will ever have—than yourself?"	,,	"For which of these notorious heresies have you yourself the greatest inclination?"
,,	273	,,	23	,, extravagancíes	,,	fopperies
,,	274	,,	15	*after* Taib	,,	(a worthless wretch)
,,	—	,,	28	*for* Maqçúr	,,	Maqçúd.
,,	275	,,	24	,, the stain of thelr countenances	,,	their accidental stain
,,	276	,,	5	,, blest	,,	blest in the 40th year of his age
,,	278	,,	31,32	, to pretend ignorance—political authority	,,	to refuse obedience whether to religious or political edicts
,,	280	,,	22	*after* law	*add*	They called Islám a travesty
,,	—	,,	30	*for* 5th	*read*	25th
,,	281	,,	2	*after* degree	*add*	like the Khwájah
,,	282	,,	12	*for* said	*read*	attacked the faith, he said to him
,,	284	,,	11	,, I	,,	he
,,	—	,,	—	*after* verse	,,	I used
,,	286	,,	3	*for* 'Azim-ul-Mulk	,,	'Ain-ul-Mulk
,,	—	,,	16	,, Miyán	,,	Miyán Mán
,,	287	,,	26	,, a historical fact	,,	an historical picture
,,	288	,,	4	,, their	,,	this
,,	—	,,	6	,, under the skirts of those by whom	,,	under whose skirts
,,	289	,,	20	,, time	,,	line
,,	289	,,	28,34	, Purushtam	,,	Purushottam
,,	—	,,	29	*after* Ma'çúm Khán	,,	Kábulí
,,	290	,,	25	*for* Kábul	,,	Kálpí
,,	291	,,	7	,, 50	,,	500
,,	292	,,	13	,, Tórmáh	,,	Tármáh
,,	—	,,	24	,, which are	,,	he is still
,,	296	,,	16	,, with a natural tendency	,,	in a state of nature
,,	297	,,	16	,, and again	,,	and reported the conduct of the amírs of that province; he also
,,	—	,,	23	,, Piyáj	,,	Payág (Prayág)

p.	297	l.	25	„	;	*read*	,
„	298	„	24	„	he with	„	he, seeing the other with
„	300	„	1	„	the Abyssinian	„	Chishtí
„	305	„	20	„	he asked	„	he had previously asked
„	—	„	22	„	before	„	after
„	310	„	2	„	twenty-seventh	„	twenty-eighth
„	—	„	15	„	one of the renowned amírs came, &c.	„	he went into the pavilion of one of the renowned Amírs and honoured him with his society
„	311	„	1	*after*	devise	„	so that the mind became bewildered by them
„	312	„	21	*for*	news of this reached the veil of his door	„	the news of this scandal reached him
„	313	„	1	„	*pur et simple*	„	after his own fashion
„	—	„	25	*after*	he said	„	in the presence of the late pious Mír Abú'l Ghais Bukhárí
„	—	„	31	„	youths	„	and he turned out a very hair-splitter in the matter of shaving
„	315	„	2,3	*for*	by taking, &c.	„	used to take dogs to their table and eat with them
„	316	„	8	„	I don't blame you either	„	It is not without one
„	—	„	28	„	(P. 337)	„	(P. 307.)
„	—	„	33	„	wrote	„	pronounced
„	317	„	1	„	wrote	„	pronounced
„	—	„	4	„	flesh	„	milk
„	321	„	17	„	ingots	„	boxes full of ingots
„	324	„	14	„	give away a great deal	„	give great odds
„	327	„	14	„	un-náqiz	„	un-nawáqis
„	328	„	12	„	I had just finished	„	One night, when the Emperor heard
„	—	„	19-22	„	when one night, 'Açaf Khán Sális, &c.	„	he raised great objections and would not accept the truth of it. 'Açaf Khán Sális who is the same as Mírzá Ja'far, helped me in but a poor way, but Shaikh Abú'l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakshí, on the other hand, confirmed my assertions.

