(MUNTAKHAB-UT-TAWARIKH)

BY

ABD-UL-QÁDIR BIN MALÚK SHÁH

KNOWN AS

(AL-BADÁONÍ)

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

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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.

age 1 16 for the desire of fortune read the granter of desires.

" 2 " 6 " enjoined on " sent for

" 9 " not to " so as not to

" 13 " empty " fulsome

" 12 dele [i.e. Mecca.]

" 5 " 6 for a number of royal Kháns read the Imperial work-shops

" 22 dele again

" 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.

" 19 " Bokhárá " Bokhári.

" 17 " had been advanced to such a degree that he became

" 6 " a suspicion of suspicious

" 9 " the servants of the Emperor the Emperor

" 20,21 " and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view to acting upon the Khán's feelings, asked for

" 25 " 6 " a " the

" 5 " a of

" 2 " 2 " to from the point of view of reason or tradition

" 3 " both in thought and expression they two in concert

" 18 " in concert with all the others

" 16 dele the mystery of

" 32 note 1 for Najad Najd

" 1 " 10 " people wives

" 9,10 " all his effects, which were not secured in the fortress, immense spoil (cf. p.125 l. 11, text)

" 22 " view rim

" 12,13 " and the state of the public exchange he laid bare and the saying came true, "one minister comes in and the other goes out."
handkerchief

at the time of

drawing

he himself

and his authority

more that of a clerg

Gharrá

satire

who, as has been refa

was

and Adham Khán

my writing this (dele re...

into

conquered

3000

8

eight

raised

Divánah

bond

fort

inside

in his old way of in

macy

Darbán

Darbár

Múzá Razá

Imám Rizá

Haráwal

in the van

the body

a number

the Uzbeks

who were the subjects

strife and contention

Ashraf

Asrâf

"and an attendant at the

mosque,"

30

said to him

from

a host

Hindúś, to the num

of

for all that
read Husain

which he had lately acquired

bore witness. A few days before this it happened that, on a certain night

archers

has now

Mankarwâl

Biyânah

the intelligent

Agrah

father

Karâh

Zamâniyah

Barlás

Amîra

Sarjan

believer

entreated his prayers

date

Saronj

the name of the gate of the new fort

the habitable world.

the Shaikh

roof

he, reciting a charm over me like one bewitched, infatuated me with his beauty

this

in a way that all can imagine

stages

one night

after her other ventures

risking her modesty

this

the Court • this

Page 96. 1. 21 for Munâdîr

" — " 26 found it so refreshing that " which he had lately acquired

van

had

Makkarwâl

the court

mankind, behold him

Dihî

son

Dihî

Zanâniyâh

Bartas

Amîr's

Sargûn

an unbeliever

granted him a subsidy

day

Sarouj

a new gate

any inhabited quarter

the Emperor

cupola

over me like one bewilder-
ed—pass

their

as she was

stops

to-night and

trusting her affairs to her modesty

the

Court

his
Page 123 1. 23 for and on account of the fate read But any rate of her lover

" — " 26 unveiling in the house " secret chamber
" 124 " 14 reputed son of Bahádúr Khan " adopted son of Pahár Khan
" 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)
" 132 " 4 O Jewel " Mahmúd
" 135 " 977 " he was only two days' journey as far as Ajmir

" 123 " 14 men " me
" 132 " 8 star " storó
" 138 " 18 women " A Jewel
" 135 " 9 constellation " throw dust on my head
" 139 " 17 Kamál Khan " a pity, a
" 142 " 3 man " Thy pure spirit was woman

" 144 " 100 or 50 " revelation
" 147 " 28 their 982
" 149 " 18th " grandson
" 150 " 28 orthodox " has
" 151 " 17th " grandson

" 149 " 6 " 17th " Jamál Khan
" 150 " 28 orthodox " whom God (praise to Him! He is exalted)

" — " 14 charged those men on will ero this have brought

" 152 " 2 soldier 150
" 153 " 25 Sha'ád their
" 16 " 18th 7th
" 161 " 18th orthodox 1

" — " 18th orthodox 7th
" 152 " 2 soldier honest
" 153 " 25 Sha'ád " went

" — " 18thorthodox 18th orthodox

" 153 " 25 Sha'ád 18th orthodox
" 161 " 18th returned orthodox
1. For who was
2. fourteen
3. twice or four
4. in turn held a council
5. with them
6. ceremonies
7. Mas'úd
8. Mirzá Ibráhím Mirzá
9. Brahmainás by name
10. Koltah
11. suit
12. they let loose and the
13. Musulmáns killed them all.
14. Kotlah
15. had not gone
16. days' march off
17. 500
18. Moghuls belonging to
19. Fídáí
20. was
21. a man
22. open plain
23. submission
24. Qazawání
25. Sharaf-ud-dín
26. white of foot
27. observes
28. passes
29. hundreds
30. Bengál
31. Lodí
32. bank
33. 16th
34. at the removal of
35. reached
36. disloyalty
37. mountains
38. presented him with
39. who were
40. seven
41. four (cf. p. 398, 23.)
42. repeated the same coun-
43. sel to them
44. unceremonious
45. Mas'úd
46. Mirzá Ibráhím Husain
47. Brahmadás by name,
48. from the district of
49. Kálpé
50. a
51. suits
52. and let loose there, were
53. killed by the Musul-
54. mánas.
55. had not gone
56. days ago
57. 5000
58. were
59. were men
60. open plain with 5000
61. horsemen
62. homage
63. Qazwíní
64. Sharaf-ud-dín Husain
65. white of one foot
66. observed
67. passed
68. hundreds of thousands
69. Bihár
70. his Amír-ul-Umará Lodí
71. back
72. 6th
73. by avoiding
74. reaped
75. displeasure
76. the mountains
77. scattered as nisár several
Pago 183

1.12 for 16

— last 1. from

186 ll. 1, 2 dele had attained many high degrees

— ll. 26, 28 for sheet

187 l. 2 Samaqand

— note 3 Imán and Ismán

188 l. 3 one of his own quivers and arrows

— ll. 9, 10 and though—exhibition of it

— l. 12 kept close to

2. 33 Núri

189 3 mango-trees

— 10 privy-counsellors

— 24 Lábór

190 27 Mulfiz

191 9 This sort of thing has gone on for ten years

— 5 an order was promulgated

— 18 Shespúr

193 4 those

194 28 Dáud

195 12 Gaur

— 19 dele and Muhammad Quli Khan

196 2 for Tamkúr

197 20 after bolted with him

198 22 for mountain-like

— 12 and

199 21 wrist

200 1 waist

read 18

— from

had attained a thorough acquaintance with

leaf

Samarqand

Amdán and Ismán

an arrow from his own quiver

far beyond his power and resources

kept trying to conquer (cf. p. 130.)

Mír

many trees

confidential friends

Lahknou

Mulfis

This sort of thing has gone on for ten years

a new idea came into his mind

Shethpur, another Ayyúb-púr

those lands

Dáud, after his flight from Tánúsh

the fortress of Gaur

Tamkín

násí and his rider, losing all command, struck the foot of his dignity against a stone and got a fall.

the mountain-like

Peace was renewed on a firm basis and it was decided.

waist
Page 200 l. 23 for victory read wisdom " since it would not be de-
void of " a good many of
view not devoid of " discuss philosophical sub-
jects " together with several other
201 " 8 " all " Another tale was that of
205 " 5 " ascertain their thoughts Makhdum ul Mulk's
device for avoiding
206 " 12 " Another device &c.
add once or twice he even stood before him with-
207 " 2 after and out his shoes and
208 " 23 " in the hope of securing &c. " read dogmas
so that eventually they got back all that he
had received from them in early youth he had
not regarded the ques-
tion and had married what number of women
he pleased
210 " 4-6 " from that time down to a large number
read wisdom
" had allowed " such mut'ah
" he merely looked to the propriety of the words,
— how could it be reason-
211 " 17 for principles able that his mean-
ing should be so dis-
torted?
" read dogmas " reason, not tradition
209 " 10 " had had " were no longer observed
by him " were no longer observed
208 " 26 " mut'ah " or
213 " 30-32 " he merely looked &c. down to extreme
" had allowed " such mut'ah
" be merely looked to the propriety of the words,
— how could it be reason-
215 " 12 " reason able that his mean-
ing should be so dis-
torted?
" reason, not tradition " were no longer observed
by him " were no longer observed
217 " 4 " that every five or six years " for five or six years that
218 " 1 " Arab " 'Iraqi.
219 " 12 " without ceremony " without hesitation
" On the 15th of Rajab
" Mirzâ Sulaimán reach-
ed the neighbourhood
" of Faqîpur; and first
Pago

Page 219 1. 20 for painted canopies, brocado read figured canopies of gold cloth

" 220 " 2 " Fátîlah " Fátîlah after the prayers
" — " 19 after Sulaimán " and then return to Láhor.
" — " 22 for meanwhile " For meanwhile
" 221 " 7 dele head-forthest
" 222 " 7 for Khan Zámán " Khan Ján
" — " 14 " 20 " 20,000
" 223 " 8 " took a moonlight slit " he went off
" 224 " 1 " Muhammad " Mábûd
" — " 2 " Amráhah " Amráhah
" — " 4 " he " Hussain Kháán
" — " 10 " when they came on him —orders

— " 15 " friendship " religious sympathy
" 229 " last bankrupt " borrower
" 230 " 8 " Arabs " 'Irâjîs
" — " 10 " Arab " 'Irâjî
" 232 " 5,6 " a stipend—present " to look after me that I should be present

— " 7 " Muhammad " Mábûd
— " 11 " at one of the stages " when one stage distant
— " 25 " 'Agrâh " Ajmîr
— " 28 after defeated them " with some 1500 killed or taken prisoners

233 " 15 " I " returned and
235 " 29 for Sâr " Sâr
239 " 5 " Sâlahbâhân " Sâlahbâhân
— " 18 " fifty " twenty
— " 22 " would keep " must have kept
211 " 14 " Muhammad " Mábûd
— " 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 date note 2
242 " 31 for Saqqâr in note 4 " Saqqâr
243 " 5 " ul-awwal " ul-ákhîr
IX

p. 243 1. 17 for succinctly
   \"45\", 4, \"sent\n\" 246 \"25 \"reverse
\" 247 \"14 \"Jounpūr
\" — 1. 1. \"Muzaffar Khān
\" 249 \"18 dele military commanders
\" — \"20 after hill district
\" 253 \"21 for blind to God's mercies
\" 255 \"12 \"pray
\" 266 \"7 \"from there
\" 257 \"7 \"anxious
\" — \"29 \"many
\" 258 \"6 \"festival
\" — \"15, 16\", when I brought a petition, &c.

\" — \"18, 19\", who withdraws from the fulfillment of his obligation
\" 259 \"10 \"Nánūl
\" 260 \"11 \"Hāsāf
\" — \"17 \"concerning
\" — \"32 \"p. 265
\" 261 \"18 \"Bahrah
\" — \"29 \"5th
\" — \"34 \"disembarking
\" 262 \"2 \"5th
\" — \"5 \"arrived
\" — \"9 \"names
\" 263 \"21 \"nature
\" 265 \"13 dele some
\" — \"14 for look on them as gods

\" — \"28 \"principle
\" — \"34 \"muzhat
\" 266 \"8 \"who naturally turn themselves from
\" 267 \"6 \"past ages
\" — \"18 \"a cause
   \"read exactly
   \" brought
   \" reverse
   \" Khānpūr
   \" Todar Mall (see Blochm. p. 430.)
   \" of Mudāriya
   \" like brute beasts
   \" bray
   \" add thither
   \" read disaffected
   \" some
   \" festival of
   \" when I brought a petition to Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi that I might receive permission to go, the Shaikh asked me
   \" who will fulfil the obligation of serving her

\" — \"10 \"Nánnūl
\" — \"11 \"Hánisī
\" — \" by the hand of
\" — \"mufār, p. 264
\" — \"Bahrah
\" — \"3rd
\" — \"disembarked
\" — \"6th
\" — \"arrived at Todah
\" — \"name
\" — \"tradition

\" they look on some of them as gods
\" principal
\" muzhat
\" overlooking
\" ancient and modern times
\" another cause
x

p. 269 1. 3 for the many lights of His read His lights
creation

" — " 6 " burn offer
" — " 23 " of and
" 270 " 14,15 " " who will ever have—than yourself?"

" 273 " 23 " extravagancies fopperies
" 274 " 15 after Taib (a worthless wretch)
" — " 28 for Maqūr
" 275 " 24 " the stain of their counte-
" 276 " 5 " blest their accidental stain

" 278 " 31,32 " to pretend ignorance—poli-
" 280 " 22 after law add They called Islam a travesty
" — v 30 for 5th read 25th
" 281 " 2 after degree add like the Khwájah
" 282 " 12 for said read attacked the faith, he

" 284 " 11 " I said to him
" — " — after verse he
" 286 " 3 for ‘Azím-ul-Mulk I used
" — " 16 " Miyan ‘Ain-ul-Mulk
" 287 " 26 " a historical fact Miyán Mán
" 288 " 4 " their an historical picture
" — " 6 " under the skirts of those this
by whom under whose skirts

" 289 " 20 " time
" 289 " 28,34 " Purushottam line
" — " 29 after Ma'qúm Khán Purushottam
" 290 " 25 for Kabul Kábúl
" 291 " 7 " 50 Kálpí
" 292 " 13 " Tórmáh 500
" — " 24 " which are Tármáh
" 296 " 18 " with a natural tendency he is still
" 297 " 16 " and again in a state of nature

" — " 23 " Piyáj

and reported the conduct
of the amirs of that
province; he also

" Payág (Prayág)
he, with the Abyssinian, he asked before twenty-seventh one of the renowned amirs came, &c.

he went into the pavilion of one of the renowned Amirs and honoured him with his society so that the mind became bewildered by them. The news of this scandal reached him after his own fashion in the presence of the late pious Mir Abú'l Ghaisí Bukhári and he turned out a very hair-splitter in the matter of shaving used to take dogs to their table and eat with them.

It is not without one's saying, 'Aṣaf Khán, Sális, &c.:'

he raised great objections and would not accept the truth of it. 'Aṣaf Khán Sális who is the same as Mírzá Ja'far, helped me in but a poor way, but Shaikh Abú'l-Faqi and Gházi Khán Badakshí, on the other hand, confirmed my assertions.

He, seeing the other with Chishí after twenty-eighth

so that the mind became bewildered by them

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1. For many a family was ruined, and his property was confiscated.

2. Daily at noon.

3. And others.

4. Who was a main supporter of Qutb’s.

5. Month.

6. While in some of their own Sanskrit books the age of men was described as ten thousand years.

7. Having treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not wish to take any steps towards his being put to death.

8. In his sixteenth year.


12. Fourteen.

13. The time that Sulaimán Mirzá arrived at Court in incognito.

14. A bow and a number of muskets.

15. A number of bows and muskets.
p. 368 1. 4 after to this effect
" 370 " 19 for Amin Khán
" 374 " 7 " Lábóí
" — " 21 " Gous
" 375 " 6 " poverty
" 376 " 8 after Gujráí

" — " 30 for arms
" 378 " 16 " transcription
" 378 " 26 for Bayání
" — " 30 " a river
" 379 " 25 " the water
" 382 " 3 " property
" — " 4 " flood-tears
" — " 25 " 381
" 383 " 16 " beasts
" 386 " 19 " them
" — " any
" 388 " 14 " twenty-sixth
" 389 " 13 " sisters
" — " 15 " he said " Get along then "

So the Emperor was vexed
read in the year 990 (?)`
" Amin Khán Ghorí, the
" governor of Súrat

Lakhnou
" Ghous
" piety
" and sent for Qulí to
Court

anus
" translation
" Biyábání
" the river
" the river Indus
" prosperity
" blood-tears
" 371

serpents
" me
" an
" thirty-sixth
" kindred

390 " 12 " Imín-ud-dín
" — 24 " Hakím Humán
" 391 " 1 " twelfth
" 392 " 20 " the
" 393 " 18 " Sháms-ud-dín
" — 23 " Díhíí
" 397 " 24 " 'Aláím Shaíkh
" 399 " 4 " governor of
" 400 " 15 " Mán Singh
" — 20 " their
" 401 " 12 after Muráíd
add in Málwah
" 402 " 5, 6 infra for sardín
for Balfour's
" 406 " 7 " fire-temple
" 411 " 1 " read like the translations
by Naqíb Khán

read sardín
" Balfour's
" Páráí " tower of silence"
" read as an example by
Naqíb Khán (? cf. text,
p. 374, 17.)
JALÁL-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD AKBAR PÁDHÁH.

The Emperor of the time, the Khalíf of the age, Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar Pádsháh (may he ever be firmly seated on the throne of the Khalifate and the seat of clemency) with the approval of Bairám Kháán, the Kháán Kháán, began to honour and adorn the throne of the Sultanate, under an auspicious star, on Friday the 2nd of the month Rabí‘ul-avval, in the year nine hundred and sixty-three (963) in the garden of Kahinor—which, to this day, they have not yet finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amirs of the frontier, so that the Khutbah was read also at Dihlí. And they composed this hemistich, as giving the date: ‘More noble than all princes he.’

They composed also the following distich:

‘Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar, that prince of the age,
At the date of [the death of] father said: Prince of the age am I.’

And another [mnemosynon] they found [for the date]:

‘The desire of fortune.’ 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 Muhammad 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 Kitto’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; 
When one old age completes its course, 
A younger rises from the ground."

(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, (who with an army had gone in pursuit of Sikandar in the Mountains of Sawalik, as far as the confines of the district of Dalmirí) not to allow the news of the death of the late Emperor to be spread abroad.

Now Sháh Abu-l-Maʿáli, who was of noble Sayyid extraction, and of the country of Kāshghar, in the symmetry of his limbs and the excellence of his valour was distinguished above all his compœers. 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 múm, in such a way, that the initial letter of the first hemistiches composed the words “Ḫazrat Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh Gházi” [“My Lord Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh Gházi”]; and the initial letters of the second hemistiches “Shábzádah [prince] Jalálu-d-dín Muḥammad Akbar”; and the final letters of the first hemistiches the words “Mírzá Sháh Abu-l-Maʿáli,” together with some epithet or other which I have forgotten; and the sum of the twenty-four múms which closed the verses gave \[24 \times 40 = 960\] 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-Maʿáli one evening, having drunk too much wine, slew in his bigotry a zealous Shiʿah. When the heirs of the murdered man came to demand justice, and the Emperor sent for Sháh Abu-l-Maʿáli, he put on the dead man's robe of black

Compare: Le roi est mort. Vive le roi.

* Or cradle.
* On the spelling of this word, see Blochmann, Kíní Akbarí. 324 n.
* Nasir-u-d-dín Muḥammad Humáyun Pádsháh, father of Akbar.
* Instead of nastaʿlīq read maṣṭúl.
velvet lined with (P. 10) red and blue, and putting the hanger, burnished bright, the very same with which he had despatched him, under his skirt, swaggered drunken into the royal assembly, and denied the deed. Bairam Khán on the occasion quoted these lines:—

"His dishevel'd locks of hair To night-debauch confess; Lo! a blazing proof is there, The lamp beneath his dress."

The Emperor was, exceedingly delighted; but the blood of that innocent one was hidden in the dust, and his murder was never proved. In short, when the royal Amirs summoned Abu-l-Ma'áli 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 Bairam Khán, thinking it the best course to pursue, accepted. But, when he came afterwards, Bairam Khán gave the order to Tulak Khan 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'áli 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 Adam G'hakkar, uncle of Kamál Khán. The latter treated Abu-l-Ma'áli with honour, and the two set off with an army with full preparations for the conquest of Kashmir. When he arrived at the frontier of Kashmír, at Márjí 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 Gházi Khán, the prince of the Chakks, and was defeated. After this Kamál Khán made an excuse for separating from him, so

1. From dyekhán to hang.
2. Fix., with this apt citation.
Bairam disguised himself, and going to the district of Dibálpúr, 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‘áli]. 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‘áli in his house, and that they were plotting together against himself. Bahádur Khán, mounting his horse, had Sháh Abu-l-Ma‘áli seized and sent him to Bairám-Khán, and Tulak he ordered to be punished. Bairám Khán entrusted Sháh to Wál Beg the Turkomán, and sent him off towards Bakkar [i.e., Mecca]. Wálí 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 Quli Khán. When Bairám Khán received information of this, he sent an order to ‘Alí Quli Khán that he should send him to Agra. At the time that, in accordance with this order, he arrived at Agra 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‘áli 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. It happened that, when, at the very time of the Accession, he fled (P. 12) from Láhór, Pahlawan 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 Rámcand came from Nagarkot to pay

1 See p. 5.
2 See text, p. 39. 1. 6.
3 The most renowned of all the rajás of the hills. Tabaqát-i Akbár, 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 Jândhâr, remained there five months.

Contemporaneously with the decease of the late king, and the Accession of the Emperor, Târî Beg Khán commandant of Dihlî had sent Mîrzá Abu-l-Qásim, the son of Kámrán Mîrza, with a number of royal Khâns, and some picked elephants, in company with Khwája Sultán ‘Ali Wazír Khán, and Mîr Munshí Ashraf Khán, to pay their homage to the Emperor. In the same year Mîrzá Sulaimán came with Ibrâhîm Mîrzá with the intention of conquering Kábul, and Mun‘îm Khán, being besieged, sent particulars to the court. Then the Emperor appointed Mûljammâd Qulí Khán Barlás, and Atka Khán, and Khízr Khán Hazârah with a company of men to bring the Queen Dowager and the other wives [of Humáyun] who were in Kábul. Now before the arrival of this troop [at Kábul Mîrzá Sulaimán] had sent Qázi Nizám of Badakhshán (who was one of his most honoured Ulamá and who afterwards was known simply by the title of Qázi Khán,) on an embassy to Mun‘îm Khán to make proposals of peace, only on the condition that they should at once insert his name also in the Khutbah. Mun‘îm Khán accepted the conditions, as being the best remedy for the general distress, and Mîrzá 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 Shádí Khán the Afghán, who was one of the Amírs of ‘Adalí. And on the banks of the river Rahab he fought...
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, Agra, 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 Agra, 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 Tárdí 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 Pir Muḥammad Khán Shírvání³, who had come from the imperial camp with a message to Tárdí Beg Khán, went along with the victorious⁴ 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'í 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 Tárdí 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'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. 1. 5.
at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khán Khwája, the husband of Gulbadan Bégum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hémun he made his glorious entry into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amírs came to salute him. The Khán Khánán, who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tárdí 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 of Tárdí 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 Tárdí 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 Tárdí Beg Khán. And in the morning, when Khwája Sultán 'Áli and Mir Munshí did not come to the Diwán, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tárdí 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 16005 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 Pánipat. He sent on his artillery before him, (P. 15) and the opportunity presenting itself to a com-

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1 Lit. "In whose net was &c."
2 Anglic "retreated to."
3 i. e. Muhammad 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 Tárdí Beg Khán was a noble of importance in the time of Humáyún, and one of his most faithless followers. Blochmann's Alm i Akbari, I, 318. He was a Sunni. Bairam Khán was a Shí'ah, Badáoní, III, 190.
6 His date is 67 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 Amirs, such as Khán Zamán, Iskandar Khán and others, who were advancing as vanguard, they took it at Pánípat after some fighting. And Hémun raising the hopes of the Amirs 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 Pánipat mounted on an elephant called "Hawáy," and came to the district of Khármánánda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram961 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 Amirs 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 Mangaláy, for manghaláy is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab munqalá "ambassador."

* 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 Shád Khán Múswání, who was in the van of the army, was slain. Sháh Qúlí Khán Muhúrüm 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 Gádá-i 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, Gádá-i 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?” 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;
Muhammad 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.”

Nearly 1500 elephants, and treasure and stores, to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil. And Pir Muhammad Khán, and Husain Khán, (P. 17) a relation of Mahdí Qásím Khán, and many others, in consort with Sa’íd Khán the Mughuí, 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

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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 *Zamúddrán* for *Zamíndúrdán*, text, p. 51, l. 7.
Bajwara, but left the gold behind, the greater part of which the rustics of the country of Bajwara 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 Aslim 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 reeks 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 minaret built of the heads 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 Amir s were appointed as governors of Agra, Sambhal, and other towns. Then news came to Dihlí, that on the confines of Chamyári, a place within 20 eoses of Láhor, Khizar Khán had been defeated before Sikandar, and had arrived at Láhor. His Highness had scarcely departed for Jálándhar, 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 Dahníri.5

1 Text, p. 64, l. 7. It is in the neighbourhood of the River Sathlaj.
2 Gauwá is the Hindustání gauwá a villager, rustic, from gáu, Sanskrit gráma a village; the word recurs at p. 55, l. 21 of text.
3 Persian az kunahá, but compare Mirkhánd who says that Taimúr took a place, and az zarhá kushtagán manárhá saktand; 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 steel of my pen upon this open race-course, and to finish succinctly the history of these 40 years, from the accession of Akbar; but success depends upon God!

In this year Sikandar shut himself up in the fortress of Mánkú, and the great Amírs day by day kept attacking him and pressing him sore. And especially Muhammad Ḥusayn Kháň, a relation of Mahdí Qásim Kháň, was so persevering in those attacks that if Rastam had been alive, he would certainly have acknowledged his merits. Moreover his brother Hasan Beg was killed:

"Upon the top of thy mountain Hasan was slain, Greater than of Karbalâ 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 Kháň was held, and raised him day by day to a higher rank, so that valuable lands 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 Bárla, and others, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abd ur-Ráhímán, together with Gházi Kháň Súr, with a present of elephants to visit the Emperor,

1 The Pers. Khalífat-pándhí 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 juliús "accesion."  
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 Badáóní 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 Yássín, the sons of 'Ali.  
5 Avlak is Turki for "a field."
through the intervention of Atka Khán and Pir Muhammad Kháq, on the 27th of Ramzání in the year 964, and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued his firman that Jounpúr should be given temporarily\(^2\) to Sikandar in sīf, 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 firman 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, andickle 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 Muhammad\(^7\) Qáli Khán Barláš, 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 Kábúl to the camp. And on the 2nd of Shavvál\(^10\) in the year nine hundred and sixty-four (964) the imperial army moved towards Lábor. 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

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\(^1\) The 9th month.

\(^2\) بَيْثَة, which means in Arab. "actually" is here used in the Hindustani sense of "for a time."

\(^3\) i. e., ‘Ali Qáli 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. Akbarnáma.

\(^7\) Cf. p. 5.

\(^8\) The Queen of Sheba. See Al-Qor’dn XXVII, 20-45.

\(^9\) Her title was Maryam Makánt. Blochmann, p. 309.

\(^10\) The 10th month.