p.	331	l.	12	*dele* year	*read*	day
,,	—	,,	28	*for* many a family was ruined	,,	and his property was confiscated.
,,	332	,,	4	,, daily	,,	daily at noon
,,	—	,,	27	,, Bengál	,,	Guzerát
,,	333	,,	3	*after* Abú-Isḥáq	,,	and others
,,	—	,,	10	*for* eighteenth	,,	seventeenth
,,	—	,,	21	*after* Bengál	,,	who was a main supporter of Qatlú's
,,	334	,,	10	*for* north	,,	month
,,	—	,,	21	,, Khaipúrah	,,	Khairpúrah
p.	335	,,	15	*after* years	,,	while in some of their own Sanskrit books the age of men was described as ten thousand years
,,	337	,,	2	*for* 100	,,	10
,,	339	,,	8	,, four or five	,,	forty-five
,,	—	,,	21	,, Fíládí	,,	Fúládí
,,	340	,,	4	,, chief	,,	chiefs
,,	341	,,	14,15	,, although he treated him &c.	,,	having treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not wish to take any steps towards his being put to death.
,,	—	,,	21	,, I'timad	,,	I'mád
,,	—	,,	22	,, moveable and immoveable	,,	animate and inanimate
,,	344	,,	4	,, 20,000	,,	2,000
,,	349	,,	15	,, twelve	,,	fourteen
,,	352	,,	14	*after* Salím	,,	in his sixteenth year
,,	357	,,	5	*for* same market	,,	slave-market
,,	—	,,	15	,, camels	,,	camel-loads
,,		,,	16	,, fire-like smoke	,,	fire like smoke
,,	360	,,	21	,, forty	,,	fourteen
,,	364	,,	13	,, 'Açaf	,,	'Arab
,,	366	,,	14	,, Singh, Mánand	,,	Mán Singh, and
,,	—	,,	25	,, Baqshbandí	,,	Naqshbandí
,,	—	,,	31	,, at this time Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court in *incognito*	,,	about the time that Sulaimán Mírzá arrived at Court, he too came *incognito*
,,	367	,,	6	,, a bow and a number of muskets	,,	a number of bows and muskets

p.	368	l.	4	*after* to this effect	*read* in the year 990 (?)
,,	370	,,	19	*for* *Amín* Khán	,, *Amín* Khán Ghorí, the governor of Súrat
,,	374	,,	7	,, Láḥór	, Lakhnou
,,	—	,,	21	,, Gous	, Ghous
,,	375	,,	6	,, poverty	, piety
,,	376	,,	8	*after* Gujrát	, and sent for Qulíj to Court
,,	—	,,	30	*for* arms	, anus
,,	378	,,	16	,, transcription	, translation
,,	378	,,	26	*for* Bayání	, Biyábání
,,	—	,,	30	,, a river	,, the river
,,	379	,,	25	,, the water	, the river Indus
,,	382	,,	3	,, property	,, prosperity
,,	—	,,	4	,, flood-tears	,, blood-tears
,,	—	,,	25	,, 381	,, 371
,,	383	,,	16	,, beasts	,, serpents
,,	386	,,	19	,, them	,, me
,,	—	,,	—	,, any	,, an
,,	388	,,	14	,, twenty-sixth	,, thirty-sixth
,,	389	,,	13	,, sisters	,, kindred
,,	—	,,	15	,, he said "Get along then" So the Emperor was vexed	,, the Emperor said "Get along then." So he was vexed
,,	390	,,	12	,, Imín-ud-dín	,, Amín-ud-dín
,,	—	,,	24	,, Hakím Hamán	,, Hakím Humám
,,	391	,,	1	,, twelfth	,, twentieth
,,	392	,,	20	,, the	,, one
,,	393	,,	18	,, Shams-ud-dín	,, Shams-ud-dín Khawáfí
	—	,,	23	,, Dihlí	,, Kábul
,,	397	,,	24	,, 'Alám Shaikh	,, 'Allámí Shaikh
,,	399	,,	4	,, governor of	,, governor of Orissa
,,	400	,,	15	,, Mán Singh	,, Ráí Singh
,,	—	,,	20	,, their	,, this
,,	401	,,	12	*after* Murád	*add* in Málwah
,,	402	,,	5, 6	*infra for* sarasír *for* Balfour's	*read* sardsír ,, Belfour's
,,	406	,,	7	,, fire-temple	,, Pársí "tower of silence"
,,	411	,,	1	,, read like the translations by Naqíb Khán	,, read as an example by Naqíb Khán (? cf *text*, p. 374, 17.)