\(^11\) Yurm is Turki for "a march," from yurunok "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† [that the affair was a mere accident], so all suspicion was removed. In this year, through the intervention of Mullá ‘Abdul-láh Sultánpuri,² Sultán Adam G’hákkar 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 ended in a settlement. Then Sultán Adam 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 Jálándhar 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 Jamádí I¹ 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 Sháhím 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 Qúreichís,⁵ the one Khúshshál Bég, and the other Sháhím Bég son of the Sáríhábádšíh⁶ of Sháh Taḥmás [of Persia]. Both of them were preeminent for beauty of disposition and appearance, the beau

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† Al-Qor’án.
² Called Makhdúm ul Mulk.
³ But in the text, p. 55, l. 1, Sultán Adam 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 9th month.
⁵ The Qúreichís (or Koorchees) were a corps of cavalry, composed of the ancienne noblesse, at the court of the kings of Persia of the Safaví 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 Sambhál, cast secretly a glance at Sháhím Bég, and his extemporary 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 Sháhím Bég, who was one of the Qurchís of the palace; and from the district of (P. 21) Lákhnú, he sent persons secretly to Dihlí, to fetch Sháhím Bég from thence to join him. So the Khán Zamán, following the manners of Transoxiana, manifested wonderful affection for Sháhím 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 Mir Abu'l-Gháys Bokhárá of Dihlí (the mercy of God be upon him!), whose disciple Sháhím Bég had after a manner been, that at the time when Sháhím Bég came from the imperial camp to Joumpur, agreeably with the age of youth, which "has just left the Presence of My Lord," was much occupied in prayer with the congregation, and in thanksgiving and reading the Qurán, 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 'áhd' is used for "ago" and "meeting with," "presence,"

I do not see how to retain the paronomasia in English.
practice of holiness. And, to please Sháhím 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 he seven manners of reading the Glorious Word, and with whom he writer of these pages had learnt to read the Qurán at Sambhal in the time of Islím Sháh), he retained with orders to instruct Sháhím Bég with extreme and boundless care. But, since the asceticism of youths is of unstable equilibrium, this piety was in a short time hanged 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."

Sháhím Bég became attached to a dancing-girl named Āram Ján, was very fascinating, and graceful in her movements; apropos 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."

Sháhím 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 Agra and Dihlí to Jómpúr addressed to the Khán Zamán to seek Sháhím Bég, and another was issued to the fief-holders of Jíhat 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 'Ali 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 naino,' When the Khán Zamán heard this news he set his heart on getting rid of Sháhím 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 Joompúr, and was fixed as the fief of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán 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 Sháhím Bég, in company with 'Abd-ur-Rahmán 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-Rahmán Bég for Arúm Ján. He brought forward the excuse that he was married to her, and so Sháhím 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-Rahmán seized; and, on the ground that Arám Ján had first been his, he demanded her from the house of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, and kept her with him. But Muayyid Bég, the younger brother of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Bég, from a strong feeling of his brother's wrongs, assembled a body of men, and attacked the balcony, where Shahim Bég and Arám Ján were together. Shahim Bég rose to drive them back, and a fray ensued, in which insane affair an arrow reached a mortal part of Shahim Bég, and he died. The following hemistich they composed as giving the date:—

"He cried ah! and said: Shahim 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 Shahim Bég in this year, or the year before; probably the latter: but God knows. Then 'Abd-ur-Rahmán fled to the court, where he was favourably³ received. The Khán Zamán had put on mourning and pursued 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Bég to the water of the Ganges, but being unsuccessful he returned disconsolate [to Jounpûr] 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 balconly.
² \(d + h = 1 + 5 = 6; \ 3 \times n = 900, \ d = 1, 2 \times h = 10, y = 10, m = 40, 2 \times d = 8.\) 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 shafrak means both “twilight”; and “condolence”, so that the expression in the original has the double intende 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 Ḥasān 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 took the river Karwí and attacked Bahádur, 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 Bengáli, who called himself Súlțán Bahádur, and had issued coin, and caused the Khutbah 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 body of men brought destruction 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 kingliness and 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 Ghánit, see Shakespeare's Hindust. Dict.

2 That is, Mahommadd Su'íd Shaibání, younger brother of the Khán Zamán.

3 The Court, see note, p. 12.

4 See note, p. 1.

5 Lit. "a numbered band", like the Heb. m'théy mispdir "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. ḥšw ḥšw ḥšw, and Hebr. mpkhrw 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 Khan Khanan brought to punishment Mu'zahib Beg, 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 Agra. And in this year took place the appointment, removal, rise, and fall of Pir Muhammad Khan: and this is how it came about. Pir Muhammad Khan 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 Khan Khanan. 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 Dihli to Agra, when the Khan Khanan went on an hunting expedition with Pir Muhammad Khan, the Khan Khanan asked his private purveyors: "Is there no provision in store, for we are hungry?" and Pir Muhammad Khan 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 Khan Khanan with his suit alighted under a tree, and 3000 drinking cups, and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours (?) were brought out from the travelling stores of Pir Muhammad Khan. Though the Khan Khanan 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 báqalamun of various kinds, or colours.
When they arrived at Agra, Pir Muhammad Khán was indisposed for some days, and the Khan 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 Khan Khánán knew no bounds, and he said:

"For a wilful fool there is no cure!"

When this came to the ears of Pir Muhammad Khán, ill as he was, he came running, and "after the destruction of Bozrah" begged forgiveness, saying: "Forgive me, for my Porter did not know you." The Khan Khánán answered: "Nor you either!" In spite of this, when the Khan Khánán came in, not one of Pir Muhammad's household was dismissed except Tahir Muhammad Sultán 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 Sultan's Court,
For there indeed thou 'lt profit naught.
Let the gruff Porter's stern rebuff
For wisdom's warning be enough."

And the Khan Khánán, after he had sat down for a moment, came out again, and Pir Muhammad was left to meditate upon the affair. After two or three days the Khan Khánán sent to Pir Muhammad Khán the following message, by the hand of Khwájah Amíná (who afterwards became Khwájah Jahán), and of Mir 'Abd-ulláh Bakhshi, 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

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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.

3 Kh. Amínádín Mahmúd 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) Sultánship and Khánship, and to the post of an Amir 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 Pir 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 Pir 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:

[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.
"The heart's a glass, if broken, how repair the ill!
It is no earthen cup to be cracked and patched at will."

After some days they sent him from Biyánah by order of the Khán Khánán, on a pilgrimage to the sacred Mekka: and he was still in Gujrát, when the decline of the Khán Khánán's\(^1\) power began. Then he returned, and came to pay his homage to the Emperor, and having obtained the name of Násir-ul-mulk, he was appointed to go in pursuit of the Khán Khánán, as shall be record-ed in its proper place\(^2\) if God (He is exalted!) will. (P. 29) And the office of vicegerent of the Khán, Khánán was transferred from Fír Muhammad Khán to Hájí Muḥammad Khán Sístáání, who was also one of the Khán's followers. And the following line is appli-cable to this occurrence:—

"The dog sits down in the sausage-seller's place."\(^3\)

And Shaikh Gádá-í Kamboh, son of Jamál Kambo-í (a poet of Díhlí, who after the second defeat in India during the time of the exile at Gujrát had come to the Khán Khánán) through the in-fluence of the latter, they put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindústán and Khurásán, and appointed him to the high office of Čadr.\(^4\) And the Khán Khánán, may even the Emperor himself, was often present at his house at singing parties, where the most abject flattery rained down on all sides, and which became a regular hypocrisy-shop. And,—since, from the time of the establishment of Islám in Hindústán, God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majeesty!) has created the great Shaikhs of this country, just the opposite\(^5\) in nature to the secular princes, 

\(^1\) In the Text, for Khánán road Khán Khánán, as it is in 35, line 8.
\(^2\) Pugo 39 of Text.
\(^3\) Cf. Rochuck, Eastern Proverbs, p. 273.
\(^4\) There was in each district an officer called Čadr, whose business it was to see that the objects of all grants made by the crown (anwáf) for maintaining the iáimás &c. were carried into effect. See Elphinstone's India, Bk. VIII chap. II. The Qáïf and Mir 'Adl were under his orders, and he had a clerk called the Dívání-i Sa'ádat. Blochmann Aín-i-Akbári, 263. Compare also p. 52 of our Text.
\(^5\) H/a áh bakhšáf "in contrary distinction to" is put after its case, as khiláf as "except" in Hází, Calcutta Ed. p. 918, 3 lines from the bottom:—
   "bist dar dá-iráh yák mágá khiláf az kam-u-bénh"

   "There is not in the circle anything more or less, except a single dot."

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natured, servile in disposition, and low-minded, and since their pomp and glory has never consisted in smiting with the sword, but in flattering others, in spiritual hypocrisy, and ignominy, and the garb of dignity and honour has ever been too strait for the stature of their ambition—the chief Imáms, at this exaltation of Shaikh Gadá-i, about the eminence of whose family they had stories, went mourning from house to house, and so the Arabic Proverb "The death of the great has exalted me" became verified:—

"At my rival's insolence I'm mightily surprised,
O may that beggar Gadá-i ne'er be highly prized."

And he drew the pen of obliteration through the grants of land and pensions of the old servants of the crown [Afgyhne, Blochm.], and to every one who bore the disgrace of coming to his levees he gave a sayúrgáh, but not unless. But still, compared with this niggard age, in which demurs are made to the giving of a single acre of land (P. 30), or even less, as madad i ma'dásh, one might call Shaikh Gadá-i a very "world-giver." Then the princes and nobles of the kingdom, as many as came, flew into a rage at the advancement, honour, and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadá-i, and some of them consoled themselves with these words:—

When a fool is exalted through riches,
In the assembly, above the wise and excellent,
He is still the last in all good qualities,
As though the accusative were to prevent the nominative.

If an Emperor sit humbled,
It is neither disgrace to him, nor praise to you.
Dost thou not see that the Sura Ikhláq
Comes after "May the hands of Abu Lahab perish?"

1 Said ironically.
2 Gadá means a beggar.
3 Auqat is a misprint for auqáf.
4 The Chagátái word sayúrgáh is translated by the Pers. madad i ma'dásh, i. e., "assistance of livelihood." They were lands given for benvolent purposes, and were hereditary, thus differing from jágdr or týpái lands, which were conferred for a specified time. Blochm. 270.
5 Cf. p. 71, l. 7 of Text.
6 That is in the Qur'án the glorious Sura 112, on the nature of God, comes after Sura 111, which speaks of Muhammad's unbelieving uncle Abu Lahab.
And Mir Sayyid Nimat Rusūlī, who has been mentioned, repeated the distich, and made it well known in mosques and monasteries. And in the mosque, and in Shaikh Gadā-i’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 Gadā-i’s name, eat not his bread
Since beggary is bad, Gadā-i’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 Mir ‘Abd-ul-Latif, who is one of the great Sayfi-Sayyids of Qazvin, and who came from the country of Īrāq to India in the year 963, and with him he began reading the Divān of “mystic language.” And ‘Abd-ul-Latif’s able son (an Amir 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 Mir Ghīyās-ud-din, and surname Naqīb Khān, 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, 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 Gwālīyār took

1 Punning on the meaning of the word Gadā-i (see preceding page).
2 They were known “in Irān for their Sunni tendencies” Blochmann Aini Akbari, p. 437. They were, consequently, especially esteemed by our Author.
3 Probably the Divān-i Hafiz, 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 Hafiz.” Aini Akbari, 448.
4 Loh-ī mahfūz, the Indolible Tablet on which, according to Mahometan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from all eternity. It is referred to in Qur’ān vi, 38. The sixth great article of faith with a Moslem is God’s absolute predestination of both good and evil.
place. A *ghulām* of ‘Adali,1 Buhāil2 Khān by name, who was
besieged therein, sued for quarter and gave up the keys. The date
will be found contained in the words *Bāth-i bāb-i kīthah-e Gwālyār,
* "The opening of the gate of the fortress of Gwālyār." And in this
same year Sangrām3 Khān, also a *ghulām* of [the late] ‘Adali, sold
the fortress of Rantambhūr into the hand of Rāj Surjān Hādā. The
facts of the case are as follows. Before the Emperor made the
city of Agra the goal of his prosperous journey, he had appointed some
of the Amīrs, such as Hindū Bāgh Mughūl, &c., to reduce the fort
of Rantambhūr. They besieged Sangrām Khān and ravaged the
environs of the fortress, and the surrounding district, but were un-
successful in their main object. But when Biyānah was given as
a fief to Habīb ‘Alī Khān, one of the followers of the Khān Khānān,
and Basāwar, and Todāh4 Turk ‘Alī, which is better known as Todāh
Bhīyūn, were given to Chaghatāi Khān, then Habīb ‘Alī Khān was
honoured with the command of the army, and, superseding the
Amīrs of the surrounding district, was appointed to undertake the
seige. When he had besieged the place for the space of one year,
and reduced the garrison to great straits, Sangrām Khān made
proposals of peace, and sending a messenger of entreaty with a view
to acting upon the Khān’s feelings, asked for special conditions for
his own personal advantage. The Khāns chose my father, and that
pilgrim to the two sacred precincts, Hájī Bhīkan Basāwar, and sent
them to arrange this important matter. After much altercation
Sangrām Khān 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 Amīrs, 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

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1 On the death of Islām Shāh (A. H. 960) Muhammad Shāh Sūr ‘Adil, com-
monly known as ‘Adali, had usurped the throne.
2 Elliot’s MS. of Tārikh-i-Alfi has Babhal, Abul Fazl says Sohail. ‘Adali
had given the command of Gwālyār to this *ghulām*.
3 Called Hájī Khān in the Tābaqāt-i Akbari. Elliot, V. 260.
4 About 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhūr.
the fortress by assault, then Sangrám Khán gave up the fortress to Ráí Surján, 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 Alwáí went to Gujrát. And Ráí Surján 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 Ḥábíb 'Alí Khán and the Amirs, 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 Sídúz, (who afterwards attained the rank of Khán, and was made governor of the fortress of Chitor), with a farmánn containing friendly terms.

And in those days I left home and, going from Basáwar to Agra 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 Mubárák of Nágór (the mercy of God be upon him !), and my deceased father Shaikh Múlúksháh (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 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 season, and I was an inexperienced traveller, abandoning my studies, mounted the dangers of the jour-
ney. And passing through Kanouj,1 Lak’hnou, (P. 33), Jounpûr, 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 Chunjâ in a month Zi-l-qâdâh2 in the year nine hundred and sixty-six (966). Jamâl Khân sent some of his people to meet Mihr ‘Alî, and bring him to his house. There he received him with fitting hospitality and shewed him the palaces of Shûr Shâh and Salîm Shâh, and all the defensive munitions of the fort. But when the farman of conciliation, containing a grant of five pargannas in the neighbourhood of Jounpûr in exchange for the fortress of Chunâr, was read, Jamâl Khân showed that he had further expectations, and proposing the most impossible terms endeavoured to detain Mihr ‘Alî in inactivity until an answer to his representation should arrive from the court. Meanwhile he artfully held communication both with Khân Zamân3 and Fath Khân Afghan Tabûi (?)4 who with all his force was at the fortress of Rohûtâs, holding out to them separately promises of the fortress. Then Mihr ‘Alî, when he became aware of the treachery and perfidy of Jamâl Khân, and when also a suspicion as to Fath Khân’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 Jamâl Khân’s good graces, and promising him to bring back Mihr ‘Alî, 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 Kanyâkubja or Kanouj is one of the most ancient places in India. See Elphinstone, p. 233.
2 The 11th month.
3 He was at Jounpûr. See p. 17.
4 The reading is here doubtful.
5 The word bakhtâb in Pers. means “a sail”, but in this Indic or Persian, it is probably used with some reference to its meaning in Hinduastâni which is given by Shakespeare as “a shade to protect a candle from the wind.”
the bark of my (P. 84) 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 'Ali returned to Agra, Fatá a ghulám of 'Adali got into his possession the fortress of Chunár.

In 966 A. H. the aforesaid Shaikh with disciples and followers arrived with state and pomp at Agra, coming from Gujrat. 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 sterling1!

In this year Bahádur Khán, brother of the Khán Zamán, with
the intention of subjugating the country of Málwáh,2 which Báz
Bahádur, son of Suzáwal3 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 Husain Khán
came from Andari to Agra, 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 Ráí 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 incom-
plete, and went to Gwályár. And when thence he was making for
Málwáh, the Khán Khánán recalled him to Agra.

On the 20th of Jumádá-s-sání6 in the year 967 the Emperor
crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition. And some male-
volent speakers, who were jealous of the absolute authority which
the Khán Khánán enjoyed as the Fáktí, and especially Adham
Khán (who on account of his being the son of Máhúm Atká7
held the post nearest to his person), and Čádiq Muhammad 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 Málwáh see Elliot, V. 168.
3 Called Shuja’ Khán Afghán, in the Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. He is called
Shujáwal by Blochmann, p. 428.
4 Sírí, Ṭabaqát-i Akbarí. Sírí was about half way on his road.
5 That is ‘Sheopoor,’ 120 miles S. W. of Agra (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 Sikandarah-rua which is [more than] half-way to Dihli Máhum Ankah represented to His Highness, that the Queen Dowager, who was at Dihli, had fallen suddenly ill, and impressed upon him that he ought to direct his course thither. Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán the Governor of Dihli 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 tufted-mark, and locks, and brow,
Are all banded together.
For the purpose of killing Musúd
She is become an arraigner.”

Eventually she made the following representation: “When the Khán Khánán learns that the imperial cavalcade is come to Dihli 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, all my attendants are in the uttermost terror. It is right, therefore, that you should show yourself amicably inclined towards them, and

1 Musúd Békk 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 Sistán, and Tarsán Muhammad 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 Ahmad 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 Agra for Dihlí; and the affair is an exact parallel to that of the Sultan 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

Qiyám Khán Kang was the first of the Amírs who arrived at Dihlí. And Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad 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 Agra 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.
intécourse 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 Medina, so he got things ready for his journey to Ḥijáz, and set off for Biyānah, 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 from Málwah, he allowed to go as their companion. He then released Muḥammad Amin Diwánah 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’ read backwards is ‘transient’;
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-Latif Qazwíni, saying: “Our intention in coming 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 Hijáz, 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.”

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1 Ḥijáz = Arabia petrea (Mekka and its territory in particular).
Najad = ” deserta.
Yemen = ” felix.
2 See p. 29.
3 And also Sháh Abúl Ma‘áli (Akbar-náma), who was imprisoned there, see p. 4.
4 The letters of the first word (تیام) read backwards give (ئیلی) 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 Mewát to Nagór; and, with the exceptions of Wali Beg Zu’l Qadr, and Husain Quli Khán (who became Khán Jahán), and Ismá’il Quli Khán his brother, and Sháh Quli Khán Muḥarram, and Husain Khán a relative of Mahdí Qásim Khán, none remained with him. From Nagór he sent to the Court by the hand of Husain Quli Khán his paraphernalia of pomp, consisting of such kettle-drums and standards as he possessed. Also Shaikh Gádáí (P. 39), at last on the confines of Bikánír, 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-Farqadání."

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‘áli, who had come to pay his respects to the Emperor, wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán. And at the same stage Pir 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 Náqir-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 leisure at Nagór, 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 Tabaqát-i Akbarí. Firíshta says that he wished to remain mounted while saluting the Emperor. Elliot. 5
The Emperor, when he had returned to Dihli, sent for Mun'im Khán from Kábul, in order to invest him with the office of Prime-

The Khán Khánán went from Nágor to Bikanír 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. But being very much annoyed, when he became aware of Pir Muhammad 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-rahiím, (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, which was a fief of Shér Muhammad Diwánah, the reputed son of the Khán Khánán. But news came to the Khán Khánán, whilst at Dipalpúr, that the said Diwánah had seized those effects and was behaving most treacherously to his adherents. Upon this he sent to Diwánah one Khúajah Muzaffar 'Alí Diwánah, (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khán), and Derwish Muhammad 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 Diwánah:

"O wise men stand on one side,
For Diwánah is intoxicated."

Shér Muḥammad sent Khúajah 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 Jálándhár. Then Shams-ud-dín Atkáh Khán, and his son Yúsuf Muḥammad Khán, and Husain Khán the relative of Shaháb Khán, and all the Amirs of the Panjáb assembled in accordance with a farman, and in the confines of the pargana of Dikhdár, at a spot

1 When he received the title of Khán Khánán. See p. 38.
2 With the intention of attacking him, Tabáyát-i Akbari.
3 i.e., Sirhind, Elliot V, 265.
4 Diwánah means 'possessed', 'mad'.
5 In the vicinity of Jálándhár, between the Sutlej and the Biyáh, Akbar-náma.
called Kanur Phillour, hemmed in the Khan Khanan. There a severe contest took place, in which Husain Khan the relative of Mahdi Qasim Khan distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye stricken." He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Wali Beg, and his son Ismail Quil Khan, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned, if God (He is exalted!) will. After that blow the Khan Khanan fled, and immense spoil fell into the hands of Atkah Khan and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which (P. 41) the Khan Khanan had had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Iimám my lord Moulawi Jami (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets:

"Peace on the family of Ti Ha and Ya Sin! 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, 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 Iimám Rizá, at Tūs in Khurasan. Balfour's Translation of Alí Hāzin, 129.
4 Tâ-Hâ (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'an, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom Musâfâ and Ahmad, as well as Muhammed, are also names) : so likewise is Ya-Sin, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'an. 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 Qāsim Arsalān found the date of the event in the words, “alam-i imám-i hashītam,” “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 Khánān published as his own\(^8\) a ghazal of Hāshim Qandahārī, putting the lines into a different arrangement*; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Hāshim 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 Khánān’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 Matla\(^6\) is Hāshim’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 Sītāh (lit. followers) are the followers of ‘Ali, the husband of Fāţimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that ‘Ali was the first legitimate Khalifah (successor to Muḥammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmān, the first three Khalifahs, as usurpers. According to the Sītāh the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true Imám. The twelvo Imāms, according to the Sītāh are as follows;


* Cf. Martialis, ii, 20. “Carmina Paullus emit; recitat sua carmina Paullus,”

* Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum.”

* The two initial hemistichs are called the Matla’.
This mafil also is one of Hāshim'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 Khān Khānān, although he had nothing in his treasury, gave at one sitting a lac of tankahs worth in money and goods to Rām Dās of Lakhnou, who was one of the musicians of Aslim Shāh, and one that in music and song you might term a second Miyān Tān Sīn. This man used to be the Khān Khānān's companion and intimate associate, and by the beauty of his voice continually brought tears to his eyes. There was likewise a certain Hijāz Khān Bālānī, who formerly was among the number of the Amīrs of the Afghāns, 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 trilling pension pursued rectitude in the path of asceticism and devotion. To him in return for a Qaṣīdah, which in the Mafīla he dedicated to the Khān, 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 Mafīla of the Qaṣīdah 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 Khwājah Kalān Bēg came true, viz., "Heaven above 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 Khān 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 kalāvânt is the Sanskrit kalāvânt a musician.
2 Vādī is the Sanskrit vādīya music.
3 The two concluding hemistichs are called the Mafīla. A ghazal is an Ode, A Qaṣīdah 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.
In the month Zi‘l-qā‘dah\(^1\) of this year, after the appointment of Atkah Khán to march to the Panjab, the Emperor appointed Khwájah 'Abd-ul-Majíd of Harát, with the title of Aqāf Khán, to the Government of Dihlí. And then as it was the best thing to do, since Husain Khán’s father Wali\(^2\) Beg and his brother Ismá‘il Qulí Khán were with the Khán Khánán, he delivered Ḥusain Khán\(^3\) to Aqáf Khán’s keeping, and himself went to the Panjab.

Mun‘im Khán, in accordance with orders, having come from Kábul to the halting-place of Ludhiyánah,\(^4\) in company with Muqim Khán sister’s son to Tardi Beg 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, Wali Beg, 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 Mahdú Qásim Khán, and the Emperor eventually took him into favour, and appointed to him as his sif Pátyálí, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and the place of the birth and growth of [ʿA]mir\(^5\) Khusrou (mercy be upon him !).

After his defeat the Khán Khánán retired to Talwarah and shut himself up there. This is a very strong and almost inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmál,\(^6\) on the banks of the river Biyáh, the government of which belonged to Rája Gobind Chand. The forces of the

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\(^1\) The 11th month.
\(^2\) See page 33.
\(^3\) The Ţabaqát-ī Akbari says it was Júlandhár.
\(^4\) Amír Khusrú, the very Prince of Súfí poets (or king as his poetical title of Khusrú implies), was of Tátar origin. His father Amír Seifuddín came to Hindústán, and settled at Pátiálí near Díhlí, where he married the daughter of Amád ul Mulk. His son Amír Khusrú was born A. H. 651, A. D. 1253.
\(^5\) Abú-l-Faṣl says Siwálik. Elliot.
king drew near and joined battle. And Sultán 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. 41) 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 Mulla ‘Abd-ulláh of Sultánpúr, 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 Mu’ım 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 Mu’ım 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 Muhammad Khán Sístání as the Khán’s escort, himself went for recreation and hunting towards the castle of Firúzáb, going by way of Dihlí; and on the fourth of Rabi’-ul-awwal¹ in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) he made his glorious entrée into Dihlí. And on the 12th of Rabi’-us-sáni he arrived at Agra, the metropolis, by water.

¹ The 3rd month.
Now they say that the Khán Khánán going with his retinue to Gujrat 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 the Khán Khánán’s case it was turned to quite the reverse,¹ for Háji Muhammad Khán aptly quoted the following [couplet from Háfiz]:—

“When in the desert through desire for the Ka'bah² 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 Gujrat, Musá Khán Fuládí, governor of Patan, and Hájji 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 Mubarak Khán Afghán, (he belied his name!), whose father t 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 Musjíd ul Ħavrán, ‘sacred mosque,’ or Bait-ul-láh ‘House of God’) at Mocca, which contains the Black Stone (Hajrá ul aswaad), round which the act of encompassing (Tawfiq) is performed at the Pilgrimage (Hajj).

³ Sahnasak (Tawqát i Akbari).
"When Bairam put on the Ihram in order to encompass the Ka'bah, on the road he became a martyr, not having obtained his desire. Of my heart I asked the date of his martyrdom, it said: *Muhammad Bairam is become a martyr*;"

And the humble author of this history discovered an enigma (P. 46) "He said, 'The rose is gone from the garden of beauty.'"

_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 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. But now, listen not to the deceptions of the world, We are to be saved from revolution."

1 The pilgrim-dress.
2 To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a martyr (*Shahid*). See Herklots _Qa'in-i-islám_, 71, 72.
3 The sum of the numerical values of the letters of Shahid shud *Muhammad Bairam* is 968.
4 _Qulshau-i-Khâbl* "garden of beauty" = 1018; take away _Gul* "rose" = 60, 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.† 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 Amin Khatib 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 Miyan Ḥātim Sambhali 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,‡ “He is with the mighty King.”