at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khán Khwája, the husband[1] of Gulbadan Bégum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hémun he made his glorious entry[2] into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amírs came to salute him. The Khán Khánán,[3] who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tardí Beg Khán, still in spite of this used to call him "Toqán," *i. e.*, "Elder brother," perceiving the cause of the defeat of that army to have been the treachery[4] of Tardí Beg, and having succeeded in impressing this on the emperor's mind by bringing Khán Zamán, and many others, as witnesses to substantiate his accusation, obtained a sort of permission to put him to death. So at the time of afternoon prayer he went to the house of Tardí Beg Khán, and taking him with him, brought him to his own abode into the tent, and afterwards at the time of evening prayer he rose up on the pretence of performing the ablutions, and gave to some men, who were held in readiness for the purpose, the signal to slay him. So they made an end of Tardí Beg Khán.[5] And in the morning, when Khwája Sultán 'Alí and Mír Munshí did not come to the Díwán, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tardí Beg Khán. But some time after they regained their liberty.

Then Hémun in Dehlí gave himself the title of Bikramájít, who was a great Rája in Hindustán, from whom the people of Hind take their era, he lived 1600[6] odd years ago. When he had done his best there to subvert the ordinances of Islám he came with 1500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, to offer battle at Pánípat. He sent on his artillery before him, (P. 15) and the opportunity presenting itself to a com-

[1] Lit. "In whose net was &c."

[2] *Anglice* "retreated to."

[3] *i. e.* Muḥammad Bairam Khán Turkomán. The *tárikh* of his death is given on p. 45 of the text.

[4] But see Elliot's note, V, 251.

[5] Tardí Beg Khán was a noble of importance in the time of Humáyun, and one of his most *faithless* followers. Blochmann's *Áín i Akbarí*, I, 318. He was a *Sunni*. Bairám Khán was a *Shí'ah*, Badáoní, III, 190.

[6] His date is 57 B. C. The date of the year in which the writer speaks is 964 A. H. And A. H. is 621. Thus 57 + 621 + 964 = 1642, and the "odd years" of which he speaks are 42.

pany of the great Amírs, such as Khán Zamán, Iskandar Khán and others, who were advancing as vanguard,[1] they took it at Pánípat after some fighting. And Hémun raising the hopes of the Amírs of the Afgháns, whose leader was Shádí Khán Muswání, with a suitable augmentation and a gift of lands, opening the door of his treasuries, and giving great largesses, tried to console the army for the loss. But the Afgháns, since they were sick of his usurpation, began to pray for his fall, and in impromptus kept saying things to this effect: "Welcome a vicissitude even against ourselves;" consequently without delay he started from Pánípat mounted on an elephant called "Hawáy," and came to the district of K'haramanda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram[2] 964 A. H., (which day is also called Rózi 'áshúrá):—

"To friends it is a blessed date,
But unto foes unfortunate:"—

fighting and slaughter began between the Amírs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hémun. The Emperor and the Khán Khánán on that day were drawn up in three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of the victory were received. And Hémun, whose army was all dispirited, and who set all his hopes on the elephants, surrounded by his chiefs charged the imperial hosts, and threw both right and left wings into great confusion. Then, at last, through the efforts of the archers and the scimitar-strokes of some avenging veterans that breach was healed, and the wavering fortunes of the day were retrieved. Then Hémun, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khán Zamán was stationed. But the soldiers of Islám received him with a shower of arrows, and Hémun in those circumstances, with his head bare, like one bitten by a mad dog, kept shouting his battle cry "give and take," and (P. 16) also repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his squinting eye so that

[1] *Manqalây*, for *manghalây* is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab *munqalá* "ambassador."