On the 12th of Rajab-ul-murajjab§ in this year Báz Bahádur, son of Sajáwal Khán, governor of Málwa, advanced with elephants and numerous followers within 7 cosses of Sárangpúr 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 (pricking this victim here), | 

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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 malsk-in muqadhir” give the date 968.

3 The 7th month of the Muhammedan year.

4 It is Shájwál Khán Súr; see Blohm., 428.

5 In Málwa.

6 In Zia-al-Barni, p. 469, l. 15 (cf. p. 407, l. 11) ṣakkám-i turrā “smiting of radiahee” is used for “cutting off the head.”
of the Judgment-day, I said to my friend Mīhr ʿAlī Khān Bēg Sīldoz\(^1\), "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 Pīr Muḥammad Khān 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'āns in their hands, but Pīr Muḥammad Khān put them all to death, and burnt them:—

"Having torn off the binding of the Qur'ān,
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 Pīr Muḥammad Khān 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 Khān sent the whole account of the victory to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Ṣādik Muḥammad Khān. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the hāram, and the dancing-girls, and nautch-girls, belonging to Bāz Bahādur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the

\(^1\) Sīldoz is the name of a Chaghtāi clan.
\(^2\) Qozdq, whence the word Cossack.
\(^3\) The name in Sanskrit is Ujjayini, i. e., "victorious": cf. Νικώκολις; and Ἀλας̻ρα "the victorious", i. e., Cairo the metropolis of Egypt.
1st of Shabán in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Agra, and came to Sárangpúr, and having taken possession of the spoil, and arranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzan he came back to the foot of the throne.

In this year the Khán Zamán, with the help of Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, and Majnún Khán Qāqshál, and Sháhím Khán Jaláí, fought against Shér Khán, son of ʿAdalí, who had succeeded to his father at Chunhar, 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 Zīl-hijjah of this year the Emperor came to Agra.) 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 ʿAbd-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 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 Zīl-hijjah of this year [A. H. 968], the Emperor returned to Agra.

1 The 8th month.
2 The 9th month entitled al-mubdrak “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 Qurʾán began to be revealed.
3 I. e., returned to Agra.
4 ʿAbd Qūʾí Khán, see p. 5.
5 Jaláir is the name of a Chaghtáí 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 Akbari.
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 Saʿíd, 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 Highness2 the Qázi Abu-l-Maʿáli, the son-in-law of His Highness the Prince3 of Bukhárá, also, who was a master-builder in legal science, and a second glory of the Imáms, and in the Der-wish order was one whose words and direction were followed, and who after paying the 5 customary prayers4, used to make a practice of reading the Qurán aloud,5 came; and the compiler of this epitome read a few lessons in the beginning of the Sharhí-Waqayah with auspicious and blessed results in the presence of that great man. And Naqíb Kháán, 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-I-awwal6 in the year nine hundred and sixty-nine (960) the Emperor went on a pilgrimage7 to the blessed tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs and Saints, Khwájah Muʿin-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 Ambér8, 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 Khuddám (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 ʿAzzi Sír '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 (fárs).
5 Read Jahlírah, not Jahri-arrah, which is nonsense.
6 The fifth month.
7 Ziyúdat is, of course, a printer’s error, for Ziydrát.
8 The three great Rájput states are Jaipur or Ambér, Jodhpúr or Marwar, Udípúr or Méwár.
gentle daughter in honourable wedlock. And Mírzá Sharaíf-ud-dín Ḥusain, who held a fief on the confines of Ajmír, he appointed to reduce the fortress of Mír'tha, which is within 20 ‌cosses‌ of Ajmír, and was held by Jaimall Rájput; and then returned quickly⁰ to Agra. Mírzá Sharaíf-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 Rájputás went to hell.⁹ Thus by the help of Sháh Budágh Khán, and his son 'Abd-ul-mùt-lab Khán, and other Amirs the fortress was taken.

In those days Pir 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 Bijağár, a strong fortress, by force of arms, and made a general slaughter. Then he turned towards Khánḍésh, and was not content with himself, unless he practised to the utmost the Code⁵ of Changíz Khán [the Moghul, viz., no quarter], massacring, or making prisoners of all the inhabitants of Burhánpúr and Asir⁶, and then crossing the river Narbadah he raised the conflict⁷ 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" Ḥaḅagát-i Akbār! "In less than three days," Abu-l-Fazl. "In three days," T. Aft. Elliot.

² Our candid author was a pious Muslim, and speaks in fitting terms of Káfa!  

⁰ 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 Khánḍésh, Ḥaḅagát-i Akhāri, Elliot, v. 275.

⁶ The word used is 'arbādāh, because of its similarity of sound to the name Narbadah.
Then, while his men were in confusion, and left far behind him, Báz Bahádur Kháán, who fled together with some of the rulers of that country, in conjunction with other zámin dárs made an attack on Pír Muḥammad Kháán. 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. And so the sighs of the orphans, and weak, and captives were his ruin:—

"Fear thou the arrow-shower 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 Bížhan into the well, do not sleep like Afrásyáb,
For Rustam is in ambush, and a crocodile is under his cuirass."
And the Amirs of Malwah, seeing that their remaining any longer in that district was beyond the bounds of possibility, read the verse of flight, and came to the Court. For some time they were imprisoned, but eventually obtained their release. Báz Bahádur Khán again became possessed of Malwah, but ‘Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek, in conjunction with Mu’ín-ud-din Ahmad Khán Farangi, and others, brought that country into subjection to the Emp. 

Báz Bahádur for some time took refuge in Chiítór, and Udípúr, with Rána2 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, the auxiliary Amirs, went to their siefs, and Mu’ín-ud-din Khán came to the Court.

In this year Khwájagi Muḥammad Cáltí of Hirát, grandson of Khwájah ‘Abd-ulláh Marwárid, a well-known Wazír, was appointed to the Qadr-ate. But he had not such absolute power [as his

1 I. e. they fled. Compare the following two from Bahá-ud-din Zaḥrá.
(1) Wabánuwaka-súrat-i’l-íkhliq-i anna ‘obarta, wakanta ‘anta ka-řī jánváhah, "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 Qurán]."
(2) Qur’ání Súrat ‘as-saláḏn-i ‘unkun, bat ḥaqšánáhá, "We read the Súrah of Parting without regret from you, nay, we learnt it by heart." Súrah exii see p. 23, is called Súrat-’l-íkhliq, but there is not one called Súrat-’as-saláḏn. 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 Qurán xxxiii. 16) is after the analogy of the phrase "the verse of the Throne" meaning Al Qurán ii. 256.

2 Bábā in Hindi for Bújín; and fem. Bádí (text, p. 17, l. 6) for Bábí. Udí is the Hindi Udáy.

3 Spelt Hindia in the maps.

4 Kámábi (or Kámáhí) means 'auxiliary'. The words are Chaghatái—
Tatar, see Pavelet de Courtelle, Dictionnaire Turk-oriental, p. 476; and C. Defré-

5 See p. 22, note.
predecessors] in the matter of conferring and granting Auktah, and Madadi ma’āsh: because his jurisdiction was circumscribed by that of the clerks.

In this year Sayyid Bég, son of Ma’qúm Bég, came as ambassador with a letter from Sháh Táhmás [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 and a horse, and dress of honour, besides all the hospitality and kindness, which the Amirs showed him, so that he went back from Hindústán with gifts and presents without number.

On Monday the 12th of Ramzán 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 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-din Aḥmad Khán, and some others, who were jealous of Atkah Khán, cut him in pieces [as he sat] at the head of the Diwán. 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 Tāka 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 Tuki is called Anka [Calcutta Chaghatái Dict. and Blochmann pronunciation Anagh]: a foster-brother is called Koka [or with the affix of unity, Kokaltash, which Ab-ul-Fazl writes Gokaltash].’ 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, Mákum Anagah mother of Adham Khán and Muḥammad Bāqi Khán; Pichah Ján Anagah, wife of Khwájah Muqád ʻAlí a servant of Akbar’s mother; and Jīk Anagah wife of Shams-ud-din Muḥammad Atgah Khán (the Atkah Khán, whose death is here recorded). Ab-ul-Fazl says, that after the fall of Bairám Khán, Mákum 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 Nisápur, and a relative of Mákum 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 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, and another, by way of a riddle, is:

"From his violence A'zam Khán lost his head."

The second is exactly correct, but the first is one too many. And some one else said as follows:

"The army's greatest Khan, 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."

And when she had presented the food of the fortieth day of mourning for Adham Khán, Máhím Ankah, through grief, joined her son.

1 In the text read nd instead of td.
2 $6 + 4 + 600 + 8 + 50 + 4 + 300 = 970$.
3 Zulm 'violence' gives 970. The 'head' of A'zam is A, i.e., in, subtrah this from 970, and you get 969 the date.
4 Punning on the name A'zam, which means 'greatest.'
5 I. e., 'Martyr Khan' = 970.
6 On the 30th day after the death they cook, during the day, podái, a dish made of rice, meat, stale butter clarified (ghfir), curdled milk, spices, &c.; and at night they prepare plenty of curries, télau (fried food), podái, &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. Those sayings and doings, however, are all innovations, and consequently unlawful.
In this year my late, lamented, father (may God have mercy on him!), the Shaikh Mulúksháh, on the 27th of Rajab in Ágra, 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, Mulúksháh,
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."

And by a curious coincidence the Pir, who had been his patron, *viz.*, Shaikh Panjú Sambhálí, 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.""}

A another mnemosynon for the date is Darwish dánishmand "the learned Dervish" (may God have mercy on him!).

In this year Muním Khán, the Khán Khánán, and Muḥammad Qásim Kháú, the High Admiral, on account of their being accomplices in the lawless and base act of Adham Kháú, 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 Ropar¹ and Bajwárah².

¹ Jahán-i fesl = 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 Aḥjad, we get 969.
³ On the river Satlaj.
⁴ P. 10.
by the skirts of the mountains. Thence they continued their flight towards Kabul, where Ghani Khan, son of Mun'im Khan, was governor, and eventually came to the pargana of Sarút, which is in the Dôáb, the fief of Mir Muhammad Munshi. Qásim 'Alî Khan, [and] Asp1 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 Agra. 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 Khan Khánán in his office of Premier under even better conditions than before. So the Khan Khánán, in conjunction with Shîhâb Khán and Khwájah Jahán, continued to conduct public affairs.

In this year Mir Muḥammad Khan Atkah,2 surnamed Khán Kalán, went with a considerable force to the aid of Kamál Khán3 G'hakkár into the territory of the G'hakkars, and after (P. 55) a battle took prisoner Sultán Adam the paternal uncle of Kámal Khán, who has been already mentioned.4 His son, Lashkari by name, fled to Kashmir, and was afterwards captured, and both father and son5 died a natural death. Then the whole district was entrusted to Kamál Khán, and he hastened to do homage to the Emperor at Agra.

One day the Emperor made a great feast, and Khán Kalán wished to present a qâpidah, which in his vanity he had called ghazzâ [splendid], in the presence of the Amirs and nobles and great poets. As soon as he had recited the first line of the first couplet as follows:—

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1. Asp means "a horse," hence the wit of calling him "a donkey."
2. Elder brother of Atka Khan (A'zam Khan).
3. A farmán had been issued that the territories of the G'hakkars should be divided between him and Sultán Adam. But the latter resisted this division of territory. Elliot, V. 279.
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 gāzidah, 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 heads1 with laughter. Then Khán, Kalán threw his turban on the ground and exclaimed "My Liege! satisfaction from this little incompetent, 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 'Abd2 by Malik
You must put Alif Lám between."

And Mullá Shírí, the well-known3 Hindú poet, has a gāzidah of eulogy and satyr dedicated to him; and this is one of the couplets in it:—

"If a rustic6 confront you, get out of his way,
For you are a gentleman, and ought not to confront a rustic."

In this year Mauláná 'Alá-'ud-dín Lári, author of notes in explanation of the "'Aqá'dí (P. 56) nasafi," came from the Khán Zamán's to Agra, 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 Khas4 "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

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1 Anglice "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 $4 + 4 + 200 + 60 + 5 + 600 + 60 = 969$. 
of disgrace, in a short space of time felt the effects of the ups and downs of fortune. Haidar Muḥammad Khán, ʻAḵtah-bégī,1 on his coming to Hindústán from his own quarter, had been promoted to the government of Kábul. The Khán Khánán, Munʾim Khán, on account of the bad disposition of ʻHaidar Khán, now wrote for his own son Ghaní Khán to come, and then appointed him to supersede ʻHaidar Khán. But Ghaní Khán, through his depravity, followed in the footsteps of ʻHaidar Muḥammad Khán, and committed many disgraceful actions. For instance, without any cause he imprisoned Tolak Khán Qúchín,2 who was one of the chief Amīrs. 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 Māh Jújak 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 Wálí Bég Atkah, and Fázā’īl Bég the Blind, brother of Munʾim Khan, whose eyes Mirzá Kámrán3 had put out,4 and his son Abu-l-Fath 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 and wanderer, to Joynpúr, until at last he escaped from the disgrace of existence. Now the afore-mentioned Fázā’īl Bég was

1 The officer in charge of the geldings, not to be confounded with the higher title Ṭḥégi (from the Turkish ṭá a horse). Blochmann, Aṭīn-i Ḩakhari, 432, n.
2 He began his career under Bábār, 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 Qúrchi (comp. p. 12 n.) His correct appellation seems to be Qúchín. He is called Qúchín in the Tabaqat-i Ḩakhari.
3 Humáyún’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-Fath 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. Shah Wali Atkah not being able to stand this, with the assistance of 'Ali Muhammad 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-Fath while he was drunk. On which, as his father was making for Hazárah with his goods and chattels, suddenly the servants of the prince went after him and sent him to his son. Then Shah Wali Bég with the Bégum's permission assumed the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Adil Shah.

On account of these things the Emperor sent Mun'im Khan, with some Amirs, to undertake the guardianship of the Prince, and the government of Kábul. Then the Bégum Máh Jújak taking the prince with her went with the whole of the forces of Kábul to Jalálábád intending to offer resistance. Mun'im Khan and all of the auxiliary Amirs, among whose number were Muhammad Quli Khan Barlás and Hasan Khan brother of Shiháb Khan, on the first attack met with a severe repulse, 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 Shah Wali 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."
When Sháh Abu-l-Ma'áli returned from Mekka he went towards the Court. Suddenly near Jálwar, at the instigation of Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín Húsain, (P. 58) he took to rebellion, and went about laying his hands on everything he came across. This Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín Húsain had at this time fled from Agra, and Húsain Quli Khán, Chádik Muḥammad Khán, and others had been sent in pursuit of him, as will be mentioned shortly, if God (He is exalted!) will.

Then Ismáíl Quli Khán and Aḥmad Bég and Iskandar Bég, relatives of Húsain Quli Khán, went in pursuit of Abu-l-Ma'áli, who entered the fortress of Nárniol, 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") was captured in the confines of Nárniol by Muḥammad Chádik Khán and Ismáíl Quli 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 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 Jújak Bégum, mother of Mirzá 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; sar-dowardun "to bring on" when used of destruction takes the prep. as "from" before the thing on which the destruction is brought. E. g., in the episode of Sóhráb we find:—

Ba-zakhm-i sar-i gurz-i sindán-shikan
Bar-drád dawár 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-o-lawándán.  

1 Some of those under their command had been formerly in the service of Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín Húsain, and now had bound themselves by an oath to desert Aḥmad Bég and Iskandar Bég whenever Abu-l-Ma'áli should be met with. Taḥaqdš-i-Abhar. See p. 60 of our Text.
He married the Bégum’s little daughter; and then, assuming the management of affairs, at the instigation of some conspirators, such as Shükân son of Qurâchah Khán and others, slew the helpless Bégum, and martyred Ḥaidar Qásim Kôhbar, who for some time had been Sháh Wáli Bég’s successor as [the Mirzá’s] irresponsible lieutenant. (P. 59). His brother Muḥammad Qásim Kôhbar 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 Kâbul, in which he drove them out. And Muḥammad Qásim, having effected his escape, went to Bâdakhshán, and instigated Mirzá Sulaimán to expel Sháh Abu-l-Ma’áli; Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, also, sent some of his people to urge him to come: as will appear later on.

In this year Mirzá 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 Yáhá, son of Khwájah Ahrdr, God rest their souls!), and after his father’s receiving all honours went from Nágór to Agra 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 Nágór². Then the Emperor sent Çáidxwád Muvammad Khán, and a body of men, together with Ḥusain Qáli Khán³ 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 Ajmir to Tir Khán Diwánah, hastened to Nágór⁴. But Diwánah deserted the fortress, and went and followed his principal. Then Mirzá Sharaf-ud-dín, having meet with Sháh Abu-l-Ma’áli

¹ ‘Ubaíd-ulláh means ‘little servant of God’. Ahrdr means ‘the free’.
² Ajmîr and Nágór, which were his jâyêrā. Akbar-udmah. Elliott V, 282.
³ He had received a grant of Mirzá Sharaf’s jâyêrā.
⁴ The Ţahaqat-i-Akbari also has Nágór. But Abu-l-Fasîl says Jâlîr which, as Elliot remarks, the context shows to be correct.
at Jâlor (who was passing by on his road from Mekka to the Court), they so arranged matters together, that Shâh Abu-l-Ma'âli should go against the people of Hûsain Qûlî Khân, who were at Hâjîpûr, (P. 60) and passing that way, should bring Mîrzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkîm from Kábul, while Mîrzâ Shâraf-ud-dîn should do what he could [to prevent rebellion] where he was. But Shâh Abu-l-Ma'âlî, on hearing the news of the pursuit of Câdiq Muḥammad Khân and the other Amîrs, turned aside and betook himself to Narnoul, where Mîr Gesû 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 Panjâb and Kâbul open to him, he pursued his original design. And Aḥmad Bîg and Iskander Bîg, separating from the army of Câdiq Muḥammad Khân and Ismâîl Qûlî Khân, went after him without delay, and overtook him. And a body of the servants of Mîrzâ Shâraf-ud-dîn Hûsain, whom these two leaders had attached to their cause and perfectly trusted, sent a rascal named Zaminah Qûlî to Shâh Abu-l-Ma'âlî 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, Shâh Abu-l-Ma'âlî on the one side, and these domestic enemies on the other, sprang out of ambush, and brought both the Amîrs under the pitiless sword. And their old retainers, when they saw what had taken place, fled like frightened deer or

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1 When he went in pursuit of Mîrzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkîm, he left his wives and family at Hâjîpûr. Akbar-nâmâk.
2 Relatives of Hûsain Qûlî Khân. Elliot V, 284.
3 Brother of Hûsain Qûlî Khân.
4 They had formerly served under Mîrzâ Shâraf-ud-dîn, and were in reality devoted to him. Now they were serving under Aḥmad Bîg and Sikandar Bîg, and had bound themselves by an oath to desert to Abu-l-Ma'âlî, as soon as he should be attacked. Tabâqât Akbarî.
wild animals. When news of this came to the Emperor, he happened to be enjoying himself hunting in the neighbourhood of Mat'îrûa. Nevertheless he marched at once towards Dilli 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) Dilli was first broached, and Qâwwâls 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 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, Fâtîmah 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 tiro-women lived in adultery with Bâqî Khân, brother of Buzarg Adham Khân, 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 'Abî-ul-Wâsi. And the story of the pious cat, which is told in the beginning of the Anwâr-i-Sohaili, 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 that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound

1 Near Agra.
2 A Quwâdi 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 Imrân, Khadijah the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife), and Fâtîmah the prophet's daughter.
5 See Anwâr Sohaili (Ouseley) p. 275, l. 1. It does not occur in the beginning of the book.
6 This was an article in the Code of Changiz Khân, See Price II, p. 660.
to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sultan Abu Sa'id and Mir 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 Haram. 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 Mirzá Sharaf-ud-din Ijúsain, 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 Fírs 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 Wásit\(^6\).

\(^2\) Omne solum fortis 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, Perishta 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 went to Agra.

On the 15th of the month Jumáda-s-sání of the year 970 the Emperor returned to the metropolis. In this year also took place the death of Sháh Abu-l-Ma’áli in Kábul. The circumstances are as follows. After the tragic end of the Bégum, the mother of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, Muḥammad Qásim Kuhbar fled to Mírzá Sulaimán in Badakhshán. Then the Mirzá, with his wife, who is known as Wálí Na’mat, brought a large force against Sháh Abu-l-Ma’áli, who, 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 Kábulis was repulsed by the left wing of the Badakhshees, and Sháh Abul-Ma’áli, 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 Abul-Ma’áli, having now no further power of resistance, took to flight. Near the village of Járíkárán he fell into the hands of Sulaimán Mírzá’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 Mírzá Sulaimán sent for his daughter from Badakhshán and gave her in marriage to Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím.

1 The word Singh-dsan is Sanskrit, and Hindi. It means lit. lion-seat, then throne, royal-litter.
2 The sixth month.
3 Máh Chochak (Jújak) Bégum, widow of the late Emperor. Abul-Ma’áli 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 Abul-Ma’áli.
5 That is Mírzá Sulaimán, sixth in descent from Taimúr.
6 Comp. pp. 62, 88, 213 of Text. Her name was Khurrám Bégum.
7 The u in the text seems to stand for va-ó ‘and he’ viz. Sháh Abul-Ma’áli.
And when he had appointed one Umméd 'Ali, a trusty follower, as administrator of the Mirzá's affairs, he returned to Badakhshan.

In this year Jamál Khán, a follower of 'Adalí, had given up the fort of Chunhár to Fattú (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 Muhammed Ghoust (of whom Fattú was a devoted disciple), and 'Aqaf Khán (who is the same as Khvájah 'Abd-ul-Majid Haravi) 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 Muhammed Ghoust. 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 'Atá-i Mu'ammá-i, 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 Agra occupied (P. 64) in acquiring the usual branches of knowledge, the Shaikh came in the dress of a Faqir, 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 Agra. 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!)

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2 See Text p. 34: 1. 10.
3 See Text p. 43: 1. 2.
4 \[ 2 + 60 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 300 + 4 = 970. \]
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 Jehán¹ “Excellent one of the world” gives the date. Since I was indebted to him for instruction 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 pearl² 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 Kháu⁴, chief eunuch of Aslim Sháh, obtained the highest consideration in the haram, and even in state matters

¹ 80 + 1 + 800 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 970.
² A tear of heart-felt sorrow.
³ Compare Ps. xxii, 9, xxxvii, 5, &c. I do not know where this Arabic quotation comes from.
⁴ See Blochmann’s Kitáb-i Akhari. n. 18. n.
became the Sovereign's confidant. He showed an enterprise, and economy, such as was never before exhibited, and the monetary matters of the Diván became more settled. He was in his turn succeeded by Todarmal. And during the time of the influence of Mâham Ankah, and the Dégum, and I'timâd Khán the chief eunuch (who was a man of sense and discretion), Mír ‘Abd-ul-Ḥayy aptly quoted the following tradition from the Ṣahâḥat-ul-balâghat, which is attributed to Anīr (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, and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs.’” From this event to the time of emancipation a whole age passed!

“Ah what a difference 'tis between
What now is and what has been.”

In the year 971 Khwájah Muẓaffâr ‘Alî Turbatí received the title of Khán, and was made Minister of Finance, and they found Zâlim “oppressor” to give the date. Meanwhile day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Râja and him. And a certain wit adapted the old verse, (P. 66):—

“A dog of a Câshi is better than a Çifâhâní,
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Câshi:”

in the following manner:—

“A dog of a Itâja is better than Muzaffâr Khán
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Râja.”

1 Comp. p. 36 of Text.
2 Khusrû (?)
3 Cf. Is. iii. 4.
4 From having a Hindû in office.
5 Turbat is the name of a tribe in Khurásán. Blochm. 348.
6 900 + 1 + 30 + 10 = 971.
When the Amirs complained of the Raja to the Emperor, and requested his dismissal, he returned answer "Every one of you has a Hindú 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 Raja:—

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Raja of Rajas Todarmal."

In this year Qázi 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 Qázi Lál give the date.

In this year Gházi Khán Tannúrí, one of the great Amirs of 'Adalí, who had been for some time at the Court, once more took to flight and went to Hatiyah. In the neighbourhood of Gañha 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 Gañha-Katangah. This district at that time contained 70,000 inhabited villages, and its metropolis was the fortress of Chourá-gañha. But in former times the metropolis had been the fortress of Hoshang-ávád, which was built by Sulțán Hoshang Ghórí king of Málwa. Ráni 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) bit the queen in a mortal part, and when she was

1 When Bábár arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants, and workpeople were all Hindús. Erskine's Bábár, p. 232.

2 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 + 30 + 1 + 30 = 972, which seems to be one too many.

3 So called, also in the 'Ain i Akbarí, Bloch. p. 367. But in the Ṭabagát-i-Akbarí he is called Súr. Elliot V, 288. A Gházi Khán Súr was killed in the time of Humáyún, Blochmann, p. 384. p. p. 17, lines 7 and 11, of Text.

4 See about 70 miles west of Jabalpur. 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!"

Aqaf Khan marched against Chourá-gadh, and the son of the afore-said queen, after fighting for his life, joined the queen. So much treasure fell into the hands of Aqaf Khan and his soldiery, that the Creator alone is competent to compute its amount. On the strength of this wealth Aqaf Khan set up the pretensions of a Qárún and a Shaddád, until eventually he went under-ground:

"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'lt find,
Poisonous serpents round thy wealth entwined."

On the 12th of the month Zí-qádáh 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 Zí-hijjah he encamped in that district. And 'Abd-ulláh Khan 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 Khan (on that march received the title of Shujá’at Khan) 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 Mídas and a Croesus.
3 Of course with reference to the story of Corah who is called Qárú the Qoráns.
4 The eleventh month of the Muhammadan year.
5 The twelfth month.
and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice.

Ulūḫ Khān 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 car of the mind
Be dull, can eloquence then make?”