[2] The first month of the Muhammadan year.

called Kanúr Phillour,[1] hemmed in the Khán Khánán. There a severe contest took place, in which Ḥusain Khán the relative of Mahdí Qásim Khán distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye stricken."[2] He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Walí Bég, and his son Ismá'íl Qulí Khán, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned, if God (He is exalted!) will. After that blow the Khán Khánán fled, and immense spoil fell into the hands of Atkah Khán and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which (P. 41) the Khán Khánán had had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre[3] (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Imám my lord Moulawí Jámí (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets :—

"Peace on the family of *Ṭá Há*[4] and *Yá Sín!*
Peace on the family of the Best of the Prophets!
Peace on the Shrine, wherein there rests.
An Imám, in whom sovereignty and religion are preeminent!"
"An Imám, yea in sooth an absolute monarch,
For the sanctuary of his door is become the *Qiblah* of kings.
King of the palace of Knowledge, Rose of the garden of Bounty,
Moon of the mansion of Majesty, the Pearl of the casket of Contingency.
[Peace] on Ibn Musá Rizá, to whom from God
Is the name *Rizá*,[5] because doing *God's will* was his habit."

[1] See Elliot V, p. 266, VIII, p. 107; Blochmann, p. 317.

[2] A pun. The Persian compound means "stricken by the evil eye," but grammatically it might also mean "stricken in the eye."

[3] Of Imám Rizá, at Ṭús in Khurásán. Belfour's *Translation of Alí Hazin*, 128.

[4] Ṭá-Há (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'án, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom Muṣṭafá and Aḥmad, as well as Moḥammad, are also names): so likewise is Yá-Sín, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'án Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed. Poole, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 139.

[5] *Rizá* means "Will."

They say that the banner cost nearly a *kror* of gold. And Qásim Arsalán found the date of the event in the words, "*'alam-i imám-i hashtum*,[1] "banner of the 8th Imám"[2]. Atkah Khán sent it with the rest of the spoils to the Court, and it was put into the imperial treasury. One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khán Khánán published as his own[3] a *ghazal* of Háshim Qandahárí, putting the lines into a different arrangement[4]; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Háshim by way of an extempore joke said "Sixty is too little." upon which he increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete *lac*. From it you would infer that the Khán Khánán's star was setting, and as a matter of fact his power at this period was on the decline. The *ghazal* is as follows, of which the *Maṭla'*[5] is Háshim's:—

"What am I? one who has let go the rein of his heart;
Who by the hand of his heart has fallen from his feet upon the road of trouble;
Who is become like a madman in the skirts of the mountains;
Who has without will of his own turned his head to the desert;
At one time like a candle seized by the fire of his heart,
At another like a wick fallen into the heart of the fire.
I, Bairam, am free from care for little or much,
Never have I uttered a single word *less* or *more*."

[1] 70 + 30 + 40 + 82 + 45 + 700 = 967.

[2] The *Shí'ah* (lit. followers) are the followers of 'Alí, the husband of Fáṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that 'Alí was the first legitimate *Khalífah* (successor to Muḥammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmán, the first three Khalíf-s, as usurpers. According to the *Shí'ah* the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true *Imám*. The twelve *Imáms*, according to the *Shí'ah* are as follows;

(1) Ḥazrat Ali, (2) Imám Ḥassan, (3) Imám Ḥusain (4) Zain-ul-Abidín, (5) Imám Muḥammad Báqir, (6) Jáfir Sádiq, (7) Musá Qásim, (8) *'Alí Musá Rizá*, (9) Muḥammad Taqí, (10) Muḥammad Naqí, (11) Ḥassan Askarí (12) Abu Qásim Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 170.

[3] Cf. Martial. ii, 20. "Carmina Paullus emit; recitat sua carmina Paullus,
Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum."

[4] اولجه is probably the Hindustani *ulajh*, 'confusion,' cf. p. 51, l. 5, text.