‘Abd-ullāh Khān, for a short time made a stand at Hará when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade reached him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances, the greater part of his followers and family, and children and chattels, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrat. He took refuge with Chingiz Khān, a dependent of Sulṭān mid of Gujrat, who had succeeded Sulṭān Mahmūd in the government of that province, and had become possessed of great power. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as to the confines of Gujrat, and streamed his harem and renowned into confusion, and made them prisoners, and bought them Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, countrymen and landowners. Now the state of civilisation of Gujrat in the time of Chingiz Khān, they describe as such, as it has been during the reign of former kings; and the degree of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all vision; and any soldier or traveller or stranger who came and interview or chose to enter his service, had no further need of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used to give away among his people five or six dresses a day from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never under 70 or 80, or at any rate 50 ashrāf. And one or in this was this, that one day he went out with his court and Khān Čzech being of the number, and on this occasion there were vessels full of fine staffs and precious jewels were
soon, he gave them up to Ablin Urbak. And another instance of Chingiz Khan's the following: Shah Arif Chafavi Hussaini (who is now st discarded for the gift of dominion over Iran) possessed property which he used to give away to people. Now it is he had received all these treasures and horda from Chingiz d that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of him (but God knows!).

time Miran Mubarak Shah at Barkampur sent ambas- a Emperor who accepted his bow. And Itimad (goad, what munshi accompanied them, and brought the daughter, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. Ame Khan one of the Amirs of the Dupkan came and di to the Emperor. And in the month Muharram of the year red and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Manc stick of Nishabur. He appointed Quli Bahadur Khan to mone of the district, and himself went on a hunting awa. . . and captured Barodah, and Guyalpour, a per month, and returned to his capital. Shah Husain by name, were in this year born. And in the course of one month went to the oth year the building of the city of Nagarchin took place, one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of namah, ordered me to compose some lines, which I composed as follows:

the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the rays of original genius, suggested to the lofty thought of the monarch, who is the builder of the metropolis of the especially the architect of the shrine of Illid, that it with the verse)

the territory of the Mughal route from Mowar Mandi monte, or has given up, as the style, which happily 5 reily adopt. (In LAI, f. 398 for p. 38).
The world-upholder, the world to hold, how know,
One place to uproot, and then another sow:"

he should make resting places for the glorious imperial cavaliers, by graciously building at every stage, and on every boli 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, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of, on a deeply 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 he return from his journey to Midwah, 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 Delo, (that when he had made a place called G'hrawali (which is one farsang distant from Agra, 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 patient 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 chasing, playing, sometimes in racing Arabian dogs, and sometimes in trying all kinds of games; and, accepting the building of the palace of deep rest, an usher of the duration of the edifice of the palace, this indecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the duration of his own state, his all-penetrating firmain was so glorified executed, at all who obtained the favour of being near the resting-place, were deemed worthy of the sight of his beloved face, and built for themselves in that happy place lofty and pleasant habitations, and in a short time the plains of that pleasant city under the ray of the favour of his Highness, the intaura of the divinity, became the mole on the cheek of the new bride
The world, and received the name of Nagpur-chin, which is the
Indus-land for the Persian Aman-abad, "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—"Pro înt then by this example ye who are men of insight"1
s the author of the Qimás has said: "Of seven or eight cities,
alled Mançüráh, or Mançúriyyah, built by a mighty king,2 or mon-
arch of pomp (P. 74) in their time, at this time not one is inhabi-
ted." "Will they not journey through the land, and observe what
as been the end of those who were before them?"

In this year, or in the year preceding which is perhaps more cor-
cert, the Emperor sent to the town of Andarí-Karnál for Shaikh
Fádul-nabi, the traditionist, grandson of Shaikh Abd-ul-Qulás of
Aungóh, who is one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him
Chief Čadr4 in order that in conjunction with Muzaffar Khán, his
right paw +1. 1. "Mórids." Soon after he acquired such absolute
powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of sub-
stance allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if the
caiency of all the former kings of Hind were thrown into one sand
and the liberality of this age into the other, yet this would be

1 "He it is who caused the unbelievers ... to quit their homes... That
ought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But God car-
pon them ... and cast such fear into their hearts that by their own hands
they destroyed their fortresses. Profit then by this example ye who are men
of insight. "—2: LXX, 2.

2 F. 5. 270, 271.

3 Al Ĭkhání.

4 During Ahmad’s reign the Čadr ranked as the fourth officer of the empír
e was the highest law-officer, and had the powers which Administrato-
ral General has under him; was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical
and hence of purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring
such lands indistinguishably of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical
law-officer, and might exercise the powers of High-Imperior. Bichra, p. 270.
The four offices referred to are Vakîl, Vazír, Balâsht, and Čadr.
5 Comp. p. 270.
Mirzâ Sulaimán, with a large force, and a number of trusty men, went to Jalâl-álád. Mirzâ Sulaimán pursued him. But when Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim reached the banks of the Niâb he wrote a letter to the Court, and Mirzâ Sulaimán leaving Qambar, one of his followers, with a body of men at Jalâl-álád, went from Pskhâvar to Kâbul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amirs of the Panjáb (such as Muhammad Quli Khan Barhâz, and Atkâ Khan, with the whole Atkâ-b-chen, and Mahdi Qâsim Khan, and Kamâl Khan Qah'kâr) joined Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim, and having given Qambar with 200 or 300 persons (who were holding Jalâl-álád) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Pâ'îq Qâshâl at Kâbul. Mirzâ Sulaimán turned the face of flight towards Badakhshân. Mirzâ Hakim came to Kâbul and Khân-i-Kalin remained in office as gau Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim, and the remaining Amirs returned own jâgirs. After some time Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim the permission of the Khân-i-Kalin, gave his own sister, of Shah Abû-l-Mâ'âlî, in marriage to Khwâjah 'Hasan N one of the sons of Khwâjah Naqshbandi, from various tomb. 1

Prime.

"Leave the man.

For Destiny is a servant, who will avenge fathers' brother. Khâl means 'mother's brother', and khâlî (in rhyme for khâlî) means 'desolate'. The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since annâ requires fa after it, read, therefore, wa'anna-I-khâla. Moreover the term of khâlîîin must be dropped.

1 There is of course a play on the words. Ghâmî means 'sorrow', and 'annâ means 'father's brother'. Khâl means 'mother's brother', and khâlî (in rhyme for khâlî) means 'desolate'. The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since annâ requires fa after it, read, therefore, wa'anna-I-khâla. Moreover the term of khâlîîin must be dropped.

2 See p. 63 Text.
Mírzá Sulaimán, with a large force, had Hákím being un...

A number of trustworthy persons went to Jallál-ábd. Mírzá Sulaimán pursued him. But when Mírzá Hákím reached the banks of the Niláb he wrote a letter to Hákím, and Mírzá Sulaimán leaving Qambar, one of his followers with a large body of men at Jallál-ábd, went from Pashávar to Kábul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amírs of the Panjáb (such as Múhammad Qulí Khán Barlás, and Akhá Khán, with the whole Akhá-clan1, and Mahdí Qásim Khán and Kamál Khán Gah'kar) joined Mírzá Múhammad Hákím; and having given Qambar with 200 or 300 persons (who were holding Jalál-ábd) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Bái Qiásdí at Kábul. Mírzá Sulaimán turned the face of flight towards Badakhshán. Mírzá Hákím came to Kábul, and Khán-i-Kalín2 remained in office as gua Mírzá Múhammad Hákím, and the remaining Amírs returned own jágírs. After some time Mírzá Múhammad Hákím the permission of the Khán-i-kalín, gave his own sister, of Sháh 'Abú-l-Ma'áli, in marriage to Khwájah Hasan N one of the sons of Khwájah Naqíshgháni. 

Prime-

"Leave the man...

For Destiny is a servant, who will avenge j.

And in this year Mírzá Sulaimán for the third time came 1 And the reason for his coming was (P. 72) this: when Sh l-Ma'áli was defeated, and Mírzá Múhammad Hákím had just before he went away again Mírzá [Sulaimán] gave the gi part of the district of Kábul in jágír to his own soldiers, and so [by this diminution of his revenue] the affairs of Mírzá Hákím 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 kháil (in rhyme for kháliim) means 'destitute'. The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since ammá requires fa after it; read, therefore, wa'íma-l-khála. Moreover the tanwí of khairídín must be dropped.

2 See p. 63 Text.
In this year Shaikh-ul-Islám Fath-púrî Chishtî, who in the year one hundred and seventy-one (971), on his return from Mekkah and Madínah honoured Badaún 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 monastery, 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, 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-maqdám, to find the date."

s monastêry, having taken 7 years to complete, vaunted its ex the seven heavens.

\[ 150 + 60 + 60 + 1 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1052. \]
\[ \text{If you take } i'ám, \]
\[ \text{means 'an } l', \]
\[ \text{and is numerically equivalent to 81, from this you } \]
\[ 600 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 100 + 4 + 40 = 1025. \]
\[ \text{Subtract } dál, \]
\[ \text{and you get 935; then add } dál = 35, \]
\[ \text{and you get 970. But I am afraid this is not the correct solution of the riddle.} \]

The Seven Heavens (Bihisht) are: (1) Dár ut jullâl (Mansion of Glory), poised of pearls, (2) Dár us sulâm (The Mansion of Rest), 4f ruby and 10
And about this time the Mahall-i-Bengali in Agra, and another lofty palace, were completed; and Qásim Arsalán made this mnemonic:—

“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 ‘ishrat³,
Khánah-i Pddashih² was the date of the other.”

During the first part of the month Rajab³ of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972)¹ the Emperor went towards (P. 74) Narwar and Káraía with a view to elephant-hunting; and having appointed certain people of that district to secure the elephants, he went himself to Gwalyár. 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 Agra 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 sér̤ of corn on every jaríb of land in the district, and appointed collectors and officers⁵ from the Amirs who held jágirs 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 Khud (The Garden of Eternity), of yellow coral; (5) Jannat an Dád (The Garden of Delights), of white diamond; (6) Jannat ul Firdús (The Garden of Paradise), of red gold; (7) Dár ul quvín (The Everlasting do), of pure musk. The eighth, or Crystallino Heaven, called Kársí, poséd to be the judgment seat of God; the ninth Heaven, called ‘Arsh, the ra’mpyrean Throne of the Divine Glory and Majesty; and Jannat ul ‘adan (The Garden of Eden, or Terrestrial Paradise), are not termed Bihisht. Qawoone 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 Tawdch is a Turki word denoting haut commissaire. See De Courtejou’s 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 thereof was found by Shaikh Faizi to be Biná-i dar-i Bihisht, “The building of the gate of Paradise.” And cost of the building of the fortress was about three krov. 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 biná-i qīnāh bahr zar, “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,” so that it should say impromptu “God, who giveth a voice to all things, giveth us a voice.”

“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, suspicion of the whole Uzbek tribe found access to the Emperor’s mind, and he sent Ashraf (P. 75) Khán the Mir-Munshi from Narwar to seek Iskandar Khán on propitiatory terms. This man held a jágír in Oudh, and by means of seductive artifices he managed to carry off

The date of the completion of it, cf. Joshua vi. 26, “At the price of his firstborn shall he lay its foundations, and at the price of his youngest shall he set up the gates thereof.”

I can only make 974 out of this.

3 300 + 4 + 2 + 51 + 10 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 200 + 7 + 200 = 986.

Al Qur’án xcix. 2.

Al Qur’án xli. 20.

See above p. 67.

Anglice Oude, Sansk. Agudhya.
to his jâgîr, which was Sarharpûr, Ashraf Khân, on the pretence of accompanying Ibrâhîm Khân Uzbek, who was senior to the others. Thence they went to Journûr to the Khân Zamân 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 Khân. Sikandar Khân and Ibrâhîm Khân raising the head of rebellion in Lak’hnou, and Khân Zamân, and Bahárdur Khân at Kârah and Mânikpûr. The Amîrs of those districts, such as Shâham Khân Jalâîr, Shâh Budâgh Khân and others were defeated in battle before the Khân Zamân. In that battle Muhammed Amin Divâni was made prisoner, and the Amîrs then shut themselves up in the fortress of Nim Kâhâ, and Majnûn Khân Qâqshâlî in Mânikpûr. Then A’zaf Khân leaving a body of men to hold the district of Gârya Katangâh, went himself with considerable treasure, and a fresh army, to the relief of Majnûn Khân. He unlocked his treasury and satisfied the greed of his army, and also supplied Majnûn Khân plentifully from the public treasury (which was the means of his being able to recruit his army), and then encamped opposite to the Khân Zamân. Thence they sent reports to the Court. And Sânî Khân 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 Mâlvâh, the Empére received this news, he sent off Munîm Khân the Khân-Khán to cross the Ganges at the ford of Kanôj, and himself in the month Shavvâl of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) set his royal foot in the stirrup. And to Qiyâ Khân Gung (who had been one of the rebels), at the intercession of the Khân-Khánân, (P. 76) the Emperors, on his arrival, granted an audience, and graciously condoned his offences. Thence by forced marches his Imperial Highness came to Lak’hnou. Sikandar Khân did not give

1 Thâl iṣh, Ibrâhîm Khân’s jâgîr.

2 ‘Alî Qulî Khân Uzbek.

3 The twelfth month."
battle, but joining the Khán Zamán and Bahádur Khán, these all ceased to confront Aqaf Khán and Majúún Khán, and, retreating towards Jounpúr with all their people and families, crossed the river Narhan, and went down country. Then Yúsuf 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 Aqaf Khán with 5000 veteran horse, in company with Majúún 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 Aqaf 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 Hájjí Muḥammad Khán Sistání to go on an embassy to Sulaimán Kara-rúni, 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 Hájjí 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, and Mahá-pátra Dád-farósh (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Shír Sháh, and Islám Sháh, and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindú poetry) on an embassy to the Rájá of Oríssa (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 Karó, and Karzání. 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 pátá 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 A'grah.

About the same time Muzaffar Khán, and others of the courtiers, through the violence of their nature and their avarice, assailed the ear of Açaf Khán with open and covert suggestions, hoping to get from him presents, valuable presents, and further advantages. They followed the beaten track of detraction, and suggested to some people to find out the truth about the booty of Choura-gaḍh, and broached the matter to Açaf Khán himself. When Açaf 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 Vázír Khán, and such troops as he had, fled towards the district of Garha Katangah, and arrived at Garha. On the receipt of this news the Emperor appointed Mun'ím Khán, Khán-Khánán, in his place as generalissimo of that army, and appointed Shuja'at Khán to go in pursuit of Açaf Khán. Shuja'at Khán embarked from Mánikpúr, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges, but Açaf 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 Shuja'at Khán from crossing, so that the latter, when night came on, was obliged to return to the side from which he started. Then Açaf 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 Gondwánä, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of Gonds.... To the east of this country lies Katangpúr, a dependency of the country of Jhárkand; and on the west it borders on Kásin, belonging to the province of Málva. The length of this district is 150 cosses. On the north lies Dúmn, and on the south the Deccan, 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 Chouragah. Akbaránāmah, Elliot, vi, p. 30.
whole army went off to his own jāgīr. At this juncture Shujā'at Khān, 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 Jounpūr and came of the Court.

Also in these days Ḥasan Khān came as ambassador, bringing fitting presents, on behalf of his brother Fath Khān to Afgān Tibati, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, where in the year (P. 78) 972 he had been besieged by Sulaimān Kararānī, but, on hearing news of the approach of the Emperor, Sulaimān had raised the siege. His prayer was that he might be confirmed in his government, while he should deliver up the fortress. On this account Qulij Khān was appointed to accompany him from Jounpūr. Then Fath Khān, 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 Khān, cloaking his treachery under the garb of hypocrisy, managed to detain Qulij Khān for some time, and outwardly made show of submission. But eventually Qulij Khān became aware of his duplicity, and had to depart without attaining his object:

“Dastān i Sām3 was champion of the world,
Yet at play he was not always the winner.”

This Rohtās is a fortress in the neighbourhood of Bihār, in length it is 14 cosse, in breadth 3 cosse, in height 5 cosse5. 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 Shīr Shāh seized the fortress it had

1 See Blochmann’s Afn-i Akbari, p 502.
2 To Akbar rather than to Sulaimān Kararānī.
3 Dastān i Sām means ‘Dastān son of Sām’, comp. the Greek ὅ τοῦ. Dastān is another name for Zal the father of Rustam (see notes to page 51 T.)
4 Viz. the plateau on which it is built. Tabaqīt i Akbarī, Elliot 5, 300.
5 The Tabaqīt i Akbarī says ‘half a cos’. Ibid. This seems nearer the mark.
been in the hands of the Afghans, till the turn came to Fath Khan, 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'ím Khan as leader of the army against the Khán Zamán, this latter, being encamped at the ford of Narhan, honoured Bahadúr Khan with the command, and sent him off together with Sikandar Khan towards Sardár (?), 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 Badágh Khan, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭḥab Khan, and Qiyyá Khán, and Sa'íd Khán, and Muḥammad Ma'ćum Khán Farakhkhúdí, and others whom it would take too long to mention) were appointed, together with Mir Mu'azz-ul Mulk Mashhadí (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'ím Khan 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 Sarwád is the reading of the Tabaqát i Akbari. Elliot identifies the place with Sarharpúr (V. 301). Blochmann considers (p. 381 n) that the district Sarwád got its name from the river Sarú. See p. 83, l. 12 of our Text. Our editors, or printers, probably mistook wáw for dáil.

2 Or Faranjúd. The Musawi Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Ali Músá Rázá, the 8th Imám of the Shi'áhs,
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, and 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 Sardár1 of the flight of the general Mir 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 Mir 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." Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk2 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 Imám3
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 Mashhádi4 on the face of the ground is not pleasant."

he established a character for crookedness of disposition, for which he became notorious, and said: "Your being made clean can

See preceding page, note 1.

He was a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, and therefore our author could not bear him.

Múzá Razá.

Mashhádi means both "an inhabitant of Mashhad", and "a cemotery".
only be imagined by the water of the sword”. Meanwhile Lashkar Khán, Mir 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 Mir 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.” Mir 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 Múhammad Amin Divánah in the van, himself took up his position in the centre, and kept by his side ‘Abd-ul-Máṭlab Khán, and Salím Khán, and Kávar ‘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 Múhammad Yár Háráwal; and Bahádur Khán was in the centre. Then the two armies joined battle, and like two mountains they clashed together. Much valour was displayed on either side, Múhammad Yár was slain, and Iskandar Khán fleeing, threw himself into the River Siyáh, which was in

1 Aṣ means “water” Sanskrit āp, also “brightness,” Sansk. ādbh. There is, of course, a play on these two meanings of the word.
2 He was his brother’s son. Blockn.
3 The word qol is Turkí, it recurs on p. 231, l. 1 of Text.
4 Sai or Yao, which falls into the Guámti near Jounpúr.
his rear. He himself got out again, but many of his men were drowned, and others came under the ḍab\(^1\) of the sword. Then the imperial troops gave themselves up to plundering. And Mir 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 Bāqī Muḥammad Khán, &c., being sick of the command of Mir 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 Mir 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-Matlab, 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-gadh, 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:—

“When 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 Khan 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 jiújírs 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 Aghrah, and the Emperor issued the necessary farmáns, in accordance with which they took possession. The mother of the Khan Zamán sent this good news to her sons, and Bahádur Khán and Sikandar Khán sent the elephants, Köh-párah, and Qíff-shíkan², 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 treachery³ of the Amírs. Then the Emperor ordered, "Since to please the Khan Khánán I have overlooked the fault of (P. 83) the Khan 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 Khan Zamán crossing the Ganges in haste, and breaking his word¹, came to Muḥammadábád, which is a dependency of the town of Mou⁵, and sent agents to seize Jounpúr and Gházípúr. This affair highly displeased the Emperor, who sent Ashraf Khán Mír-munjii to Jounpúr, to detain the Khan 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 *Ali Quli Khán Sháibání [Khán Zamán], and Muhammad Sa'íd Sháibání [Bahádur Khán]. Their father was Haidar Sultán Uzbek i Sháibání. Concerning their achievements, see p. 18.
² These names mean respectively "Piece of a Mountain", and "Rock-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 exterminating 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 of the seven treasures of Khusrou, fell into the hands of the royal 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, which is the auspicious birthday of the Emperor, (P. 84) outside the Parganna of Nazám-Abád, one of the dependencies of Jounpúr, the weighing of the Emperor took place; for, in accordance with established custom, he is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, against gold, silver, and other precious things, which are given to the Brahmans of Hind, and to others. And the poets, recited, and still do write, heart-ravishing poems on this topic. Then his Majesty determined to remain for some time in the citadel of Jounpúr. Then a Khán Zamán on hearing of his remaining there, sent Mírzá Irak (who afterwards became Razá Khán) to intercede on his half with the Khán Khánán. He went along with Khán Zamán's other, and brought the message to the Court. So the Khán Khánán, in conjunction with Mír 'Abd-ul Laţíf Qazwíní, and Mullá ad-u-lláh Makhdúm-ul-Mulk, and Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabi Sadr a good time prayed for the pardon of the offences of the Khán mán, and was graciously accepted. And they sent Khwájah hán, and Mír Murtazá Sharífí, who is of the family of that

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1 This treasure was called Baddúwar, because the wind carried a vessel laden with 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 Intelligence, Mîr Sayyid Sharif Jurjâni (sanctified be his grave!), and Mukhdûm- 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 son. The Khán Zamán came to meet them, and, as was required too, oath of allegiance, and then dismissed their Excellencies with 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 Chougu, and on Friday the 7th of the month Ramzân, he came to Aâgra and spent his time in festivities. There he went to his new palace Nagar-Chîn, and occupied himself playing, and dog-racing, and hawk-flying. And they contrived a fiery ball with which one could play on a dark night.

And in this year died Muhammad Yûsuf 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 Qâsim Khán, and some of the Amîrs such as Hûsain Khán, his relative, and Khâlid Khán and others, with 3000, or 4000 horsemen to act against Açaf Khán in the district of Garha Katangâla. Then Açaf Khán left the fortress of Chourâgarh, 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 Wazîr Khán his own brother went to Jounpûr to the Khán Zamán. The Khán Zamán at the first meeting bore himself so haughtily towards him, that Açaf 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 Mahdī Qāsim Khān, having got the district of Gārha into his power, gave it to the Jāgirdārs, and then giving up his pursuit of Āqaf Khān went by way of Hindīa towards the sacred Mekka, which he had the happiness to reach. And Ḥusain Khān with his own men went after him as far as the fortress of Satwās near the kingdom of Dekkan.

Then all of a sudden Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, sons of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā (who was descended on his father's side from Taimūr, the Fortunatel, and on his mother's side from Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā2), an old man and full of years, to whom the Emperor had given the Pargana of Aẓampūr as his jāgir, raised the standard of revolt in the district of Sambhal3. And, after the subjugation of the Khān Zamān, and the Emperor had turned towards the Panjāb against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, they fleeing before Muʿīm Khān, the Khān Khānān, plunged into the midst of the district and came to Dihlī, and eventually raised the standard of rebellion in the kingdom of Mālwha, [P. 86]. From this place two of the brothers, Shāh Mīrzā, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, went and laid siege to Hindīa. But Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā went towards Satwās, which was 10 cosses distant, and Ḥusain Khān together with one named Muqarrab Khān, a chief of the Amīrs of the Dekkan, shut himself up in Satwās 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 Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain might bring forward proposals of peace, the garrison would not give in. Till, one morning, they put the head4 of Qadam Khān (Muqarrab Khān's brother, who had been killed at Hindīa), upon the point of a lance, and showed

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1 The title is Čāhib-i-Qirān, i. e., Lord of conjunction, viz., of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, called Saʿdāin. He was descended from the second son of Taimūr, 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, father of Mīrzā Bāiqrā, father of Mīrzā Manẓūr, father of Mīrzā Bāiqrā, father of Wais Mīrzā, father of Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā. The sons of Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā were (1) Utegh Mīrzā (2) Shāh Mīrzā, (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, (4) Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, (5) Maʿṣūd Ḥusain Mīrzā, (6) 'Aqil Ḥusain Mīrzā.

2 She was daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān.

3 The Jāgirdārs of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, whence they proceeded to Mālwha. Briggs' Ferishta, II, 226.

4 Instead of bar road 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 than a Muqarrab-Khán, went and saw the Mírzás. Then, having granted Husain 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 Agra, he went, and did homage to him, and was favourably received, and the Emperor gave him in addition to Patiyálí, which was his jądýr, the Purganna of Shamsábád.

The composer of this epitome, one year before thus, having had the good fortune to go from Badaún 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 Badaún, get 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:

“The heart, which is grieved by any one,

It is difficult to make happy,

A vase, that has been broken,

It is difficult to piece together again.”

1 Khán is a “Noble”, ghulám a “slave”, and Muqarrab-ghulám possibly means a “confidential servant” like Muqarrab-ul-khudnât.

2 That is the Emperor Akbár.

3 Compare above p. 28 of Text.
Finally, 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, 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 Zaman, and the other parted company with Bahádur Khán, and went 3 cosse[s] distance going in the direction of Agra 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 Láhó[r, just at the time that the Emperor, having gone in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥakím, had turned aside to enjoy a qanûrgha-hunt, and at the intercession of Muzaffar Khán he was allowed to do homage, and a furmán gracious in its wording was issued to Açaf Khán.

In this year Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím came to Láhó[r. The cause of it was that, when Mirzá Sulaimán returned the third time from Kábul, and Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím had got possession of Kábul, and had dismissed the imperial Amirs to Hindústán, and Khwájah Ḥasan Naqshabandí had become absolute Prime-minister, and the Khán Kalán was enraged thereat, then Mirzá Sulaimán, finding the field for the fourth time clear, in company with his wife Wali Ni’mat Bégum, hastened to Kábul, and laid seige to it. And Mirzá

1 Continued from p. 85.
2 Wazír Khán, and Açaf Khán.
3 Compare p. 93 note 3.
4 See page 72, l. 18.
Muhammad Hakim entrusting Kabul to Ma'qum Kokah (who afterwards raised rebellion, and was the mover of sedition in Hindustan, and was a man of great courage), himself with Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí went to the river Ghorband. And Mirzá Sulaimán, when he found that he could not take Kabul by force of arms, by many artifices contrived to convey Walí Ni'mat Bégum to Qarábágh (which is 10 cosses distant from Kabul, and in the neighbourhood of the Ghorband). There she brought forward proposals of peace, and took solemn and awful oaths; and Mirzá [Muhammad Hakim] set out to meet her with a small escort. Khwájah Hasan 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 Mirzá Sulaimán before Mirzá Muhammad Hakim arrived at Qarábágh, came by forced marches (P. 89) from Kabul with a considerable force, and lay in ambush in that neighbourhood. It happened that some of the soldiers of Mirzá Sulaimán met with the men of Mirzá Muhammad Hakim, and gave him information of this. So Mirzá Muhammad Hakim fled, and when he got to Ghorband he became bewildered and fell by mistake into the road to the Hindúkashí mountain. Khwájah Hasan wished to bring him to Pír Muhammad Khán Uzbek, governor of Balkh, in order to ask his assistance. But Báqí Qaqshál prevented this, and brought the Mirzá in the direction of the Capital by way of Panjhar to Jalálábád and thence to the bank of the river Níláb, till eventually he crossed the river Sind, and sent a despatch to the Court. Khwájah Hasan with his party arrived at Balkh, and after some time he became lost, and his life became bitter (Talkh) to him:

1 To the north of Kabul.
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. Leo's Ibn Batútá, p. 97.
4 Panjhar.
5 The Indus.
"My heart is gone, my soul is fled, my religion lost,
O Hasan! 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 his baggage, still remained on that spot.

Meanwhile during his prolonged absence Muḥammad Maʿqúm of Kábul attacked Sulaimán’s camp, and spoiled it, and defeated his general Quí Shaghálí, and after this decisive victory proceeded to lay siege to Chaharbágh. Then Mírzá Sulaimán sent Qázi Kháň Banákhshí as ambassador to inveíte Muḥammad Maʿqúm to terms of peace. This Muḥammad Maʿqúm at first refused, but he could not withstand the persuasions of Qázi Kháň, 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 Ḥákím’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 Kháň 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 farman promising him the assistance of the Amirs of the Panjáb. Mírzá [Muḥammad Ḥákím] hastened to meet the envoy, and fully intended to come [to Court], when Farídún Kháň, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchún 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 Kháň, brother of Shaháb Kháň, who was at Kábul and one Sultán ‘Ali, a scribe who had fled from Hindústán and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Farídún Kháň in representing to the Mírzá that it would be very easy to capture Láhór.

1 For táj read tárváj.
2 Muḥammad Ḥákím.
Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khushkhabar Khán. But the Mirzá 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 qamurghā1-hunting in the neighbourhood of Láhór, Khushkhabar Khán was drowned in the river Rawi and a clever fellow extemporised this verse:—

"Khushkhabar2 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 Mirzá 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 situated outside the city on the banks of the river Rawí. 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 Mir Muḥammad Khán, and all the Atkah-kháns4 with their posse comitatus came into the fortress, and however much Mirzá 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 Agrah in charge of the Khán-khánán,5 and Muzaffar Khán, on the 3rd of Jamádí-l-awwal6 of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974) marched on the Panjáb by way of Dihlí and Sirhind. And Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kábúl by the way by which he had come:—

1 Compare next page, and text, pp. 354, 421.
2 Means "good-news."
3 Al Qur’an XII. 31 “And we made from the water every living thing.”
4 That is, to relatives of Shamun-d-dín Muḥammad Atkah.
5 Mu’ám 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 Ḥujj̱ud-dīn Ṭūṭ̱b-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Kamāl Khān Gha’akkar were appointed to go from Lāhōr in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. They went a certain distance and then turned back to Behra. At this time a letter came from Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān bin Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Isā,1 ruler of the district of Sindh, containing assurance of his own loyalty, and complaints of the attacks of Sultān Maḥmūd, the governor of Bakkar, on the province of Sindh and Lāhōr. Accordingly a farman was sent to Sultān Maḥmūd touching the complaints of Muḥammad Bāqī.

During the stay at Lāhōr a letter came from the Khānkhānān saying that Ulūgh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, in whose jāgīr were the pargannas of Nahtnūr (?), a dependency of Sambhal, and A’zāmpūr, had, in conjunction with their uncles Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā,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 Mālwa.

At this time the Emperor held a Qamurgha-hunt3 at about five costes from Lāhōr. For a space of 40 costes in every direction theyrove 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

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 Rāwī to swim across, and all the courtiers, with the exception of one or two, of which number

1 A direct descendant of Chingizes Khān. See Blochmann. 361.
2 See above, p. 85 T. note; and Elliot V. 315.
3 A Turkī word denoting a great battue; De Courteille merely calls it lieu de chasse.
was Khúskhabar Khán (as has been already mentioned), got safely across. Now, while the Qumurgha-hunt was going on, Muzaffar Khán arrived with Vazír Khán from Agra, and the Emperor wrote a farrá honored to Aqaf Khán and Mājnún Khán the joint guardianship of the districts of Karrah and Mánikpúr—on which subject many a poem was composed.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Khán Zámán, Bahádúr Khán, and Sikandar Khán had broken faith and were in open rebellion, and that they had sent persons to fetch Mirzá Muḥammad Ťákí, and had had the audacity to read the khatbah, and to strike coins in his name in the district of Joumpúr. And Mulá Gházálí, a poet of Mashhad, composed this verse:

“In the name of the gracious and merciful God,
Muḥammad ῥákí is the heir of a kingdom.”

On hearing this news the Emperor confided Mirzá Miráq Rasawí, the Khán Zámán’s lieutenant, to the custody of Ján Báqí Khán, and entrusting the charge of the affairs of the Panjáb to (P. 95) Khání Kalán, and the whole Aţghá family, on the 12th of the blessed month of Ramzán in the year 974 started for Agra, and went to the fort of Thámésar, which has been from time immemorial a haunt of infidels. At the lake [called] Kurk’he, which is an assembly place of Kurus and Pandus (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 clemency towards Ḍqaf Khán and Vazír Khán.
3 See p. 49, note 4.
4 Sanscrit Sthameçvara, meaning ‘Lord of the place.’ It is a town about 100 miles from Dihlí, where there is a temple of Mahadeo.
5 Sanscrit Kuruksheṭra, i.e., Kurú-battlefield.
6 Abu-l-Fazl, according to Sir H. Eliot, 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 Jogī-s and Sannyāsī-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, went and fought on the side of the Sannyāsī-s (who were scarcely 300 men, while the Jogī-s were more than 500). But for all that many were slain on either side. At last the Sannyāsī-s came off victorious.

When the imperial camp was pitched at Dihlī, Mirzá Mírák Razawí escaping from Khán Báqí Khán, in whose charge he was imprisoned, fled and joined his employer. 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 Dihlī, Sháh Fakhr-ud-dín Mashadí, upon information received from Tátár Khán, commandant of Dihlī, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders, brought Shaháb Khán Turkomán (who held the parganna of Bhójpür in sie, and with whom Amín Dívána, having escaped from Láhór, had taken fuge, 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 Sannyāsī-s.

2 In the 10th year he came to Court to obtain pardon for Aīf Gúl Khán, Khán Zamán. When the latter rebelled again, in the 12th year, Mirzá Mírák Razawí was imprisoned.

3 Son of Mir 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 Agra, news came that Khān-eifar was besieging Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, who had shut him up in Shergarh (which is generally known by the name of Qannouj). Upon the receipt of the intelligence, leaving the Khān-khanān in charge of Agra, the Emperor on the 26th of Shavval, in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), marched towards Jounpur. 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 Sakit had became the camping-place of the imperial army, news came in that Khān Zamān had raised the siege [of Shergarh], and fled towards Mānikpur, where was his brother Bahādur Khān. Accordingly, from the town of Bhojpūr the Emperor detached a body of 6,000 veteran troopers under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlīs, Muzaffar Khān, Rāja Todar Mal, Shāh Budāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān and Ḥusain Khān (who at that time had arrived from Satwās) to march towards Oudh to oppose Sikandar. At first Munṣūr Khān 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 siege he had sustained in the fortress [of Satwās], he went to the parganna of Shamsābād to obtain supplies for his army, and found it so refreshing that some little delay took place in his rejoining the army: consequently Qiyā Khān was appointed in his place.

The author was with the aforesaid Khān on this occasion. And when he passed on from Shamsābād, 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

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1 Son of Mir Ahmad i Razawī. He was a great favourite with Akbar.
2 The Tabaqat i Akbarī has 'Monday the 23rd.' Elliot, V. 319.
3 The 10th month.
4 See abode, p. 87.
jewels, a'no, tah, beneppah ti siht erofed syah wef A. ssentiw erod whia, 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 Bhojpur (which is 10 cossee 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 Rai Bareil, news arrived that Khan Zaman and Bahádur Khan had crossed the river Ganges and fled towards Kálpí. Consequently the Emperor, directing that the camp, under Khwájah Jahán, should be moved on towards Kařah, 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 persons. And Majnún Khan, and A'zaf Khan, who were in the vanguard, kept from time to time sending back information concerning the whereabouts of the enemy.

It so happened that Khan Zamán and Bahádur Khan, over whose eyes Fate had drawn the blinding iron of negligence, in accordance with the following:

'When Fate 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, 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

1 The Tabaqát i Akbarí, according to Elliot, p. 320, says 1,000 to 1,500 men.
2 Viz., The Decree of Death: Diva Necessitas. With those 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 (támindá) of Mánikpúr.
Khan (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, and (P. 96) he placed Mirzá Kokah, surnamed Azam Khan in the houda with him. He took up his station in the centre, and placed Acaff Khan, and all the Atkas, on the right, and Majnún Khan, and others, on the left. Now the Khan 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 Khan Qájsháí, who was leader of the van, with a well-directed shower of arrows repulsed them, and drove them back on the Khan Zamán. At this moment one of the horses of the fugitives rushed with terrific force against the horse of the Khan 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 Khan, planting firmly the foot of desperation, charged Bábá Khan with such fury, that he compelled him to retreat, and sweeping him before him, bore him back on the ranks of Majnún Khan. Then Majnún Khan, and Bahádur Khan, 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 Khan, 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 Khan 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 besem 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, Hirinand by name, on the side of the imperial army, charged an elephant, named Oudya, 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 Khan Zamán; and, while he was in the act of pulling it out, another arrow struck it, and it reared up and the Khan Zamán fell to the ground. At this moment an elephant-driver, riding on an elephant named Narsingh, came up; and, although the Khan 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 Khan 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. But the Amirs 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 wakil, 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 Zi-hijjah of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), in the neighbourhood of Maakarwál, one of the dependencies of Pairag 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."[1]

[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 Karwá (Sanskrit Karaka) 'an earthen pipkin.' Or it may have been borrowed, by some means or other, from the Mahrattí, in which there is a word Karoti 'a vessel made of cocoa-nut shell.'


[3] Pragyága was a holy place on the left bank of the Ganges, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Jhusi. It was never a city until Akbar made it such, and then not on the left, but on the right bank, under the name Aláháбád 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 + 60 + 11 + 4 = 976, 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 Qīsim Arslān was the author of it. And another was said:

'\text{The slaughter of 'Ali 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: "\text{Two became blood.}"\(^2\)

And of the number of the captives\(^3\) slain [after] that battle was Mírzá Khúshhál Bég, whom I myself had seen at an assembly in the army of Málwáh, in company with Adham Kháń and Pír Muḥammad Kháń. And, verily, the appearance of the beauty of his person and disposition was by way of being perfection, and the impression of it would never pass away from my heart. The date of his death was round as follows:

"\text{Khúsíhal, 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 Kháń Zamán,

The date came out: \text{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 Díhlí, in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Mír Khúsíraú\(^6\)

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\(^{1}\) This line gives \(100 + 400 + 30 + 6 + 50 + 40 + 20 + 8 + 200 + 41 + 12 + 14 + 50 = 973.\)

\(^{2}\) This gives \(10 + 600 + 56 + 300 + 4 + 5 = 975,\) which is one too many.

\(^{3}\) See Text, p. 160, and Elliot, V. 322.

\(^{4}\) \(20 + 30 + 200 + 600 + 7 + 10 + 3 + 104 = 974.\)

\(^{5}\) The world.

\(^{6}\) A great poet of Díhlí.
But afterwards, when the Câdr,1 and Qâzî, and Shaikh-ul-Islâm represented to His Majesty that Mîr Khusrou was a native of India, and a Sunni, while Mîr Murtazâ was a native of 'Irâq and a heretic,2 and that consequently Mîr 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 Mîr 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 Abîl-Fath by name, brother of Shaikh Sa'd-ul-lâh, son of Shaikh Badâl, who was one of the most powerful nobles of the Court, passed from the world. And his date was found to be:—

"Ab-ul-Fath, 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: Mîrzâ Nizâm-ud-Dîn Ahmad (mercy upon 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 Nizâmi),5 that when, during the time of the rebellion and hostility of Khân Zamân, news-mongers, and especially drug and opium takers, used every day in Dihlî to spread gloomy reports, one

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1 Apparently Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabî; See p. 71, Text.
2 That is a Shi'âh, or follower of 'Ali.
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 Tabaqât i Akbari. 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 Bahádúr 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 Agra, Khán Zamán and Bahádúr Khán were actually slain, and the third day one named 'Abd-u-lláh, the son of Murád Bég, brought their heads to Agra, 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 Alláhábád, and seizing some who had fled from the Court and joined themselves to the rebellious party, he delivered them over to keepers. And Mirzá Mirák Razawi1 who had fled from Dihlí, he had thrown under the feet of an elephant, but the elephant only gave him a few rubs with its 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 Jónpúr, 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 Karáh and Maníkpúr, where was the camp of the imperial army.4 He crossed over the river in a boat, and alighted at the fort of Karáh.

1 The Khán Zamán's Wáktí, Text, p. 92.
2 He was a Sayyid of Mashhad.
3 $3 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 5 + 300 + 4 = 974$.
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 Ẓeqúb, an inhabitant of Dihlí (who was renowned for his profound knowledge of legal matters, and was son-in-law of Qází Fazilát¹ Shérsḩáhí, whom they used to term Qází Fazihat, 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 firman summoning him from Agrah, arrived at Court and did homage. The Emperor gave him all the jágírs of Bahádur Khán and Khán Zamán, from Jounpúr and Bánáres 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-hijjah² of the aforesaid year in the midst of the rainy season the Emperor set out, and in Muḥarram³ in the year nine hundred and seventy-five (975) his Majesty alighted at the Capital.

In this year Muḥammad Quli Khán Bartás, and Muzaffár 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 Amīr's proposals of peace, and having engaged them in negotiations, he

¹ Fazilát means 'excellence;' by the change of one letter it becomes Fazihat 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 Amirs 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 Afghans. The Amirs pursued him as far as Gorakhpur, and then wrote a statement of the case to Court; and, when they received a farman ordering them to repair to the Court, they hastened thither, leaving Muhammad Quli Barlas in Oudh.

And in this year the intention was formed of reducing the fortress of Chitor. Accordingly the Emperor took away Biyana from Háji Muhammad Khan Sistání, and gave it as jagir to Açaf Khan; and Basawar and Wazirpur 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 Bari and hunting in Moumaidah, proceeded thence towards Supar. The subjects of Ráí Sargán evacuated the fort of Supar, and Nazar Bahadur was appointed commandant of that fort, and Sháh Muhammad Khan Qandahári to hold the fort of Kotah Baláyah. When the Emperor arrived at the fort of Kákarán, having given to Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khan and Sháh Bídágh Khan jagirs in the district of Málwáh, he appointed them to quell the disturbances caused by the sons of Muhammad Suláhn, viz. Mirzá Ulugh and Sháh Mirzá, who had fled thither from Sambhal. When the Amirs reached Ujjain, the Mirzáss hearing the said news left that country, and went to Gujrat to Changíz Khan a follower of Sulúaí Mağmúd. Thus Málwáh fell into the hands of the Amirs without their striking a blow. And Ráná Udáí Sing, committing the keeping of the fortress of Chitor to one Ráí Jaimád by name (a brave and chivalrous commander, who had been besieged by Mirzá Sharfuddin Husain in the fortress of Mích'háh and had cut his way out), himself took refuge in the high mountain ground and impassable jungles in the neighbourhood of Udaípúr. An al-mair. Açaf Khan 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 Quli Khán marched towards Udaipur, and ravaged the environs; but the Rānā left that place for some other maze-like mousehole.

The Emperor ordered Sābāṭ and trenches to be constructed, and gradually brought close to the walls of the fortress. The width of the Sābāṭ 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 Sābāṭ 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 Islām 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 Islām 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 Sābāṭ 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. Ṭabaqāt i Akbārī. 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'bán¹ 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 Rájputs were slain. The following line was found to give the date:—

“My heart said: He quickly took Chitýr.”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 Xãf Khán to the command of that district, on the morning of Tuesday 25th³ 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 Tabaqát-i Akbarî; but there is evidently some mistake.
the victorious standards moved towards Agra. And by way of performing a vow the Emperor walked the whole way on foot, and on Sunday 7th of the month Ramznán¹ he arrived at Ajmir. There he paid a visit to the holy mausoleum of the blessed bestower of blessings the Saint Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-din Chishti (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'ud-douláh², author of the “Biography of the Poets”, made this mnemosynon—

“The Sháh cherishing the Faith, enthroned like Jamshíd,  
The Khusráu 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 mortar³!’”

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Alwar⁴ he took to lion-hunting. And 'Adíl Muḥammad Kháň, son of Sháh Muḥammad Kháň Qandahári, 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 Nárnouli (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 Badaún, and in accordance with: “And verily the latter is better for thee than the former⁵” it turned out

¹ The ninth month.
² Qazwíní, with the nom de plume Kámi. 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 Postscript in 979. But there occur much later dates in it. Spruner, _Catalogue_ 1, 46. Perhaps the Author originally completed his work in 979, but continued to add to it from time to time.
³ 5 + 10 + 20 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 + 20 + 301 = 975.
⁴ Compare p. 6 note 5.
⁵ Al Qurán XCIII, 4, where however the meaning is: “And verily the Future shall be better for thee than the Present.”
ost 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!”

And in this year that model of men of thought, and beau ideal of the Shaikhs who practice perfection, Shaikh 'Abdul-'aziz of Dihli (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-'aziz,
Whom all the world calls the Pole-star of Dihli.
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.”

And since the Shaikh used constantly to sign himself “The worthless atom 'Abdul-'aziz”, a clever fellow discovered the mnemosynon: Worthless atom.

In the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) the Emperor sent for the whole Atgah clan and Kamál Khán G'akkar from the Panjáb, and gave their jāqīrs to Hu-sain Quli Khán and his brother Ismá'il Quli Khán, and appointed them to that district. Then Ḥusain Quli 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 Bareli was confirmed to Khánī Kalán.

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 mīhr “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 Mirzas, the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had gone to Gujrat, and taken refuge with Chingiz Khan, having behaved badly and laid hands of spoliation on the jâyûrs, fled from Chingiz Khan, and came to Mâlwhâ, and besieged Muhammad Murad Khan and Mirza 'Aziz-ullah of Mashhad in the fort of Ujjain. Then Ashraf Khan, Mîr Munshi and Câdiq Muhammad Khan, 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 Khan, who had been sent after them to join in the reduction of Rintambhor. And at Sarouj Shahâb-ad-dín Ahmad Khan, and at Sârangpur Shâh Bidâgh Khan formed a junction with the aforesaid Amirs, and so a very considerable force was gathered together. Then the Mirzâs (P. 107) on hearing this news raised the siege of Ujjain, and went to Mandû, and the great Amirs pursued them. When the Mirzâs had crossed the river Narbaddah, they received news that Jahjar Khan the Abyssinian had surprised Chingiz Khan when off his guard at the open space by the gate of Ahmad-âbâd, and had slain him, so that Gujrat was now free to them. So the Mirzâs hastened to Gujrat, and took the fort of Châmpânîr at the first assault. And laying siege to the fort of Bhroj, after some time they managed by a ruse to capture Rastam Khan Rûmî, who was shut up in that fortress, and put him to death, and also took possession of the fortress. Qulij Khan, and Câdiq Muhammad Khan, and the other great Amirs, returned from the banks of the Narbaddah and came to Court; but the jâyûr-holders of Mandû remained where they were.

At the beginning of the month Rajab\(^1\) of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihlî, and occupied himself for some days in Qamorghab\(^2\) hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Pâlam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Sha'bân\(^3\) he came by successive days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short

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1 The seventh month.
2 Compare p. 93, note 3.
3 The eighth month.
time Sáhásti were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the Káhárös, 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 Ítan, 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 Chítor, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Dódá and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the zamíndárs, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter. Then Ísín (P 108), Quíl Khán Khán Jaháp, 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 of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken. And “Victory” 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 Sultání. Then leaving the camp under the command of Khwájáh Aáníá (who is entitled Khwájah Jaháp), and Muzaffar Khán, he gave the word to march towards A’gráh. 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. On Wednesday the 24th of the month Zi-lqa’dáb of the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) he alighted at the Imperial Capital. And Mír Fáriqí, brother of Sháh Fathulláh 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.”

1 See p. 106.
2 A Hindustání word denoting “palanquin-bearers”, and so used here for “porters” in general. It is a contraction of the Sanskrit karvalára “a hired-labourer”.
3 The tenth month.
4 Fath = 80 + 400 + 8 = 488. Now 488 × 2 = 976.
5 Mu’inuddín Chishti.
6 The eleventh month.
7 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 50 + 4 + 7 + 6 + 4 = 976.
And Múlání Shírí 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."

And in this year the Hatiyapūr gate, which is a new gate of Agra, was completed, and the date of it is:

"The pen of Shírí wrote as the mnemosyphon:
The Elephant-gate is without compare."

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 Chishti living at Sikrí, 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 Sikrí 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 Fathpūr, 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*.

Another:—

"*The heavenly Ka'bah* came down from heaven".

And Ashraf Khán found this mnemonic:

"*It is second only to the Mosque at Mecca*".

And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his sire the Sha'kh, 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 Amirs, 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 Mikri, one of the chief Sayyids of Kálpi 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, 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".

\[30 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 10 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 = 976.\]

\[2 + 10 + 400 + 40 + 70 + 46 + 200 + 41 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 60 + 41 + 50 = 978.\]

\[501 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 60 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 200 + 41 + 979.\]

Meaning in Sanskrit "Infatuating".
When the expedition set out to Rintambhor, Sayyid Musa, to remain behind. He took a house within the fortress of A...
the vicinity of his beloved on the banks of the river Jumna, near to Mir Sayyid Jalal 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 Mūsā, 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 Mohini's house, and climbed up like a rope-dancer, and so they spent the night together in chaste affection. A poem called Dilfarīb, which Sayyid Shāhī, brother of Sayyid Mūsā, 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.
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 Hūri-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. 113) 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 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 shouldst 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 Fatehpur and Biyânah. 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 Agra.
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 Mūsā, who had before been merely wounded, was now consumed [by love], and however much he strove was unable to catch a sight of his loved, because they kept her guarded in a strong place, one Qāzī amāl by name, a Hindi poet of Sivakānpūr, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, between whom and the Sayyid there existed a bond of the closest friendship, took his case very much to heart. So one evening, the hour of prayer be extricated that sitter in a corner of the cell of chastity from the dark cell, and set her beside him on a larger 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 Qāzī: "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 Mūsā received this message, he shut himself up in a place which he had within the fortress of Agra, 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 Mohini.
Q 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 'Id1,' 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 Mūsá the practice of her lips and the amulet of her life, in the presence of the pious Mr Sayyid Jalá, 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, 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 Ḥirá[m]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 ‘Mūsá’ 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 fortitude, 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 Muhammad Ghous, and was renowned for his remarkable equity and purity, became enamoured of a singing girl in Agra:—

"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) Ziyâ'uddin, 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 should unite them in marriage, but Shaikh Ziyâ'uddin 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 Ziyâ'uddin 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 'Abdunnabi, the chief Cadr, and other Ulamás and Qâzíís, who were controllers of the cadr 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."

Or as Falconer has well rendered the lines of Hakím 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 Gaddái Kambói 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' was found to give the date.

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven (977), when the news of the taking of Chitor and Rintambhor became spread abroad on all sides (P. 120) and in all directions, and Rán 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 Qa'ashál, who had a jágír in that neighbourhood. He also sent a conciliatory farmán to Rájah Rám Chand, and gave him the pargan-na 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 of this year, when seven hours of the day had passed, the auspicious birth of the Imperial Prince Sul tán Salim took place at the abode of Shaikh Islem Chishti at Fathpúr:—

"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 Agrah, 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 qa'ídahs. Of that number was Khwájah Húsain Marwí, who recited a qa'ídah, 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 Qa'ídah is as follows:—

$$40 + 100 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 20 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 50 = 977.$$
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 Sun2 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 Lülű\(^3\) 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. Lülű 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
mistake¹,
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 world²
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'qūb Čirfí of Kashmir
composed a gačidah of the same kind. But what was the good! Another
person carried off the reward. And some one else made the follow-
ing mnemonon: "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'bán⁵ the Emperor set out to
pay a vow of thanks for the rising of (P. 121) this star of prosperity,
and went on foot from Xgra to Ajmír, travelling six or seven cosses
each day. After fulfilling the rites of the pilgrimage he returned,
and in the blessed month of Ramzán⁶ he encamped outside Dihlí,

¹ They are correct, only sometimes a waw or a yê must be struck out.
² The ½ half of line 12 gives 8 + 20 + 30 + 10 + 7 + 13 + 5 + 39 + 40
+ 70 + 50 + 10 + 40 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 5 = 963. The second half of line
6 (omitting ye) 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 shâh, and we get the correct date 977.
⁴ 316 + 271 + 380 = 967. But read rá, instead of rád, 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 Mirza Muqim of Ispahan together with a certain person named Mir Ya'qub of Kashmir put to death on the charge of being Shi'ahs. The facts are as follows. This Mirza Muqim had been several times to Lakhnou to pay his respects to Husain Khan, and the Khan (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 Khan impressed upon him the idea, that this Mirza was a violent and zealous Shi'ah, and utterly alienated his feelings from the Mirza, who now went to do homage to the Emperor and was favourably received and appointed Wakil at the court of Husain Khan governor of Kashmir. At that time a number of zealous Shi'ahs had in their bigotry wounded Qazi Habib, who was a zealous Sunni. It happened that the said Qazi was still living when Husain Khan of Kashmir on the decision of the Muftis ordered the assassin to be put to death. Mirza Muqim, on his own responsibility, handed over the Muftis 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 Mirza Muqim and Mir Ya'qub, the wakil of Husain Khan, brought the daughter of Husain Khan to Court as a sort of present, this story was represented to the Emperor, and these two persons upon the decision of Shaikh 'Abdunnabi and other Ulamás, who were his family, were brought to the just punishment of their wicked deeds in the plain of (P. 125) Fatehpur. And a portion of this story has been inserted in the history of Kashmir of which the author of these pages has written an epitome.

In this year on the dismissal of Husain Khan the Emperor gave the parganna of Lakhnou as jagir to Mahdi Qasim Khan, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and had come to the fortress of Rintambhor, and had an interview with him there. Husain Khan was exceedingly indignant with Mahdi Qasim Khan on account of this, and reciting the verse "This separation between me
and the Day of the Resurrection. And in spite of his being married to the daughter of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, 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 Mahdī Qāsim Beg at Khairābād with her brothers, and set off from Lak‘īnou 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 Sawālik 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 Ḫusain Khān arrived at the place where Sultān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Muḥammad Khān had been martyred, and which is a burial-place of martyrs, he read the Fīṭrah for those pure spirits, and built a qūfah over the dilapidated tombs of those martyrs. Then he ravaged the country as far as the district of Wajrāil, which is part of the territory of Rājāh Rankā, a powerful zamīndār. Thence he marched two days’ journey as far as Ajmīr, 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 rum and the shouts (P. 126) of the men the clouds collected and much rain fell that neither corn nor fodder was to be procured, and famine stared the army in the face. Although Ḫusain Khān, 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 whether he would or no, he was obliged to retreat. As soon as they

1 Al Qur‘ān xviii. 77.
2 Viz., to right him.
3 Al Qur‘ān 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 Mecca 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”.