[5] The two initial hemistichs are called the *Maṭla'*.

wild animals. When news of this came to the Emperor, he happened to be enjoying himself hunting in the neighbourhood of Mat'hurá[1]. Nevertheless he marched at once towards Dihlí with the intention of quelling the disturbance.

And it was at that place that his Majesty's intention of connecting himself by marriage with the nobles of (P. 61) Dihlí was first broached, and Qawwáls[2] and eunuchs were sent into the harems for the purpose of selecting daughters of the nobles, and of investigating their condition. And a great terror fell upon the city. Now it was the suggestions[3] of Shaikh Badah, and Lahrah, lords of Agra, which set in motion this train of events. The circumstances are as follows: A widowed daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Fátimah[4] by name (though unworthy of such an honourable appellation), through evil passions and pride of life, which bear the fruits of wantonness, by the intervention of her tire-women lived in adultery with Báqí Khán, brother of Buzurg Adham Khán, whose house was near hers. And this adultery was afterwards dragged into a marriage. She used to bring with her to festive gatherings, another daughter-in law of Shaikh Badah, who had a husband living, whose name was 'Abd-ul-Wási'. And the story of the pious cat[5], which is told in the beginning of the Anwár-i-Sohailí, came true. Now this woman, whose husband was still living, was wonderfully beautiful, and altogether a charming wife without a peer. One day it chanced that the eyes of the Emperor fell upon her, and so he sent to the Shaikh a proposal of union, and held out hopes to the husband. For it is a law of the Moghul Emperors[6] that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound

[1] Near Agra.

[2] A *Qawwál* is a person sent to the father of a lady in the proposals of marriage. He praises his principal before the father of the lady.

[3] See below. The word *lahrah* seems corrupt.

[4] According to a saying of Mahomet four women attained perfection, *viz.*, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrán, Khadíjah the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife), and Fátimah the prophet's daughter.

[5] See Anwári Sohailí (Ouseley) p. 275, l. 1. It does not occur in the beginning of the book.

[6] This was an article in the Code of Changíz Khán, See Price II, p. 660.

to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd and Mír Chobán and his son Damashq Khwájah. Then 'Abd-ul-Wási', reading the verse[1]: "God's earth is wide" :—

"To a master of the world the world is not narrow[2]"

bound three divorces[3] in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city of Bídar in the kingdom of the Dakkan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Ḥaram. Then Fátimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles also of Agra and Dihlí, that the relation of equality [between the different families] being manifested, any necessity for unreasonable preference might be avoided.

At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e Bégum, a slave named Fúlád, whom Mírzá Sharaf-ud-dín Ḥusain, when he fled and went to Makka, had set free, shot an arrow[4] at him from the top of the balcony of the Madrasah, which happily did no more than graze his skin. When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pírs of Dihlí, he gave up his intention[5]. The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amírs wished him to delay a little until the affairs should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy. His Majesty went on horseback to the fortress, and there the physicians applied themselves to his cure, so that in a

[1] Al-Qor'án IV, 99. The word used here for "wide" is the fem. of his own name *Wási'*.

[2] *One solum forti patria est.*

[3] "Ye may divorce [your wives] twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or dismiss then with kindness..... But if he divorce her [a third time], she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he [also] divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other." Al Qor'án II, 229. 230.

[4] In this, as in most other events, the native historians, while agreeing in the main facts, are wonderfully at variance with regard to details. See Briggs' *Ferishta* II, 215, and Elliot V, 285.

[5] Viz. of marrying any other ladies of Agra and Dihlí.

and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice, 'Abd-ulláh Khán would not accept them :—

" If a place to *take* it thou canst find,
Thy counsel may be, it will *take*.
But what mark, if the ear of the mind
Be dull, can eloquence then make?"

'Abd-ulláh Khán for a short time made a stand at Haráwal, but when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade (P. 68) reached him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances the greater part of his followers and family and children and goods and chattels, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrát. There he took refuge with Chingiz Khán, a dependent of Sulṭán Mahmúd of Gujrát, who had succeeded Sulṭán Mahmúd in the government of that province, and had become possessed of great pomp and power. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as far as the confines of Gujrát, and threw his haram and renowned elephants into confusion[1], and made them prisoners, and brought them to the Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, *viz*, the countrymen and landowners.[2] Now the state of civilization in Gujrát in the time of Chingiz Khán, they describe as such, as it had not[3] been during the reign of former kings; and the demand for men of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all imagination; and any soldier or traveller or stranger who came and sought an interview or chose to enter his service, had no further need of anything, nor of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used daily to give away among his people five or six dresses of honour from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never worth less than 70 or 80, or at any rate 50 *ashrafi*. And one of his Hátim-isms[4] was this, that one day he went out with his courtiers, 'Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek being of the number, and on this occasion two or three vessels full of fine stuffs and precious jewels were presented

[1] Text pp. 41, 13 and 51, 5.

[2] Sanscrit *bhúpál*.

[3] Supply *na*.

[4] Ḥátim Ṭái was famous for his liberality.

to him: no sooner had he seen them, than he gave them up to 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbek. And another instance of Chingiz Khán's liberality is the following; Sháh 'Árif Çafaví Ḥusainí (who is now at *Láhor*, and renowned for the gift of dominion over *Jinns*) possessed great treasures, which he used to give away to people. Now it is said, that he had received all these treasures and hoards from Chingiz Khán, and that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of Chingiz Khán (but God knows!).

At this time Mírán Mubárak Sháh of Burhámpúr sent ambassadors to the Emperor who accepted his homage. And I'timád (p 69) Khán[1] the chief eunuch accompanied them, and brought the daughter of Mírán, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. And Muqarrab Khán one of the Amirs of the Dakkan came and did homage to the Emperor. And in the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Mandú to the district of Nálchah[3]. He appointed Qará Bahádur Khán to the Government of the district, and himself went on a hunting expedition by away of Ujain, Sárang-púr, Baródah, and Gwályár, and on the 3rd of the month Rabi'ul-awwal[4] returned to his capital. Twins, Ḥasan and Ḥusain by name, were in this year born of one of his wives, and in the course of one month went to the other world.

In this year the building of the city of Nagarchín took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the *Akbar-námah*, ordered me to compose some lines, which I here insert without alteration:—

"When[5] the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch, who is the builder of the metropolis of the world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with [the verse]:

[1] See p. 63, *supra*.

[2] The first month.

[3] A town in the territory of Dhar in Málwa, on the route from Mow to Mandú.

[4] The third month.

[5] Our author here gives us a specimen of his stilted style which, happily for us, he does not usually adopt. (In l. 12 read أغار for آغاز)

space of six months been engaged along with I'timád Khán, the *ghulám* and absolute *vazír* of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, and the army of the Afgháns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaffar, son of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Gujrátí, whom I'timád Khán had kept continually in confinement, so as to keep the power in his own hands, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Sháh Mançúr *vazír* (whose history will be narrated, if God will), and he was granted a monthly allowance of 30 rupees. After some years he escaped and regained [illegible] government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rájah of Súrat, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Chúnágaṛh to A'zam Khán. But on the road he laid violent hands on himself, and killed himself with a stroke of a razor. Subsequent events will be narrated in detail.

The next day I'timád Khán, and Sháh Abu Turáb, and Sayyid Ḥámid Bokhárí, and Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajíh-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian, and Jajhár Khán the Abyssinian, and the other Amírs of Gujrát, came one and all and were granted an interview with the Emperor. And I'timád Khán brought the key of the city of Aḥmadábád. The Emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own to be employed in guarding his harem. On Friday the 14th of Rajab he pitched his tents on the banks of the river of Aḥmadábád, and the Khuṭbah[1] was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Maḥmúd Khán Bárha and Shaikh Maḥmúd Bokhárí brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bán[2] the Emperor set out from Aḥmadábád in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mírzá, who had seized Bhroj and Barodah and Súrat. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, who was the leading man among the Amírs of Gujrát, seized this opportunity, and escaping from Aḥmadábád, fled to Aḥmadnagar. And, since it was impossible to put any confidence in I'timád Khán, the Emperor committed him to the charge of Shahbáz

[1] See page [1].