Husain Khán returned to Court and requested that Kánt and Golah in the skirts of the mountains might be conferred upon him as jágir, 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 Husain 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 Husain Khán, went from Lak’hnou to Badaún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muḥammad, whom I loved from my very soul; say 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-Latif, who was the earliest first-fruits of the garden of my life and existence, 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”:

1 Talk “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, 161.
"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 in Islám." 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?

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 rose¹,
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 gui '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?
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. 180) 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 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, 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 solace of thy day, and friend of thy dark night who is he?

(P. 181) 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!'
O Qâdir 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 Islâm 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 Diblí on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mirak Mirzá 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 Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and seventy-eight (978) there took place in the house of

1 \[51 + 60 + 15 + 60 + 200 + 6 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 20 + 6 + 7 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 80 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.\]
2 The 1st month.
Shaikh Salim the rising of the star of prosperity and happiness, th Prince Murâd. And a royal feast just like the former one was prepared. And Múláná Qásim Arsalán composed a qif′ah, of which th first hemistich of each verse gives the date of the birth of those tw 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 Salim there descended,
The standard of Sháh Murád bin Akbar the just.\(^3\)"

And Khwájah Husain Marwí composed a qif′ah of seven verses, in which each first hemistich (P. 133) gives the date of the birth of th first prince, and each second hemistich the date of the birth of th 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 + 6 + 40 + 6 = 988.
\(^2\) 51 + 10 + 40 + 80 + 200 + 57 + 5 + 20 + 222 + 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 Afrásyáb."

The 20th of Rabi'l-ákhír of this year the Emperor departed from pír, where he had remained twelve days, and then went towards ār with the intention of paying his vows. He laid the founda-
of a fortress in the environs of that pure city, and ordered a palace to be built by the great Amíra. On Friday the 4th of díl' Akhír marching thence he came in the course of twelve to Nágor. And he ordered the great tank of that city to be cut, and distributed the work among the Amírs, and he named kātaló.1

This year Chándarsín, son of Máldeó, ruler of Márvar, came homage to the Emperor. And Ráí Kalyán Mal, Rájah of ār came together with his son Ráí Singh, and brought his sister as a gift, so that she was admitted into the Imperial 2. The Emperor gave the father leave to return to Bıkánír, the son he took along with him. On the journey he hunted under, animals which he had never before met with, and then, in view to visiting the tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs, that of salt, treasury of sugar, and unique one of his age, the real Shaikh Fárid (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), he towards Ajodhán, which is generally known as Pattán. There Azíz Kokah, surnamed A'zám Khán, who was the jágír- of that place, made a great feast, and offered suitable gifts. 3: and indeed such profuse hospitality is record-

This is a mnemosyne for the date:—

"The Sháh and the Prince are honoured guests."

he went to Láhor, where he was the guest of Húsain Qáli. And then reciting "Return is best." he went back by way of Fírozah to the city of Ajmír, and thence by successive he arrived at Fathpúr.

10 + 5 + 40 + 2 + 50 + 50 + 70 + 17 + 57 + 4 + 300 + 5 + 6 + + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

18
Muhibb 'Ali 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 Mirzá 'Isá Taskhán, 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 Sultán 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 Jaisalmir to reduce Sind, I will send you assistance; but I will not let you pass by of Bakkar, for I have no confidence in you." Muhibb 'Ali J and Mujáhid Khán set off by the other route, and Sultán N' collected his army and sent it to oppose them. Muhibb 'Ali came off victorious in the engagement which ensued, and defeat besieged the Bakkar-ites in the fortress of Mó'adír. Sultán Mahmúd, the remnant of his army, consisting of archers, from the fortress of Bakkar to engage Khán. They met with the same fate as before, and to the fortress and there made a resolute stand. The crowding of people within the fortress was very great, and came fearfully contaminated, and a terrible pestilence cam- on, so that 1,000 persons, more or less, died every day. At last in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) Sultán Mahmúd, 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 Fathpúr 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 jágir. Iskandar being appointed to help the Khán Khánán received permission to return to Jóonpur. He arrived at Lak'hnou, and after some time on the 10th of Jumadi-'lawwal 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 Khán on the feast of Qurbán, 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."

And the Shaikh of nations Shaikh Yaqúb Carri of Kashmir invented this mnemosynon:

"He gave up life on the Feast of Qurbán."

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-nine (979) the royal palace at Agra, and another palace in the new town of Fathpúr 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 Agra,
The other in the district of Sikrí abode of Shaikh Safin.
Heaven for the sake of the date of these two lofty palaces
Has written with its ancient pen: *Two highest paradises*.

And towards the end of the blessed month of Ramzán of this year
Shaikh Salim Chishti of Pathpúr (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 *unmorsyoun* for his death is "*Shaikh i Hindí*;"
and another:—

"The date of the death of Shaikh Islám [*i-]
The Shaikh of sages, and the Shaikh of princes!"

In this year a dreadful event happened to the compiler of this
epitome. It is briefly as follows: When Kant and Golah became
the *jagir* of Muhammad Husain Khán, and I, in accordance with the
decree of fate, remained some time in his service, and became *Gádr* of
that province, and had the responsibility of ministering to the faqir,
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 Quanouj, 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 con-
duces 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 hukamá*, and *Shaikh i hukkám*, 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 Bāŋgarmon, 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 Islām. 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."

"Some there are who have made good their promise, and others are waiting:"—

"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‘ān XIV 23, XXXV, 18.
2 Al Qur‘ān XXXIII, 23.
(P. 138). Thence I went to Kaut u Golab. There after performing the ablution I was again thrown on a bed of sickness. And Ḥusain Khan, 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, and made me eat a tamarisk sweet-meat. Thence I came to Badáún, where another surgeon re-opened 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 ḡaḥhat, the first bathing after sickness.
2 Chob 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 Badáín and its distracted state,
For it is a revelation of the verses about ‘The punishment of fire’?“

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) the conquest of Gujrat took place. The substance of the affair is as follows. Gujrat 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 he set out from the Capital, and on the 15th of Rabî’lawwal 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‘inuddín Chisti (God sanctify his tomb, and their tombs!), the next day he proceeded to circumambulate the tomb of Mir Sayyid Husain Khang-sawár, and this verse was composed in his honour:—

“Thanks to God that a clear light hath shone into the heart
From Husain bin ‘Ali bin Husain bin ‘Ali.”

And he went up to the top of that hill. Then he sent forward Mîr Muhammad, Khán Kalán, with 10,000 horse as vanguard, and himself by consecutive days marching arrived on the 9th of the month Jamadîlawal 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’an II, 120, &c.
2 The second month.
3 The third month.
4 The fifth month.
him Dániyl after the said Shaikh Dániyl. The following is the mnemonic
for the date:

“One said, 
And the word Sharí'at2 “The Law” will do just as well.

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Mírá'ha, news
came that a Rájpút at Sarohí having come as an ambassador had
struck Khání Kalán with a jamd'hara, 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 Dosi Muham-
mad, son of the late Tátár Khán governor of Dihlí, whom they call
Tátáreh, became a martyr. While the Emperor was at this place
he appointed Ráí Singh of Bikánír governor of Jondlípúr, in order
that he might go by way of Gujrát and prevent any harm being done
to any one by Ránu Kákí ruler of Gogandah and Kumáhmí. And
Mán Singh, son of Rájah Bhagawan Dás he sent with a well
appointed army in the direction of Ídar in pursuit of the sons of
Sher Khán Fúláíí, who had gone in that direction with all his
family and relatives. In the beginning of the month Rajáb the
Emperor encamped outside Páttan, and gave that place as jágír to
Sayyid Ahmad Khán Báhá, brother of Sayyid Muhammad. Mán
Singh having spoiled the remnant of the army of the Afgháns re-
joined the Emperor bringing much booty.

When Sher Khán obtained news of the Emperor’s approach
(P. 141), he raised the siege of Ahmadábád, 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, Firishta IV, pp. 156 and 165.
6 The seventh month.
space of six months been engaged along with I'timád Khán, the ghulám and absolute vazír of Sultán Mahmúd Gujráti, and the army of the Afgháns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaffár, son of Sultán Mahmúd Gujráti, whom I'timád Khán had kept continually in confinement, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Sháh Mánqúr 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 his government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rájah of Súrat, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Chánágarh 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 Hámíd Bokhári, and Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajih-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 Ahmádábád. 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 Ahmádábád, and the Khútba1 was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Mahmúd Khán Bárha and Shaikh Mahmúd Bokhári brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bán2 the Emperor set out from Ahmádábád in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibráhím Husain Mirzá and Muhammad Husain Mirzá, 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 Ahmádábád, fled to Ahmádnagar. 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.
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 Mirzá reached the garrison of that fort, Gulúkh Búgman, 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 Dákkán. And Sháh Quli Khán Múshran, who together with Cádiq Muḥammad Kháń 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 Todárimal 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 the Emperor encamped at one cos distant from the fort, and proceeded to surround it, as the halo surrounds the moon. He distributed 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 Múllání 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 (haram). See further in Blochm., p. 306.
2 The ninth month.
3 Bakhš kardah seems to mean “having distributed,” (like taqīm namūdah) but the author does not specify among whom. The reading of the Lakhnou 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 Náźir 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 before1 His Majesty.

Out of the whole number of the people, the Emperor, after a
severe reprimand and admonition, gave over to the keeper of pri-
soners 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 Shawwál2 in the year nine hundred and
eighty (980). And Ashraf Khán Mir Munshi composed this
gif'ah:—

"The country-subduer Akbar Gházi,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 no
wonderful."

The next day the Emperor went to inspect the fort, and gave
orders that its breaches and ruins should be repaired and rebuild
During this inspection he came across some large cannon, and in
mense pieces of ordinance. They had been brought by sea by Sula-
mán Sultán 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 Gházi means one who fights against infidels, not victorious.
4 70 + 3 + 2 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 100 = 980.
bank. At the time of the building of Súrat Khudáwand Kháń Wazír brought most\(^1\) of them into the fort, and the remainder the Governor of Jánígh várh 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 Agraḥ.

They say that the reason for Khudáwand Kháń's building this fort was, that the Portuguese used to exercise all kinds of animosity and hostility against the people of Islálm, 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 Choukándi,\(^2\) 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 Choukándi. But Khudáwand Kháń 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 Kháń, and on the 14th of Zi-qa'dáh he returned to Aḥmadábád.

1 One seems compelled by the context thus to render hama 'all'.

2 See Elliott V, p. 503 notes.
During the time of the siege several events took place. First of all, Mirzá Sharaf-ud-din Husain, who had been a wanderer for ten years, and had at last fallen into the hands of Bahá-Jiv, Rájá of the district of Baglána, 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 Bahropch the mother of Chingiz Khán came and demanded justice, and sued for retaliation against Jahjar Kluin the Abyssinian, who had basely slain Chingiz 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 Súrát was actually in progress, Ibráhím Husain Mirzá after his defeat went from the station of Sarnál to the confines of Patan, and joined Muḥammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá. Here they thought of a plan for raising the siege of the fort of Súrát. Their scheme was as follows: Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was to go towards Hindústán with a view to stirring up rebellion, while Muḥammad Husain Mirzá together with Shér Khán Fúlídú were to lay siege to Patan, so that the Emperor becoming uneasy concerning their movements should be obliged to come to Aḥmadábad. Meanwhile Sayyid Aḥmad Khán had shut himself up in Patan, and made a brave resistance. Then Qutb-ud-din Muḥammad Khán with all the renowned Amírs, who were the sief-holders of Málwah and Chandéri, went to the assistance of Sayyid Aḥmad Khán. And Rástam Khán and ʿAbd-ul-Maṭláb Khán, and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokháří of Dihlí came to Aḥmadábad, and together with Aʿzám Khán returned to Patan. Then (P. 148) Muḥammad Husain Mirzá, and Sháh Mirzá, and Shér Khán Fúlídú 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 Aʿzám 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

The Text has incorrectly Yaḥtána. See Blochm., p. 328, and Brigg's Frishta IV, p. 614.

1 The late king of Gujurát.
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 with a few men did not move from his post, when suddenly like an unexpected calamity Shér Khán Fúlúsí (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 Bokhári, who was still engaged with a few of the enemy, and confusion returned and Shaikh Muḥammad became the rose of the garden of victory:

“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 Júnágh, of which place Amir Khán Ghóri was governor. This victory took place on the 18th of the blessed month of Ramzán 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 Qutb-ud-dín, and the other Amirs, having managed to hunt out of the jungles and forts Ikhtiyár-úl-mulk the Abyssinian (who had escaped from those to whom he had been given in charge as prisoner, and fled to Aḥmad-ábad and joined the enemy, and after

1 Another name for A‘zam Khán.
2 Was slain.
3 The ninth month.
4 Another reading is Ahmad-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-qu'dah¹ 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 Khán, and having given the other cities to the other Amirs of the Atghah-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 Muḥarram³ of the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981), moving from station to station, arrived at Ajmún. At this place he received a letter from Sha'īd 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 Čafar⁴ 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 Husain Mirzá. He went first from Gujrat to Mirat'h with the intention of stirring up rebellion and revolt in that kingdom. He plundered a caravan which was going to Agra (P. 150), and came to Nágór, in which place Farrukh Khán, 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 Ráí Rán and Ráí Singh, who had been entrusted with guarding the road to Gujrat, 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'hatóuli. 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 Mirzā, having gone some distance and returned, on the second night of the blessed month of Ramzán¹ 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 Mirzā. But through the disgracefulness of their wicked enterprise their affairs nowhere prospered. So the Mirzā 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” became manifest.

Husain Khán² Mahdí Qásím Khání at that time, before the publication of the news concerning Ibráhím Husain Mirzá and his going towards Diblí, went to Kánt-u-Golah, which was his jágír, with the intention of quelling the insurgents of Badráún and Patyálí. Meanwhile Makhdúm-ul-mulk Múláná ‘Abd-ulláh Sultánpúrí, and Rájah Bahár Mal, who was wakil and absolute wazír, wrote a letter to him from Fathpúr informing him, that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá

¹ The niinth month.
² Such seems to me to be the meaning of Aš-ṭulabu raddu-t-ṭawīl; but I am not sure.
³ He was sister’s son and also son-in-law to Mahdí Qásím Khán. (Blochm., p. 372). For this reason he is called Mahdí-Qásím-Khánī.
having suffered defeat on two occasions had arrived in the vicinity of Diblí, 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, news came in that Rájáh Awésar, who had continually infested the roads since the accession of the Emperor, and had kept up rebellion in the vicinity of A'grah, 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 Nouráhi in the pargana of Jalésah. At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzán 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 had erected crows' nests in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks 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 Husain 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 Jalésar.
2 The ninth month.
3 Comp. p. 10, note 2
4 The word used here seems to be the Hindi bishai = bikhai, Sanskrit 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-Isláín 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 Húsain Khán returned by forced marches to Kánt-u-Golah, and strengthened those places. At the same time Ibráhíím Húsain Mirzá, arrived in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Lak'hnou, which is (P. 153) fifteen cossees from Sambhal.¹

In spite of that wound [Húsain Khán] riding in a litter advanced to Báns Baréíí 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 Amroháh, in the neighbourhood of Lak'hnou, and put a distance of fourteen cossees between us and him. But, if he had attacked Húsain 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 Húsain Khán when he was in this weak state.

¹ Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibráhíím Húsain Mirzá. Elliot V, 505.
Mu'in-ud-din Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Sambhal, with a considerable force, and various other Amirs, jágir-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 Fath-ulláh Tarín, who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-islám Fathpúrí, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of them together with Tolak Khán Quchín and Bég Núrín Khán and Raḥmán Qulí Khán and Kákar ʿAlí Khán and the other Amirs of the jágir of the neighbourhood of Dihlí, who were come to repulse the Mirzá, should wait for us in the pargana of Khár 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 Amirs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of Khár, 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 Amirs at Khár, 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 Tarbát, and Elliot (Ṭabaqát-i Akbári) Tarbát.
2 See p. 54, note 2.
happening 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 Makhduum-ul-mulk and Rájah Bahár Mal we have driven the Mirzá out of the neighbourhood of Dihli, and compelled him to make for Sambhal. Now Mu'ín-ud-dín Ahmad Kháń, commandant of that district, and the jágír-holders of that neighbourhood are responsible for the matter. But we are merely ordered to defend Dihli, and not to wage a war against the Mirzá, a course in which various dangers are to be dreaded.” Meanwhile intelligence arrived that the Mirzá had plundered Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Choubalah was marching rapidly on Lahbór. Then Husain Kháń, 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 Gádha 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 Subhán Qulí and Farrukh Divánah; but while he was at this place the Amírs of Khár 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 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 Gulrukh 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 Gáftha and Jahní.

Now Ḥusain Quli Khán, who was besieging 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 Nagarkot five man of gold as a douceur, after reading the khútáb in the Emperor’s name, set out from that place with Mirzá Yúsuf Khan and Masnád ‘Ali Fátú, a ghulám of ‘Adalí, Ismá’íl Quli Khán, Rájah Birbar, 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 Quli Khán. He crossed the river Biháí at the ford of Talwandí, and went by forced marches to Sher Gáftha a dependency of Jahní. There he paid a visit to his reverence Shaikl 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, and thus atoned for his oath. He then partook

1 Masnád ‘Ali is an Afghán title. It was given to Fátú Khán, or Fáth Khán. He seems to be the same Fáth Khán whom Sukáimán Káráání put in charge of Rohlá 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 yo feed your families withal; or to clothe them; or to free the neck; but he who shall not find [without 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 Lāhōr to Sher Gādh, 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 Hindūstān. 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'ān 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 Husain Khan wrote a letter to Husain uli Khan, 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." Husain uli Khan said "All right!," and sent the courier back. But that 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'ud Husain Mirzá, younger brother of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain, took the initiative, and attacked the force of Husain Quli Khan, but his horse stumbled on the uneven ground, and he fell to the ground and was taken prisoner. When Mirzá Ibráhím Husain 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 Husain Khan arrived at Tulambah with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Husain Quli Khan shewed him the battle-field and recounted to him each man's exploits. Husain Khan 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." Husain Quli Khan replied: "Since I have come by forced marches from Nagarkot, 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." Husain Khan now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardships and forced marches of 500 cosses had opened 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 Satlíj, at the point where the two streams unite. The Jhils, who are a low

1 Ta'bagát-i Akbarí has here Taiwandí, Elliot V, 608. Comp. Text, p. 156, 1. 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:

“A shout is enough for a conquered army,”

the Jhils came off victorious. Suddenly during the encounter an arrow, by the decree of God, struck the Mirzá 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* 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 Zakariya by name, who openly applied a mollifying ointment to the wound of the Mirzá, but secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Saíd Khán at Multán:

“Wherever an ascetic dwells,
There treachery is found.”

Saíd 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 Husain Khán heard of the capture of the Mirzá, he hastened to Multán, and saw Saíd Khán. Husain Khán made some difficulty about seeing the Mirzá and said: “If when I see him I should saláms to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court; and if I do not, it will be uneourteous, and the Mirzá will say to himself, ‘This Qulgachi,’ when he received quarter at the siege of Satwás, thought good to make saláms without number; now

* Roebuck I, p. 294.
* A wandering Musalmán ascetic.
* 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 Husain Quli Khán, who is an alien in religion and sect!" Husain 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."

Husain Khán went from Kánt-u-Golah to the Court. And Husain Quli Khán came from the Panjáb and brought with him Nas'úd Husain Mirzá with his eyes blindfolded, and a number of other prisoners of the followers of the Mirzá, to Fathpur. 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. Husain 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 Khan, and after the defeat on the way to Multán had taken refuge with Husain 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 purgana. Husain Quli Khán mentioned this body of prisoners, when he was in attendance on the Emperor. Husain 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 Su'úd 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*.
Sweet it is to practise fate's agriculture,
To sow a Fáridún, and reap a Kháqán."

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) Nagarkót was taken by Husain Quli 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 Brahmántádás 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 conversations 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*, meaning "Prince of Poets, and afterwards that of Rájah Birbar" 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 Birbar, and having imprisoned Jai Chand, he wrote a farrán to Husain Quli Khán, ruler of Láhór, to seize Nagarkôt and hand it

Comp. Hamlet I. 5.

Imperious Caesar, 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!

There is a play on the words Kishtan to sow, Kushtan to kill.

The meaning is, to kill a hero and so gain the favour of an Emperor.

Sansk. Kabi Rája.
Sansk. vára-vára best warrior.
to Bürbar. Husain Quli Khán, with the other Amirs of the
unjáb such as Mirzá Yusuf Khán, and Ja’fır Khán son of Qazáq
hán, and Tattú Masnadí ‘Ali &c., first took by assault Dahmírí, and
wálíyár, and Koltah an exceedingly lofty fortress, and reduced
that district (P. 162). Then, leaving there a force to occupy the
strict, he passed over a very difficult pass with elephants, horses,
camels, and his whole suit, and large cannon, and immense mortars,
and laid siege to the fortress of Kángrah. I myself in the year
nine hundred and ninety-eight, when I went to Nagarkot, had oc-
casion 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 Bídţí 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 lacs¹ and lacs of men, or rather krsor and krsor 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 umbrella², which was erected on the top of the cupola of the
temple, they riddled with arrows, many of which may be seen hang-
ing there to this day. And black cows³, 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 Brahm-
áns, sojourners in the temple, were killed, that both friends and
strangers heap a thousand thousands of curses on the head of Bürbar,
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 Bídţí

¹ Lacs = 100,000.
² Kror = 10,000,000.
³ Chatary, but property chatta or chattā.
⁴ Called Yaka.
Chand. In this bombardment nearly eighty persons lost their lives. Bidhi 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 Husain, and how that he was making for Láhir: moreover the army of Husain 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 Shavvá' of this year he read the Khutbah, and stamped coin in the Emperor’s name in that district, and having put all things straight he built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gateway of Rajah Jai Chand.

Then Husain Qulí Khán set off to oppose the Mirzás. When he arrived at the village of Chamári he received the honour of paying his respects to that paragon of pilgrims, that offspring of renowned saints Khwájah 'Abd-ush-Sháhí, grandson of Khwájah Alírāz (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, 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 Kiraráí, ruler of Bengál, who gave himself the title of Hazrati A’llá, and had conquered the city of Katak,-1 Banáras, that mine of heathenism, and having made the stronghold of Jaganáth into the home of Islám, held sway from Kámrú to

1 By one shot. 2 Tabaqát i Akbari, Elliot V, 358.
3 The eighth month.
4 See p. 57.
5 The Ta’l has sometimes Tulambah, at others Tulabnah.
6 That is Kámrú in Assam.
Orisá, attained the mercy of God. His son Báyázíd 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-Wál (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 Ectasy will be inserted (if God will) in the account of the Shaikhs of the period.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-one (OSl) the Emperor mounted a dromedary, to go and quench the fire of rebellion in Gujrat and to settle the disturbances, and by forced marches went in the course of nine days from Fathpur to Ahmadábád, and fought a battle with the army which was besieging A'zam Khán in the fortress. He came off victorious, and returned to the Seat of the Khalifate.

The following is an epitome of those events. When the Emperor came the first time after giving Ahmadábád to Kháñ-i A'zam, the rebels raised a general revolt in that place and followed each his own devices. Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk² Gujral taking all the Abyssinians with him seized Ahmadnagar and that neighbourhood; and Muhammad Husain Mirzá came from the Dak'hn and first of all endeavoured to reduce Súrat; but Qulij Khán shut himself up in that place and succeeded in keeping him at bay and repulsed him. So he retired on Kambháyat³ 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 Ahmadnagar and Idar, and the claim of victory was put to the arbitration of the sword. And he commissioned Nourang Khán, son of Qutb-ud-dín Muhammad Khán together with Sayyid Ilámí to go toward Kambháyat against Muhammad Husain Mirzá. Muhammad Husain

¹ Ambit'hi is a town in the confines of Lak'hmou. Vol. III, p. 15 Text.
² Comp. p. 152.
³ That is Cambay.
Mh'zi 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 Fuládi, and the son of Jahjár Khán Habshí 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 Ahmadábád. Khán-i A'zam outstripped them and got there first. Then he sent for Qutb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán from Bahrońeh, 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 Muhammad 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 Husain QuH Khan he gave the title of Khán Jahán, and appointed him, with the Amírs of the Panjáb, to that province, and Sa'id Khán he appointed to Multán, and sent them to their respective destinations. Shuja'at Khán he sent forward with camp equipage, and set out himself on Sunday the twenty-fourth of Rabú's sání 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\(^1\) (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,\(^2\) son of the late Khán Khánán Bairam Khán, the

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1 The fourth month.
2 Khwájá Mu'in-ud-dín Chístí.
3 See Elphinstone, p. 513, note.
command of the centre. (He is now the Khán Khánnán and has been appointed to subdue the Dak‘hin.) And (P. 166) Sayyid Maḥmúd Khán Bárha and Câdiq 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 Quli Khán and Tarkhán Diwánah. 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-awval they arrived at the village of Kári, 20 cosses from Ahmádábad. A detachment of the enemy issued from the fortress, and drew themselves up across the line of march of the imperial 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 6 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. Aṣaf Khán was sent in advance to open up communications with Khán-i A‘zám. 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 Subhán Quli 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 Fathpur. 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‘zám 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 Quli Khán and Tarkhán Diwánah 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. Saíf 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 Gadái 'Alí by name,

\(^{1}\) In old Persian poetry the world is said to be supported on a fish; \(\text{fish} ; \) and, according to Indian notions, upon a tortoise.

\(^{2}\) "O Hope!"
a Turk 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 Ráí Singh. Meanwhile Wazír Khán was contending manfully with the Abyssinians and Gujráttees, 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 "Ya 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. 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, 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 A'grah:—

"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

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* That is, are Sāhīh, not Sunní.

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 Qutb-ud-dín Muḥammad Khán, with his son Nourang Khán towards Bahronch and Chánpánír to exterminate Sháh Mirzá; and Khán-i Kalán he appointed to the government of Patan, and Wazír Khán to Dúlaqah and Dándúqah. And Sháh Quli Khán Muḥarram, and Kájah Bhagwán Dás, and Lashkar Khán Bakhsí he sent off by way of I'dar towards Āgra and Fathpúr, to reduce the district of Rána Udái Singh; and the town of Badnagar⁴ was taken by them. On the 10th of Jamáda'-l alvāl⁵ he himself marched from Almádábád and encamped at Maḥmúdábád one of the dwelling places of Súltán Maḥmúd of Gujrat. And from Dúlaqah he gave Khán-i Aʿzam and the other Amírs permission to leave that quarter. Mírzá Ghiyás-ud-dín ‘Ali Qazawání received the title of Aqṣf Khán, and was appointed Diwán and Bakhshi of Gujrat. On the 3rd of Jamáda'-s-sání⁶ the Emperor arrived at Ajmír, and while staying at Sángánír he appointed Rájah Todarmal (who had remained at Āgra with a view to fitting out 1000 vessels and boats) to go and examine into the state of the revenues of Gujrat. 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 Rajáb⁷ the prince Súltán Salím received the tablet of instruction from the hand of the God-fearing Mulána Mír Kalán⁸, 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."⁹

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⁴ Barnagar, Elliot V, 369.
⁵ The fifth month.
⁶ The sixth month.
⁷ The seventh month.
⁸ See Vol. iii, p. 161 Text.
⁹ 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 Muhammád of Bokhára, who was killed in the battle of Patan, and of Saíf Khán, who fell in the last battle of Ahmadábád, 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 Khan Kháñán. To Shahr-úlláh Kambúí of Láhór he gave the title of Sháhbáz 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 Sháhbáz Khán-hood from servitude."