[2] The eighth month.

(P. 142) Khán Kambo. On the 6th of Sha'bán the Emperor arrived at the port of Cambay. On the 14th of this month he arrived at the town of Barodah, and committing the government of Gujrát entirely unfettered into the hands of Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah, he dismissed him to Aḥmadábád.[1]

On the 17th of Sha'bán news arrived, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá had put to death Rustam Khán Rúmí in the fortress of Bhroj, and that he was intending to pass within eight *cosses* of the Imperial camp. On this account the Emperor, left the camp, in which was the young prince Salím, under the guardianship of Khwájah Jahán, and Shujá'at Khán and several others of the Amírs, and having sent Shahbáz Khán to fetch Sayyid Maḥmúd Bárha, and Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram and the rest of the Amírs, who had been appointed to go towards Súrat, he took with him Malik-ush-Sharq Gujrátí as his guide, and set off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain. When the Emperor arrived at the banks of the river Mahindrí, night had come on. He crossed with 40 horse, when news was brought that Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain had alighted in the town of Sarnál on the other side of the river. So the faithful companions of the Emperor began to arm themselves. During the night the Amírs, who had been sent to Súrat, were enabled to form a junction with the Emperor. Mán Singh was appointed to lead the vanguard, and with 100 men crossed the river. Then Mírzá Ibráhím Ḥusain, who had a force of 1,000 horse, when news came to him of the rapid approach of the Emperor, evacuated the town of Sarnál by another road, and drew up his army in the plain with the intention of making a determined stand. Mán Singh advanced in one direction by the broken ground and shallows on the banks of the river Mahindrí, and the Emperor by another road. At last a collision between the opposite parties took place. Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá charged against Bábá Khán Qáqshál and his company of archers, and made them fall back for a considerable distance, and some were killed on both sides. (P. 143). At this moment a son of Rájah Bhagvant Dás[2], named

[1] Capital of Gujrát.

[2] Son of Rájah Bihárí Mall.

About this time the Emperor appointed me as an Imám, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling-expenses and ordered me from the first to act as *mançabdár* commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shablí said with respect to Junaid,[1] (God bless their spirits!) "both baked in one kiln." Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so strenuously at the *dágh-u-maḥallí* business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *mançab* of two thousand, and the dignity of *Wazír*. While I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to continue in the service; and this piece of satirical poetry, which one of the Sayyids of Anjú composed in reference to his own circumstances, came to my mind:—

"Thou hast made me a courtier and commander of twenty,
Let not my mother know of my nothingness."

I reflected that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madad-i-ma'ásh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world:—

"Seek not worldly pomp, let go transitory happiness,
The pomp of Religion is enough, and the happiness of Islám for thee;"

but this was not easy. In the month of Shawwál in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983), on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but the Emperor excused my inspections of the horses. Still through the unfriendly disposition of the Çadr, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 *bígahs* of land, which in that iron age appeared to be equivalent to the fief of a commander of twenty. It was styled also in the *farmán* a *madad-i-ma'ásh*. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the Court, to which the Emperor replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during the marches. And Shaikh 'Abd-un-

[1] Two of the principal saints of the Islám.

Nabí said that no (P. 207) person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate and have fallen like leaves to the ground. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without rewards, and undergone useless restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the good-humour of destiny :—

"Either faithfulness, or news of union with thee, or the death of the rival,
The playfulness of fate will do one of these three things."

'We are content with the decree of God, are patient under His trials, and thankful for His favours' :—

"In any case I must give thanks,
If I may never be in worse plight than now!"