At this time Mír Muhasil Razwí returned from an embassy to the Dak'hin, and brought suitable presents from the rulers of that country. On the 16th of Shavváli 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 Fathpúr, his reverence the refuge of direction, and possessor of saintship, Khwájah 'Abd-ush-sháhid,1 grandson of Khwájah Ahrár (may God sanctify his tomb!), made intercession for the release of Mírzá Sharaf-úd-dín, but was refused. Although the Emperor did not neglect any marks of due honour and respect, and publicly even read the Fatihá,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-qa'dáh3 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:

"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 Zī-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 Zī-ḥajjah of this year the Author by reason of destiny, which is a chain round the foot of decision, having parted with Husain Khán, and come from Badáún to Ágrah, was introduced at Court by Jamál Khán Qurchí, and the late Galen-like physician Ayn-ul-mulk. And since in those days the chatties 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 Gourézi jáfál, the beginning of the 19th year of the Šídáḥ, 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-Nabi, the Chief Qadr, 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 Mubarak
of Nagór, 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 A'grah 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 Mil-
shákh* "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* 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 ex-
alted!) will.

In the latter part of the month Çafar* 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 Afgán Karárání
died, who from the time of Islam Sháh had held the district of
Bengál and become quite independent, his son BÁyzíd succeeded
him for a time, but on account of his bad conduct after a short

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1 He held the office from 971 to 986.
2 40 + 10 + 30 + 300 + 1 + 600 = 981.
3 See Blochmann AIn 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 Amirs. 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 far-mán 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 Hújipúr, at the instigation of Kátlí Khán, governor of Jagannáth, by cunning management in exciting his cupiditv for an elephant, got Lodi 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 Lodi 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 Lodi’s followers. By his crafty management he got Lodi into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodi, 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 Lodi 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 and he turned towards Patnáh and Hájípúr. Then Dáud began to recognize the worth of Lodi, 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 Patnáh, 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 Yúṣuf Kháń to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and left Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmad Kháń in charge of A'grah, 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 Muhammad Akbar,
Sat on the bank of the sea; like Sikándar*
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 Kháríwáhá, 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 Arríán VI, 3 and Thirlwall's Hist. Vol. VII, p. 34, Chap. LI V near the beginning.
On the 23rd of the month Qa'far mentioned above the Emperor encamped at Payág, which is commonly called Illahábás, 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 Illahábád. 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 from a place called Yahyápúr, one of the environs of Jounpúr, which is the meeting-place of the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadí, 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 Sultan Mahmúd of Bakkar, and of Múlib 'Ali 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 Sardáí, 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 Múrak Ispahání a man learned in charms, who after the defeat of Khán Zamán had lived at Jounpúr, at the instigation of Naqib Khán studied a great book of sor-

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1 The fourth month.
2 Often called Gomtí; but the name is properly Gomati, 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 Shi'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 Jámi 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 man of science,
What is their jafar? O Jafar Códiq,?

1 Jafar means "charm," "sortilege." Jafar Códiq is one of the Imáms, see p. 38, note 2. There is here a play on the two words of similar sound.
Ja'fan Čádiq is angry with you,  
To the Čádiq-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 warp 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 Rabi'-us-sání the Emperor encamped at Jousá, and there news arrived from the Khán Kháánán, that 'Izá Kháán Niyázi, one of the great Amirs 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 Kháán's. And at this time Muhammad Ma'qúm, son of Háshim Kháán the brother of Shaháb-ud-dín Aḩmad Kháán (who was himself in the army of the Kháán Kháánán, 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 Kháán—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.
Romni; one of the dependencies of Bhojpur, an old halting-place. From this place he sent Qasim 'Ali Khan Baqqal to the Khan Khânán 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 Husain Khan, and his brother Kuchak Muḥammad Khan (who had been appointed to help the Khan Khânán), 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 jāġîrs, said: "The brother of Husain Khan, Kuchak Khan, remains in the service, but Husain Khan himself has gone from Kânt-u-Golah to the neighbourhood of Lâk'nu and Oudh, and is hovering round the Banjar-s." The Emperor was very much vexed at this bad assistance on the part of Husain Khan, 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 jāġîr. 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 A'grah, 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 Khan Khânán near to Panjpalârī, 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 Khan Khâqân 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 Khân-i 'Alam 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 Hájipur, from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. And Râjah Kachhtî, whose army and

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1 Tabaqât-i Akbarî (Elliot V, 376) has Domni.
2 A tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain. They are usually left unmolested by belligerents.
3 Tabaqât-i Akbarî (Elliot V, 377) has Gojpati.
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 ‘Alam with a following numerous as ants or locusts, and a multitude of horses and mares. Then they joined battle having surrounded Häjípúr 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 Häjípúr to obtain definite news. Then the garrison of the fortress set in motion against them 10 boats full of warriors. After a severe struggle this handful of men came off victorious against that great host, and joined Khán-i ‘Alam. On the other side Fath Khán Báhá with a strong body of Afghánś 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 Munshi of thought
Wrote for its date: Fath-i biiád-i Patnah.""

The next day the Emperor mounted the Panj-pahári to get a comprehensive view of the fortress of Patna, and he reconnoitred it on all sides. And the Afghánś, 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 Bégi, 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.
"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 Hajipur, 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 Sarhor¹ HINDI BENGÁLÍ, who had been the instigator of the death of Lódí, and had received the title of Bikramajít,* placed his treasures in a boat, and followed him. And Gújar Khán Kararání (who had the title of Rákh-ud-daulah) 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, Güjar 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 Afghán 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."²

He left the Khán Khánán in charge of the place, and himself went off in pursuit of Güjar Khán, who had all the elephants of Dáúd

¹ Tábaqát-i Akbárf (Elliot V, 378) has Sríďhar.
² Sának. Vihrma-ditya.
* 40 + 30 + 20 + 60 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 7 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 983.
ith him. He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and ar-
ved at Daryápúr on the bank of the Ganges distant 26 cosses from
atna (P. 182) He hastened on by forced marches, and about 400
phant s fell into his hands, but Gújar Khán escaped. Shahbáz
hán Mír Bakhshí, and Majmún Khán, who had followed him, went
casses beyond Daryápúr, and brought word that Gújar Khán
ad crossed a small river called Balbhúnd, and that many of his men
ád 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 horse-
men as an additional reinforcement to the Amírs who were with him,
and all the boats which had come with him from Agrab, 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 of the afore-men-
tioned year the Emperor appointed Mirzá Yúsuf Khán to the com-
mand of the world-traversing camp, and sent Muzaffar Khán with
Farhat Khán to reduce the fort of Rohtáš, 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 ar-
ganged the affairs of the place, and took a general view of the build-
ings of Dáuíd. And one of the remarkable things is, that in that king-
lom 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 Jóonpúr, where he remained
one month. He placed that place and Banáras directly under the
royal exchequer, and gave the management of them to Mirzá Mírak
Razvi, and Shaikh Ibráhíím Síkri Wál. On the 9th of Jamáda's-
sáni¹ he set out for Dílíh the capital. (P. 183.) He encamped at
Khánpúr, and while staying there Qázá 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 Cúffism had attained many high degrees, and has left behind him a description of a portion of it, by the intervention of Firúzah Kábúlī (who was one of those born in the house of Mirzá Muhammad Ḥákím, 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 Badakhshi" 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 Gházi Khán; and then he rose to the command of 3,000 men, while Firúzah, 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 Darúd 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'í-ákhir, while the camp was at Shérgarh (otherwise called Qannouj) a book called Singh-ásan Battésí, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Réjah Búkramájít king of Mála, and resembles the Ṭuti-námah, was placed in my hands; and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned Brálman 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 Khírad-afzá, a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.

\[ 4 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 4 + 600 + 300 + 10 = 982. \]
\[ 50 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 4 + 1 + 80 + 7 + 1 = 989. \]  
*The title means "The book of mental recreation."
At this time while at Karadil his reverence Khwajah 'Abd-ud-sahid (God sanctify his spirit!) arrived on his way to Samoqand with a view to taking leave. He said: "I wish to carry this handful of bones to that spot." He bound a sword round the Emperor's waist and again prayed for the release of Mirzâ Sharaf-ud-din Husain, but was refused. He was very much vexed and said: "What more than I say? He has lost his Justice and Mercy, I pray God that he y lose also the gift of Faith." As soon as he arrived at Samar-nd he was gathered, as he said he should be, to his honoured father od sanctify their souls!

On the 20th of Jamada's-sani' while halting at the town of Is-ndarpâr news was brought, that Daud having left Tândah (which situate on the other side of the river Ganges opposite to Gour), thou striking a single blow had gone towards the extreme desert had arrived at Orissa, and that the Khán Khânán had taken possession of Tândah. When the Emperor was 3 coses distant from Agra he turned towards Fihâli the Metropolis, and at the beginning of the month Rajab that mighty city having become the tent of his prosperity, he spent some days in visiting the blessed shrines. At this time Husain Khán, who had come near to Patyâli and Bhongoun with the express purpose of paying homage, was not admitted to the presence, and his Majesty ordered Shahbâz Khán, Mir Bakhshá, 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?" came true in his case:—

(P. 185) "For all this magnificence of the created world"

"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, Indu, and Ismán.
4 The fifth month.
5 To be stripped as bare as the letter als is proverbial.
6 Lit. "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 and Golah, Patyáli &c., (which was a jágír worth 1 krór, 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, the Emperor left Dihli for Ajmír. While staying at Nárnuól, Ḥasan Ḥán, Khán Jahán, waited upon him. Also Khán-i A'zam arrived by forced marches from Ahmadábád. At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazán he arrived within 7 conses of Ajmír, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettle-drums of Dáud's, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence the Khvájah Mu'in (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 of dancing and sufísm 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 dinars were showered down like rain-drops.

At this time the Emperor appointed Tayíb Khán, son of Muham¬mad (P. 186) Táhir Khán Núrís, durághat the commandant of Dihli, with a body of tried warriors to go against Chandar Sen, son of

1 The eighth month.
Maldeo, who was oppressing the faithful in the neighbourhood of Joudpur and Siwanah. 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 Khání A’zam to Gujrat, and arrived by continued forced marches at Fathpúr at the end of this month.

In this year he sent Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Jaláli Khán Qúrchi, and several others of the Amirs to reduce the fortress of Siwanah, which was held by the grandsons of Maldeo. Jaláli 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 Mir Gesú Bakáwal [Begí] to examine into the affairs of Sultan Maḥmúd of Bakkar, and to guard the fortress of Bakkar.

In this year there was in Gujrat both a general pestilence and also a dearth of grain, to such an extent that one man of jawárí sold for 120 tankas, and numberless people died.

And in this year Khwájah Amina, the absolute Wazir, surnamed Khwájah-e Jaláni, answered the summons of God at Láhów at the time of the return of the army from Patna. And Çábuhi, 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.  
Thou art Antichrist, and Khwájah Amina is thy ass”?

Although he was a very by-word for stinginess to such an extent

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1 In Rajputana about 60 miles N. W. of Joudpur.

2 Al-mash'ul-dajjád, the false Christ, is according to Muslimán tradition the same whom the Jews call Ham-Masháh ben [Dáved]. He is to appear first between Iráq and Siryá, and to be riding upon an ass. See Salú’s Pictin. 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 Em-
peror, 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 pasha-tail, a kettle-drum, and the titles of Khán and Sultán, and
whatever jágir he asked for he got it as a gift. And whatever man
of learning or excellence came from Transoxania, or Khorasan, 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 Háfiz Tashkándí, who was one of the
disciples of Rásíd Mulá 'Īqám-ud-dín Ibráhím Asfárayání (?) (who
was without equal in the line of Arabic erudition, and who wrote a
commentary on the Surah-e-Muḥammad¹ (peace be upon him !) from
which his Čúfí ecstasy may clearly be recognized) he obtained from
the Emperor and the Amírs about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. Eventu-
ally he went to Mun’óm Khán, Khán Khánán, with perfect appoint-
ments, and thence he started well supplied with gold to go to the
sacred Makká in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven. When he
returned home he died.

Among the witty sayings is the following. Háfí Ibráhím of
Sárhind, who was proud and rude, and quarrelsome and conten-
tious in argument, at one of the Emperor’s select assemblies at the
time of the presentation of the Ṭafsírí Háfíz by Mírzá Múliz, who
was a master of religious philosophy,² asked “How is Múdás³ de-
clined?” and (P. 188) “what is the root of the word?” It so hap-
pended 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 supe-
riority of Háfí Ibráhím became an acknowledged fact. And this is
but one of the many injustices of the time:—

¹ Al Qurán XLVII.
² See Böchmann, p. 541, note.
³ Moses.
"On account of their love of quarrelling 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 Qâzî's son Shukr, whom he had
made Qâzî of Mat'warâ, "Why do not you join in the discussion?" he
answered: "If Hâjî Ibrâhîm were to ask how to decline 'Iâd,' 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 that assembly of arguers and disputants, whether
honest enquirers or sham, consisting of more than a hundred people,
not one of them now sees [the light of the sun], but all their faces
are under the veil of "Every soul tasteth death":—

"The grass is grown on the site of their dwelling,
It is as though they were gone to a rendezvous.
Of the tribe of drug-drinkers none but us remain,
Bring the wine, for we are the only survivors—that's some-
thing!"

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 sor-
row 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. oî Bâlévarâs.
4 Al Qurân 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".

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 Krori, 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 Pathpur. One kror was named Adâmpur, another Shespir, 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 Kroris, the wives and children of the raiyats were sold and scattered abroad and everything was thrown into confusion. But the kroris were brought to account by Râjah 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 Hindus in the country of Kâmrâp, who having dedicated themselves to their idol, (P. 190) live for one year in the height of

1 Omar Khayyâm, 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 (Khâliqah-lands), were held by the Amîrs as jâgîr: and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure 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. Shahbâz Khân, the Mir Bakhshî, introduced the custom and rule of jâgh u mohall, which had been the rule of Sultan 'Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî, and afterwards the law under Shâr Shâh. It was settled that every Amîr should commence as commander of twenty (Bistî), 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 (Ghâlî), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels in proportion to their command (manqâl), 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 (Hazârî), or 2000 (Dâhazârî), or even of 5000 (Panj hazârî), 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 Amîrs 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 jâgîrâ 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.

\(^1\) 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 Hindu and Musalmán, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a command, or were made Krorés, or Aḥādīs, or Dākhīlīs, 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 Aḥādīs into dunspah, yakuspah, and nimaspah, 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 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 Amirs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers. In this year Muniim Khán, Khán Khánán, sent Rájah Todar Māl with orders to go in pursuit of Dáud towards Orissa, and Majnūn Khán Qāghālī to go towards (P. 192) Ghorág’hat, and went himself to Katak Banāras, in which strong fortress Dáud was endeavouring to shut himself up, and commenced operations against him. Majnūn Khán at Ghorág’hat fought first of all against Sulamán

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 Kashbandl = Kamarbandi ‘military service.’
4 Turki means a servant, but not a royal one.
the jāgīr-dār of that district, who was distinguished for the number of his forces, the greatness of his pomp, and his excessive labour. Him he cast into the dust of death; and the Qāq-hāl party took so many of the enemy that they were unable to carry them off; and the wives and families of the Afghāns fell into their hands. Then Majūn Khān asked the daughter of Sulaimān Mankli in marriage for his son, who at the present time in the service of the Emperor ranks among the Amirs. Next making war in the neighbourhood of G'horāg'hāt with the sons of Jalāł-ud-dīn Sūr (who once on a time had the khutbah read, and coin struck in that district) they with the assistance of the zamīndārs of that district defeated him, and pursuing him to Tāndah took possession of Gaur. Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farangkhūdī and Majūn Khān kept guard over Tāndah, and waited the news of the Khān Khānān's victory, until after the defeat of Dāūd, [and] the publication of the news of the Khān Khānān's return, the Afghāns retired into the jungles and effectually hid themselves.

Rājah Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of of Dāūd, in conjunction with Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās, and Muḥammad Quli Khān, and Muḥammad Quli Khān Toqyā,1 and Muzaffar Moghūl reached Gwālyār2 a dependency of Bengāl by continuous marches from Madāran. Dāūd went 10 cosces forward from that place and gathered a large force together [at] a place called Darīnkaṣārī,3 and fortified Rohārpūr. Meanwhile Junaid, uncle's son of (P. 193) Dāūd (who was renowned for valour and bravery, and had formerly served under the Emperor, but had fled from Agrah to Gujrat, and from Gujrat came to Bengāl), arrived at the confines of Rīnkasārī4 and wished to form a junction with Dāūd.

1 Perhaps this ought to be Tōqīl which is the name of a Chagāṭi tribe.
2 It should probably be Gwālīpūr (note by Editor). Elliot, p. 385 has Gwālīpūr.
3 Probably a corruption of dar Rīnkasārī, "in Rīnkasārī". Elliot, V, p 385, has Dīnkasārī. The confusion between r, d and j, 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 Harpār, 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, together with Nazar Bahádúr 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 being unable to withstand him took refuge in the jungle. Thence the Rájah went to Medinipúr, where he remained some days. At that place Muḥammad Quli Khán Barláš 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 Medinipúr to Madárán.

At this place Qiyá Khán Gang, being offended with the Amirs without any just cause, retired to the jungle. Rájah Todar Mal wrote an account of his doings to the Khan Khánán, and remained at Madárán. The Khán Khánán sent Sháhím Khán Jalár, and Lashkar Khán, Bakshshí (who was once called ‘Askar Khán and afterwards Astar Khán), with others to the assistance of the Rájah. They join the Rájah at Bardwañ. Then he went off alone, and pacified Qiyá Khán, and brought him back. Afterwards he marched by way of Madárán and came to Bajhórah. While at Borchín news arrived that Dáád 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 Zi-l qu‘d. h. of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Bajhórah, and Mangálusélah 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 Dáád (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

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1 Another reading is Ghángú, Elliot, V, p. 385 has Namáki. Blochm., p. 470 give Namáki.

2 In Jaháñábád, a parganna of the Húglí district, between Bardwañ and Medinipúr Blochm., p. 375.

3 See ibidem, p. 375. Elliot, V, p. 386 has Jitúra.

4 The elephants of Mangálus 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 re-
nowned elephants, which were advancing, turned tail, and some of
the veteran leaders of the Afgháns were mown down by the canno-
nade. At this juncture Gújar Khán, who was leader of the advance
ward of Dáu'd, made a sharp attack on Khán-i-'Alam, and Khwájah
'Ahd-ulláh, and Kanjak Khwájah, and Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Chogán
Bégi, and Mírzá 'Alí 'Alam Sháhí, who composed the vanguard,
and in the first charge put them to flight and drove them in on the
Altamish-corps, of which Qiyá Khán Gang was the leader Khán-i
'Alam, leader of the vanguard bravely held his ground, and was
killed. The Altamish-corps was thrown into confusion, and driven
back on the main-body, where the Khán Khánán with the other
mountain-like Amirs 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 Gújar Khán's sword with his whip
(P. 195), till at last the horse of the Khán Khánán being frightened
by the elephants became unmanageable and bolted with him. He
went at full speed for 3 or 4 coses 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 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 Kujak Khán Khwájah. Perhaps the name is Kyák.
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 Hindi word.
4 This word میبم in Turki.
of Khan-i 'Alam brought his standard to the Khan Khánán. Soon after this event news of the death of Gújar Khan reached Mun'im Khan, 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 Khan, and the other Amírs, who had taken their stand on the right of the Imperial army attacked the left of the enemy, of which lsmá'il Khan Ablár, surnamed Khan Khánán, was leader. At the same time Sháhim Khan Jalár, and Páyandah Muhammad Khán Moghúl and other leaders of the Imperial left attacked the right wing of the Afghans, where Khan 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 Afghans. 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 Khan Khánán shone from afar as a sign of victory, and news of the death (p. 196) of Gújar Khan 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 Khan Khánán remained some days at this place to heal his own wounds, and those of his men. And Lashkar Khan, 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 Khan Khánán sent Rájah Todar Mal, with Sháhim Khan Jalár, and Qiyá Khan, and Sayyid 'Abdulláh Khan, and

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\(^1\) He had just been killed. See above.
\(^2\) The Khan Khánán.
\(^3\) This expression is common in Persian for "escaping with one's life". Comp. the Hebrew expression Jer. xxii, 9, &c.
\(^4\) I.e., died.
\(^5\) In the centre of Orissa. Ṭabāqát-i Akbarí. It is commonly known as Cuttack.
Muḥammad Quli Khán Toqyáí, and Saʿid 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. Dáuí 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†, and brought forward proposals of peace. After considerable opposition and difficulty it was settled with the Amir that Dáuí 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 Amir, should be assigned to him. On the day appointed a royal feast in the style of Jamshíd and Afrídún was arranged, and the Amir 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, Dáuí 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 Dáuí's hand led him to a cu-bhím, 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

† On which Cuttack stands. The word means "great river." The name in the printed text is a blunder.
own stores, and binding it on Dáuíl'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 Qafir in the
year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the Khán Khánán arrived
at Táudah 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 com-
mitting once more the affair of Bengál to his sole charge he en-
trusted the reins of independent power to the hand of his capacity.

(P 198). On the 16th of the month Jamáda'-s-sáhí (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 Ghaus1, that divine pole-star, Shaikh Muhi-ul-dín 'Abd-ul-
qádir Jilání) Miyání Shaikh Dáuíd Jahní Wál2 passed from this
transitory world to the garden of Eden, and "O Shaikh Déed Wál3"
was found to give the date. And the author found the following
mnemonvnon: "Perfection of victory."

After the Emperor's return from his journey to Ajmír in the
month Zi-ul qu'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 Fathpur, 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 11 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982.
3 20 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 400 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 20 + 1 + 5 = 982.
'Allâmi. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the Qurâhât, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight, 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 Ayat-ul-Kursî, which contained all the subtleties of the Qur'an; and though people said it was written by his father, Abu-l-Fazîl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words Tafsîr-i-Alcharî gives the date of the composition. But the Emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abu-l-Fazîl a man capable of teaching the Mullâs a lesson (whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh), though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which his Majesty had placed in the author of these pages.

The reason of Abu-l-Fazîl'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 Mir Ihabshî and others), Shaikh 'Abd-un-nahî and Makhîm-ul-Mulk, and other learned men at Court, unanimously represented to the Emperor that Shaikh Mubârik also, in as far as he pretended to be Mahdî (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 Salîm Chisti at Fathpûr, 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'an II, 256.
3 "Commentary of Akbar's time." 400 + 80 + 60 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 10 = 983.
4 The Imâm Mahdî, who, like Elijah the Tishbite of the Jews, is to be the forerunner of the Messiah.
him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salim, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrat. Seeing Salim took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubarak applied to Mirza '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 Mubarak 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 Ulamâ, (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following Rubâ'î 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 Ulamâ 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.
Mujtahid, he used to say: “O don’t bring me the arguments of his sweetmeat-seller, or that cobbler, or that tanner!” He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and Ulama.

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, and passed much of his time in discussing the Word of God and the word of the Prophet. Questions of Čufî-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 Yí huwwá, and Yá hádî, 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 Kararáni, governor of Bengál, used every night to offer up the prayers in the company of some 150 persons consisting of renowned Shaikhs and Ulama, 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 Chishti Sigzi of Ajmír

3 The Qur'án.

4 Traditional sayings of Mu'ammad's.

5 “O He (God)!”

6 “O Guide!”
through his good rule; and when also news arrived from Bahaun-
shán of the coming of Mírzá Sulaimán, who was a prince of Qáfí
tendencies, and had become a Čáhib-i-hál,¹ and a Murid: for these
urgent reasons he had the very cell of Shaikh 'Abd-ulláh Niyázi
Sarhindlí (who had formerly been a disciple of Shaikh Islám
Chishti, 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 Anuptldo³ He named that
cell the *Ibádat-khánah⁴ which became by degrees 'Iyádat-khánah,⁵ and
Mulla Sherí composed a qaṣídah on the subject, of which the follow-
ing is a verse:—

("In these days I have seen, united with the wealth of Qárún,
The ritual of Pharún, 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 atten-
dants were the only people who were invited. Discussions were car-
cried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. One day
Jalál Kháñ Qúrchi, who was my patron, and the means of intro-
ducing me to Court,⁶ in the course of conversation and disputation
made the following statement to the Emperor: "When I went to
Aghrah to see Shaikh Ziyá-ulláh, 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 show-
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 tadáo corruption of tadá, from Sanscrit tadága "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 'Itámád 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, 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 A'záf 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 Moulána 'Abd ullah Sultánpúri (P. 203) to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and would set up to argue against him Hájí Ibráhim, 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 alius. 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 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 száfát.

2 xvi. 72.
a miserable age." Among other stories Khán Jalán said that he had heard that Makhdüm-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 had to suffer injuries at the hands of the Qizilbashis, 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 Makhdüm-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. 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 sordidness, 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." 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 noleus volens (P. 201) to Makkah. When he was asked if he thought that pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances he said "No!" At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabi was rising into power, while Moulana was fast sinking. The Emperor on the other hand...

1. I. e., by Persia.
2. The Shi'ahs of Persia. So named from their re' Kazul-bdsh.
3. Alms are due on every surplus stock or store end of a year, provided that surplus have
5. He meant to say he was poor, him. Blochm., p. 178.
And one of his follies was this, boasted of being learned in Tradition, and claimed to be of Hâfiz, and an Imâm in this glorious science, yet he taught the Tradition "The prudent course (ḥazam) is to hold an evil opinion of others," with a dotted 〈ḥe〉, and an undotted 〈rê〉 (kharam), when every child knows that it is spelt with an undotted 〈he〉, and a dotted 〈ḥazam〉. Years passed in this way until, when the Emperor's heart became alienated from him, and troops of Mullâs were being turned away, Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokâh reminded him of this fact: "His prudence in the science of ḥadîs, 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-ḥaiwân to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, a book which Naqîb Khân often used to read before the Emperor, and used to interest him in its subject-matter. And Shaikh Mubârik translated it into Persian.