And this *qiṭ'ah* of Fazúlí of Baghdád, who composed it in reference to Ḥairatí of Samarqand, when he was in the favour of Sháh Ṭahmásp, is expressive of the vain hopes of your humble servant :—

"I am from the dust of Arabia, and Ḥairatí from the kingdom of Persia;
Both of us have sought our desire in uttering our words.
We have found from two benefactors the desire of our hearts,
He a glance from the king of Persia, I from the king of Arabia."[1]

Since the world, and what is in it, is known to me, my hopes are fixed on the Creator, who helps his servants, that at the last all may be well,[2] and that the seal of the matter may be in the felicity of Religion :—"What is with you will pass away, what is with God is eternal[3]" :—

"This is our hope from the mercy of our Creator,
That Thou wilt not make hopeless those who hope."[3]

[1] *I. e.* God.
[2] Al Qur'án xvi, 98.
[3] Comp. Ps. cxix, 49.

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Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bakkar. See under Muḥammad, Governor of Bakkar. The correct name of this Sulṭān is Maḥmūd *(q. v.)*.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā. See under Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of Wais Mīrzā.

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'Umān, Sea of,—the sea between India and Africa, 421 and *n* 3.

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'Urfī of Shīrāz, Mullā,—a celebrated [poet, 387.

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Vazīr Khān, title of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, son of Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr, (*q. v.*), of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 297, 298.

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Wajīhu-d-dīn, Shaikh,—a learned and profound sage, 385.

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Walī Bēg Atkah, 35. See under Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah.

Walī Bēg the Turkomān,—one of the officers of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 4. See the next.

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Walī Ni'mat Bēgum, wife of Mīrzā Sulaimān, ruler of Badakhshān, 61 and *n* 6, 89, 90, 217, 425.

Wāsi', *or wide*, 60 *n* 1. See under 'Abdu-l-Wāsi'.

Wazīr Khān, brother of Āçaf Khān, Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, —one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 86, 89 and *n* 2, 169, 170, 171, 173, 296. See also under Vazīr Khān and the next.

Wazīr Khān, Governor of Gujrāt, 256. Same as the above.

Wazīrpūr Mandalgaṛh, town of, 105. Called simply Mandalgaṛh or Māndal Gaṛh, which also see.

William, the Conqueror,—his falling down on landing in England, 40 *n* 1.

Wilson and Mill, History of British India, 240 *n* 3.

Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, 371 *n* 2.

Y.

Yadgār Kal, nephew of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razwī, governor of Kashmīr, —makes himself Sulṭān of Kashmīr for a short while, 394, 395, 396.

Yaḥā [Yaḥyā], Khwājah, son of the celebrated saint the Khwājah Aḥrār, 57.

Yaḥyāpūr,—a place in the environs of Jounpūr where the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadī meet, 179.

Yak, [Bos Grunniens], the Khiṭā-ī bull, 377.

Yakaspah,—one of the divisions of the Aḥadī troopers, 194 and *n* 2.

Yaklāna, used incorrectly for the district of Baglāna, 151 *n* 1.

Ya'qūb Çirfī or Çarfī of Kashmīr, Shaikh,—a great writer and authority on religious matters, 127, 139, 266, 407, 417. Çarfī is his *takhalluç* or poetical name.

Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, Mīr,—Wakīl of Ḥusain Khān, governor of Kashmīr, 128.

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Yār Muḥammad, alteration of such names in the reign of Akbar, 324.

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Yathrab [Yathrib],—old name of Madīnatu-n-Nabī, *i.e.*, Medina, in Ḥijāz, 324. [267.

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Yūsufzāīs, the,—an Afghān tribe, 369. See also the above.

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Zain-lankā,—a lake between two mountains in Kashmīr, 398 and *n* 3. The lake is also called *Ulur*.

Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, brother of Shahbāz Khān Shahru-llāh Kambū of

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Zamīn-bos, or kissing the ground,—name of the *sijdah* or prostration paid to Akbar as the head of religion, 266.

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Zanāniyah, fortress of, 104.

Zaqqūm, az,—a tree growing in the midst of Hell, the *euphorbia* of the ancients, 147 *n* 2.

Zardusht,—founder of the Zoroastrian religion, 268.

Zēbā Gul, Beautiful rose, 358 *n* 1.

Zia-al Barnī,—more properly Ziyā' or Zizāu-d-dīn Baranī, author of the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, 42 *n* 6.

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