In this year His Majesty gave orders that the ʻAinâhs of the whole empire should not be let off by the kroris of each parganna, unless they brought the farmân in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Čâdr 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 Amîrs, or near friends of His Majesty, he

1 Called hadîs, pl. ahâdîs
2 He bore the title of Khân-i ʻAlam.
3 Father of Abu-l-Fazl
4 Al-Badaôî uses the word ʻAinâ in the sense of ʻAinâh-dârvân, 'holders of grant-lands.'
5 Revenue officers, so called because each was put over a kror of dâms. Bloch, p. 13.
Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of Aimahs, without obtaining their object, died from the heat or by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this reached 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 seat upon his official seat, and Amirs 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 Hidayah, and other college books, 100 Bigahs more or less; although such a man might have been held to 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 Hindus, he granted lands for the first time. Thus learning and learned men fell from first to dead lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed hands and feet, he took care to spurt the water, which he had used on the head and face and garments of the great Amirs, and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And thus with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and content, in the hope of securing at last some compensation for the insult:—

"When a rustic becomes a judge, 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-capases and ordered me from the first to act as mançabhir consistently twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-1-Fazl had treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shabli said with respect to Junaid,¹ (God bless their spirits!) "both baked in one Truth." Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so piously at the dágh-u-mañälli business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a mançab of two thousand, and the dignity of Wazir. 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 Shawwáí 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 Ćulk, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 bigahs 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.

27
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 the ground. These fine promises were nothing better than mirage. I have performed services without rewards, and useless restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by humour of destiny:—

"Either faithfulness, or news of union with thee, or t's 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 trial and thankful for His favours:—

"In any case I must give thanks,
If I may never be in worse plight than now!"

And this qit'ah of Fazúlí of Baghdaí, who composed it in re Ḥairatí of Samarqand, when he was in the favour of Sháh t

is expressive of the vain hopes of your humble servant:—

"I am from the dust of Arabia, and Ḥairatí from the ki 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, 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 eternal²":—

"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 *nikah*?' 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-Nabi had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulama present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abi Laila, and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the verse of the Qur'an. "Marry whatever women you like, two and two, and three and three, and four and four;" but this interpretation is rejected. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabi 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 *fatwā*, 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 Ulama, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, first that by *mut'ah* [not by *nikah*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased: and secondly, that *mut'ah* marriages were allowed as legal by Imam Malik. The Shi'ahs, as was well-known, loved children born in *mut'ah* wedlock more than those born of *nikah* wives, contrary to the Sunnis and Ahl-i-Jam'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.

\[ 2 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 4 = 18. \] The Mujtahid who took nine interpreted it \[ 2 + 3 + 4 = 9. \] The usual interpretation is "two or three or four."
In this year, before the decision about *Mut'ah* marriages, the Emperor appointed Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr '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 Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhīd had given a *fatwā*, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow cloths, quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof (P. 211). On hearing this the *Mīr 'Adl* in the imperial presence called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick to strike him, when the *Ijājī* by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.

During this year there arrived at Court Hakīm Abu-l-Fath, Hakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Hakīm Humān), and Nūr-ud-dīn, who as poet is known under the name of Qarārī. They were brothers, and came from Gīlān, 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 Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the name of Yazdī, and attaching himself to the Emperor commenced openly to revile the *Ghurabah*, told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shiʿah. But he was soon left behind by Bir Bāb—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath, who successfully turned the Emperor from the Islām, 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.

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1 Such as women may use. *Blachm.*

2 Companions of Mahomet.
At the same time His Majesty ordered Qázi Jalál-ud-din, and several Ulama, 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, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Qur'án.

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islam read out to him, and soon began to think less of the Qahlah. 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-din to come to the 'Ibádat-khánah. He was the son of Shaikh Islám Chishti. 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 (Fátihah). Similarly Ps. it 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!):

\[
\text{O Kanúl thou art gone}
\]
\[
\text{From the Ka'bah to the Door of the Friend.}
\]
\[
\text{A thousand times } \text{Afriń}^2 !
\]
\[
\text{Thou art gone like a man.}
\]

In this year a learned Bráhman, Shaikh B'háwan, had come from the Dák'hin and turned Musálmán, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the \textit{ACharhan}. 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 Farž, and then Íjáj Ibráhím, to translate it. The latter, though willing, (P 213) did not write anything. Among the precepts of the \textit{ACharhan} 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 \(lí \, illáh \, illáh\). 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 Sultán Bégum daughter of Núr-ud-dín Muḥammad Mirzá (who was formerly wife of Bairám Khán, Khán Khánán, and afterwards entered the Haram of the Emperor), left Agraf for Hijáz and tarried one year in Gujrát, and attained that felicity,\(^4\) and thus per-

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1. \(l\) e., he died at Makkah.
2. \textit{Bravo}!
3. The eighth month.
4. That is, reached Mecca.
formed the four pilgrimages. 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 Bábárb had held absolute rule over Badakhshán—after that his promising son 'Ibráhím Mírzá had been slain in war with Dír Muḥammad Khán Uzbek in Balkh, and the decease of Wáli Nímat Bégum, and after that various acts of a perverse and rebellious nature had taken place on the part of Sháh Rukh Mírzá, 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 Ḥákím. 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 Afghánis 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-

Kerbola, Kúm, Mush-had, and Mecca.
For *fáj* read *fád*.
Brother of Akbar, and Commandant of Kábul.

28
ries, and a team of horses of pure Arab breed by the band of Aghá Khán the treasurer to give the Mirzá an honourable reception. And before this Rájah Bhagwán Dás, governor of Lábór, in accordance with a firman had gone to the Indus to meet him, and was showing him day by day suitable hospitality. The Amirs and governors also of every purgannás 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 Mirzá [to the Court].

Meanwhile A'zam Khán¹ (who is also called Khán-i A'zam) was sent for from Gujrat to appear at the Court, with which command he hastened to comply, and did homage at Fathpur on the 4th of Rajab² 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 disapproval. 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 Agrah, 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 Mirzá Suhaimán having arrived at Mattra³ by continued journeys from Lábó, Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, and Qází Nizám Badakhshi (to whom the Mirzá had given the title of Qázi-Khán, and who had obtained from the Court the title of Gházi-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 Piz., Mirzá 'Aziz Kokah, son of Atgah Khán. His mother was Akbar's wetnurse, so that, however much Aziz might offend he was seldom punished. Akbar used to say, "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross," Blochm., pp. 321, 326. He was appointed governor of Gujrat in 979.

² The seventh month.

³ N W. of Agrah.
went out five corses 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 chests 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 polite-
ness quickly descended from his saddle to the ground, and would not
permit him to pay any of the formal acts of politeness, and cus-
tomary 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] Añáptaláó¹
(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 pro-
mised 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 Haytápól,² where was the Naqáráh-khánah³. Of an
evening he used often to go to the ibidat-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 con-
gregation 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 Fátihah,

¹ See p. 204.
² The 'Elephant Gate,' compare Blochmann's Nín-i Akbarí, 506.
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 Fātihah 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.

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 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 Mu'ñim 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 Bengal, 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

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1 See above p. 212,
2 Tawdēhl see p. 74, note 6.
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 Amirs, 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'ín 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 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, 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 Famán and Fámát.
Then, in accordance with the well-known saying—'In a place without trees a Palma Christi is [looked on as] a shady and fruitful tree' the Amirs, on this principle, looked to Sháham Kháñ Jaláir as their leader:

"The death of the great has made me great."

But, when the news reached the Court, the Emperor appointed the Kháñ Zamán, in the room of the Kháñ Kháñán, 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 Hijáž: 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 Gujrat, the Emperor gave him leave to depart. And Qulí Kháñ be 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 Múzaffar Húsain 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 Húsain Kháñ (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 buffetting of all those troubles, which had passed over him, through apparent madness, but real wisdom, left Khánt-u-Golah with

1 The Qóqíyn of Jonah iv. 6. For a like prov. see Talm. Bbd. Syná. 44a.
2 He was dead, when our author wrote.
a band of his friends and intimates (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 Badáín and Sambhal, and crossing the river Ganges, arrived in the Dúáb. Then, after plundering, the mawísán 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 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 Thánóšar 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 Saíd Khán Moghul (who was a connection and very old friend of Husain 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 Husain Khán, a bond in writing for the cattle and goods which Husain 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 "máule" Blochm., p. 252, or ought we to read Mu’dáqíyán rebels?
2 The Emperor Mahmúd had acquired immense wealth from the plunder of Hindú temples. He hoped to do the same.
3 See p. 94, note 4.
At last he sent Sayyid Hāshim, son of Muḥammad Bāraḥa, and the sons of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the Judge of Amrāhah (before he dismissed him to Bakkar), with a body of the Amīrs to operate against him. While he was fighting in the hill-district of Basant-pūr 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 Patyāli (which was the native place of his kith and kin). He got as far as Gadha Maktesar where they came on him, disabled by his wound, and, in accordance with their orders, brought him to Agra, and deposited him in the house of Ǧādiq Muḥammad Khān (between whom and Huṣain Khān there had existed from the beginning of the conquest of India, or rather from Qumahār—times onward, the kindliest feeling, and most sincere friendship) Shaikh Bīnāl, 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 Ḥakīm ‘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 pisans o ought we to read bar sar e ?
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 Fath-pur, 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," flew towards the Rose-bed, to dwell there in "rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights;"

"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, Khwajah Muhammad Yahyá Naqshbandí (the Spirit of God is his Spirit!) brought the expenses of his burial, and with all honour and respect deposited him in peace in the strangers' burial-place at Agra:—

1 Al Qur'án, LXXXIX, 28.
2 Al Qur'án, LVI, 88.
3 The word in the text ba-ı'ıdż means 'in amazement.' But the editors have put a (?) to it, and it should, doubtless, be read ba-ı'ıdż 'in honour,' as the following word ıthiraym 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 Patyáli, 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 Mir ‘Adáí 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 Husain 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 Mir, 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 from the butcher-trade."

Let it not be forgotten that the author enjoyed the society of that unique one ³ 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 dure 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 tittle of a tenth part of that I found in him, [who was] in the Sunnî-section [of Islam] pure in faith, and in purity of conduct perfectly sincere.

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¹ There seems to be some mistake, as this only gives 375.
² His name was Sayyid Muhammad, see p. 221 and Text, p. 220, l. 1.
³ René Muthudôl.
⁴ Husain Khán.
and upright, in spirit without an equal, in valour peerless, in
courtesy alike in his behaviour both to small and great, and in dis-
interestedness 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 Labar (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) 3 and ever so many thousands of mosques and ancient se-
pulchres 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 ordered 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 dis-
tinguish between Muslims and Kafirs. 4 For this reason he was
commonly known among the people by the title of Takhriy, for they
call a patch takri, 5 which is another name for the Arabic word Ghajibur
(with kasra under the dotted 'aun, and ye with two dots below), 6

1 This is not said in disparagement of Husain Khiin, but in disgust at the
innovations which Akbar introduced later on.
2 I. e., Muhammad
3 Unbelievers i. e., non-Muslims. This is the origin of the name Kafir, which was applied by the Muslims of Africa to the other inhabitants.
4 Sanscrit sta tries 'a piece' whereas the Hindī takri (with vocalic ) 'a patch'
5 A distinguishing badge, that which makes a person ghaww (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,
&c., that is 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 \( \text{diyir} \)). On another occasion he ordered that the Káiftirs, 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 \( jògir \) 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 about, until one of his friends, or of his servants, brought him another. And a poet in a \( qâlidak \) 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 \( pargana \); 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 woman 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 Shákh-ul-jídah of Khairábád (who was one of the leading Shákhis 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.

\(^2\) \( \text{Viz., to keep up the required number of soldiers.} \)

\(^3\) Military and non-Military expenses.

\(^4\) Instead of \( \text{diyir read angij}. \) Compare p. 22, note 1.
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 truffles, 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 battlefields, still I was his companion in many jungle-wantues, and fearless 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 Ḍiḥlah1 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:—

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1 The first Surah of the Qur'ān. The expression 'reading the Ḍiḥlah' is used figuratively of entering upon an undertaking. Compare the expression 'reading the verse of flight' on p 48, note 1.

2 Fāṭh.
"He did right in not making both worlds manifest,
The peerless Lord, dispenser of justice, without equal or 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 blood, 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 Garla-Katangah was being got ready at Agrab, he presented me with an Arab horse, which he had bought for 500 rupees, and in accordance with:—

"The king of Hormuz never saw me, and without a word from me
He conferred on me a hundred favours;
The king of Yazd saw me, and I landed him,
But he did not give me anything."

What can one do?

"Speak of a person, as you find him"

(P. 220). When he removed his luggage 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 Qu'ra', and that therefore only the second and fourth lines need rhyme.
"There are Muhammads and Muhammads.

The live one killed me, and the dead one revived me."

In a word how can I, when there is such unanimity 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 drags 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 goodnessestowards 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 Muhammad by mentioning him,

But rather my words that are honoured by mentioning Muhammad."

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, verily the mention of him is like musk, which diffuses its odour as often as thou agitatatest 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."

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 action he had performed during his, from them again.

2 King of Hitam in Iraq.

3 Al Qur'an, XIV, 23.
(P. 227) of a parrot, made me the Reader of the Prayers on Wednesday evenings, and entered me among the seven Imáms. The duty of summoning the congregation on that day and night he committed to Khwájah Doulat Názír Ghafi Shafí (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.

At this time Khwájah Amin-ud-dín Muḥammad (known as Khwájah Aminá) passed from the world, and the abundant wealth which he left behond came into the royal treasury.

On the 17th of the month Zi-Quddás of this year, the Emperor's journey to Ajnáir 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'mán Kháń, Kháń Khánání, the Amir being unable any longer to withstand the attacks of Dáuíd, had retired on Jápípur and Patuá from Gaur and Tánúd, and that Kháń Jákán, because his army was still at Láhór, was advancing but slowly. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a formán, and entrusted it to Turk Subhán Qûtí to bear to Kháń Jákán, ordering him to hasten up as quickly as possible. And Subhán Qûtí performed his mission, covering a distance of nearly a thousand cosser in twenty-two days. At the same time news came to Agraib, that Kháń Jákán, on arriving at Garh, had fought an obstinate battle with the Afgháns of Dáuíd, and had defeated them, and was still advancing.

During the first part of the blessed month Muharram 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, by night.

3 The eleventh month

4 The first month
introduced Mán Singh, son of Bhagvan Dás, into the burial place of the saint Mu’in (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 Kombaloor, which was a dependency belonging to Ráma Kiká. And 5,000 regular troopers, partly from his own bodyguard, and partly belonging to the Amírs who were in command, he appointed and dispatched as his force. And he sent with him Aqáf Khán Mor-bakhshí, and Gházi Khán Balakh-shí, and Sháh Gházi Khán Tabázáí, and Majúlhd Khán, and Sayyid Áhmad Khán, and Sayyid Hás-hím Birkí, and Mihtar Khán a servant of the Family, and other Amírs. And when the author, in the train of Qázi Khán and Aqáf Khán, arrived at about threecosesfrom Ajmir, and under for fighting against the m ñ d í s k í n d l í n my heart, I represented the state of the case to the High Çáb, Shaikh ‘Abd-un-Nabí, Shaikh ud-Dín, 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 Wákil, Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rasúl, a meddle-some sort of a fellow. And, when I found that the matter hung fire for 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 Hindu 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 was on my true servant of the Emperor as a fit leader for myself, and that it did matter, whether it were Mán Singh, or another? And that the purity of intention was what one should look to. Then Khán took the opportunity, when the Emperor was going in a high state to visit the shrine of that Dívásar of Light, to present my petition. At first the Emperor said: "Why he has just appointed one of the Court-Imámns, how can he go?" Naqíb

Dear Udaipur in Rajputána.

We propose to read Nábán instead of Nábádám ‘sightless.’


Shaikh Mu in 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 ashrafs, and bid me farewell. And when I went to take leave of Shaikh ‘Abd-un-Nabi, 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 Fathah, 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 Fathipur 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. xli 20–23 “And he hitteth up the head of the chief butler, and of the chief baker among his servants, and he restored the chief butler unto his butership, .... and he hanged the chief baker.”

2 About £ 86 sterling.
victory, and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute) from Rānā Kikā.

On the twentieth of Muharram in this year having arranged the affairs of the army of Kokandah, the Emperor started on his way back to the Seat of Felicity Fathpur, and on the first of the month of Rajab he reached his usual dwelling-place. At this time messengers brought word that after the Khán Jahán had left Garh, Dādul had advanced from Tāndah to a place called Ag-Mahall, 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 sorties thence. And that Khwajah 'Abd-ullān, (P. 230) grandson of Khwajah Ahnār (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) had taken after making repeated and vigorous attacks on the trench. And that on the other side Khán Khwān (7) the leader of the Afghans had been slain. Upon this the Emperor wrote a jumān to Zain Khán, commandant of Patūlah and Tihān, ordering him to collect all the forces of that district and to proceed to the assistance of Khán Jahán.

In the month Rabī‘ul-walād of this year Muṣa Muhammad Sharīf, son of Mir 'Abd-ula' Latīf Qazāmī, 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 Chogān with the Emperor in the open space of Fathpur, fell from his horse, and immediately gave up his soul of the Beloved. And a great cry arose in the city and neighbourhood, and this report spread on all sides. The Emperor was

1 It appears that he had desired to send to Gunt an elephant (as a sign of submission). See p. 241.
2 The first month
3 The second month.
4 See p. 282
5 Husain Quli Khán
6 The third month
7 Polo
8 There is a play on the words jin 'soul,' and jāmīn '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 Qutb-ud-din Muhammad 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 **firmans** with assurances of the soundness of his health and strength to the Amir's of the frontiers, so that the panic was stayed. Of the number of these **firmans** one arrived at Kokandah, addressed to Mán Singh, and Ḍaf Khán, with the contents aforesaid. And so that grief of ours was changed into rejoicing.

During the first part of the month Rabí‘ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (931) took place the victory of Kokandah. And the following is a succinct account of it. When Mán Singh and Ḍaf Khán with the army of Ajmir, on their way to Mandalgarh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah, seven *cosses* from Kokandah, the Rána came out to oppose them. Then Mán Singh mounted an elephant, and with a number of the imperial horsemen, such as Khwájah Muhammad Rafí Badakhshi, and Shiháb-ud-din Gároh-páyandah Qurází, and ‘Alí Murúd (P 231) Uzbek, and Rájá Lóm Karan, commandant of Sámbar, and other Rájpút 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 Há-him Bárha,¹ as skirmishers in front of the advance-body (and such are called the 'clackers of the front line'). And Sayyid Ahmad Khán Bárha with a body of others² had the right-wing, and Qázi Khán with a body of sons of Sháiks of Síkri, relatives of Shaikh Ibráhím Chishti, had the left-wing. And Mihtar Khán was in the rear. And Rána Kíká advancing from behind Darah with a force of 3,000 horse, divided his men into two divisions. One division, of which Ḥákum Sír Alghán 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. 229, l. 1. This, of course, means 'of Bárha.' For the use of names of places in this manner compare my Memoir book of Neumberg, p. 21, under Henbeck.
² "Others" means "other Sayyids."
became hopelessly mixed up together, and sustained a complete defeat. And the Rájputás 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 Aṣaf, "How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rájputás?" He answered "They will experience the whiz of the arrows, be what may —"

'On whichever side there may be killed, it will be again to Islám.' So we kept firing away, and our aim 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':'—

[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 Bīrha, and some youth of renown, performed in this battle (P. 232) such exploits as would have become Rastam, and many slain on both sides strewn the plain. The other division of Rāná Kika's army, under the Rāsām 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 Shāriā-s sons from Sikri all fell at once. And an arrow struck Shāikh Māncur (son-in-law of Shāikh Ibáhīm) 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 cinctar blow on his right hand, which wounded his

1 Skantah is apparently a misprint for Shéikh, Shīb or Shāh, or Skantah, all of which words are onomatopoetic for the "wiz" of an arrow.
2 Shéj = Shart.
3 Comp. 1 John in 21.
4 Perhaps both the skirmishers under S Hásim Bāhā, and those of the right-wing under S Ab. Kh. Bāhā.
5 The famous hero in the Sháhnāmah.
thump, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited [the saying]
'Flight from overwhelming odds is one of the traditions of the pro-
phet,' 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 courses beyond the river. In the midst of all this
confusion Mihitar 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 Rájá Ramsháh of
Gvélyár (grandson of the famous Rájáh Mán), who always kept in
front of the Ráná, performed such prodiges of valour against the
Rájpúts of Mán Singh, as holde 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 lÇraf Khan,1 and then took
refuge with the Sayyús who were on the right; and, if the Sayyús
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. 23) 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
furiouoly 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 ex-

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 Mulli Shírí became known:

"A Hindú wields the sword of Islim." And the son of Jamal of Chítór, and Rán Súd, Rájah of Gwálýár with his own son Súlábhán, 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!! And showers of arrows were poured on the Rání, who was opposed to Máldvary Singh and Islim Súd, who had fled before the Sayyids, retreated on the Rání, and so the two divisions became one. Then the Rání 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 midsummerdays, so that the very brain boiled in the Criminal, 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 Islim, and the rest Hindús. And the number of the champions of Islim, who were wounded, (P 231) exceeded three hundred. And when the air was like a furnace, and no power of movement was left to the soldiers, the idea became prevalent, that the Rání, by státh 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 night.'

The next day the army marched thence, and having looked over the battle-field to see how each had behaved, leaving Dínáb, came to Kokandah. And certain of the devoted servants of the Rání, who were the guardians of his palace, and some of the inhabitants of the

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1 Lit. 'The base are diminished, and the world becomes pure.' A proverb, see Roebeck, p. 21.

2 Leader of that division of the Rání's army, which first attacked the advance-body and right wing of Mán Sing's troops.

3 It must be forgotten that there were Hindus fighting on both sides.

4 The sum of the letters = 934.

5 See p. 235.

6 In our text the name is always Kokandah, but Blochm calls it Goyandah.
temples, in all amounting to twenty persons, in accordance with an ancient custom 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 placed security against a night-attack on the part of the Khána, barricaded 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 Amád Kháán 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 Comm.ₙ-a-rat.' 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 Búnjárás did not come,

1 It was a very common custom among the Rájputás.
It has been equally common among the Jews, see translator's Memoir book of Nuremberg, p. 9 Huskát-ul-muzábíh kawír dána 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 reduplication.
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 Búnjáré. 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 ability of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are reckoned 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 Búnjáríes (Mill and Wilson, Hist of British India, V, p. 305). The name is Búnjáráh but also pronounced Búnjárás in India. It is derived from the Sanskrit Bóni 'a merchant,' and not from the Pers Bóraíy '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 Amirs 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 juiciness very many of them became ill. The mango-fruit was actually produced in that country to the weight of a ści akbari\(^1\) but for sweetness and flavour they are not up to much.

At this time Muhammad Khan,\(^2\) 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 Ráni, and so allowing him to remain alive. Then the Amirs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant, named Rau-paried,\(^4\) which had come into their hands with the spoil, (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded of the Ráni, and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it) and together with it, the report of the victory to Court. Açal Khan mentioned the name of the Author, as a proper person to be sent with it, since he had been so far to join the army through his being a particular favourite of...

\(^1\) 25 days at the commencement of the reign of Akbar and fixed by him at 30. It is about 240 years.

\(^2\) Son of the sister of Fátum Khan. This last was in the service of Bairam Khan, but joined Akbar upon Bairam Khan's death, and was sent to see Bairam Khan as far as Náger on his way to Mecca. - St. Blochmann's Amir-Akbari, pp. 312, 325

\(^3\) 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

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his Majesty. Mân 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 Imamship here is finished; my business now is to go and act as Imam 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 in different places, came with me by very easy marches as far as the town of Mohani, 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 Bâkhùr, and Mândal Garh, I arrived at Ambér the home of Mân 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' 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 of the water-carriers 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 tâhu is Hindûsâni. It is used again p. 237, l. 3 infra of the Station of Ara.
2 Or Jaipur, see p. 45 note 8.
3 This word pâvir is interesting since it helps to illustrate the word pîparsi. 'Last year' 2 Cor viii, 10, ix. 2 pîparsi must have been originally pîparsi = Sanskrit para + cot (sura) 'last year.' From first part para comes the Persian pâr-e, pîparsi. Sîd is perhaps the Sanskrit σμαρ̄ 'a year.'
4 Here the ordinary Arabic word saqī is used. But in India the common word is bàkšt, the origin of which is as follows. When Bâbor 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 bâskhî, paradigmatical.
or four days, and then proceeded on his journey, by way of the town of Todah, which is his birth-place, and Basawar 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 Itaja Bhagvan Das, father of Raja Man Singh, I prostrated myself in Audience-chamber at Fathpur, and delivered the despatches of the Amirs, together with the elephant. The Emperor asked: 'What is its name?' I replied: 'Ran-prasad.' His Majesty replied: Since all this [success] has been brought about through the Pir, its name henceforth shall be Pir-prasad. 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-ullah Khan.' The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and putting forth his hand to a heap of Akhrais (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 Akhrais, and said (P. 237) 'Have you seen Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi [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 Nakhdi shawls [and said]: 'Take these and go and see the Shaikh, and say to him from us. 'They are from our

'Not Basawan, as English historians have supposed.

'It is a common Hindu name meaning 'Favour of Rama,' from the Sanscrit prasad 'favour.'

3 He refers no doubt to the Saint Mu'in, mentioned often before.

4 He meant that 'Green' be named after a Hindu god, but after a Saint of Islam.

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 Urmiyeh.
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 Muhammad, and abandon those who abandon the Religion of Muhammad (on him be blessing and peace!).' He said 'That was sufficient, praise belongs to God.'

This Shaikh Abd-un-Nabî eventually went out of the world 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-ullah post haste to the Khan Jahân (who was encamped against Dâ'îl near Khalbâyon, and was awaiting the arrival of Muzaffar Khân, and the army of Bihâr and Hâji-pûr) entrusted with a firman expressing his anxiety for those Amîrs, 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 A'grah laden with corn for the troops. Then news arrived that Gujpatî, a zamindâr of the neighbourhood of Hâji-pûr and Patnyâ, who had been subjugated, had rebelled, and gathering together a force, had attacked Farhat Khân, and his son Mîrâk Radâî, who were in the station of A'ra, 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'hâl-qâye (Colgong). The termination qâye in the Sanscrit grâma village, comp. Sâgqâwy.
3 See p. 230, l. 4, text.
4 So Blochmann, pp. 400, 411, and so, apparently, MS.; not Cafût.
5 l. c., he had been, but now rebelled. The word â is Turi, and means obedient, submissive.
the twenty-fifth of Rabī‘ul ākhir of the aforesaid year the Emperor
started towards the east of Hind, and came to a halt within five costes
of his goal (P. 238). At this halting-place Sayyid ‘Abd-ullāh Khan
sent the head of Dā‘ūd: and this verse, which Sayyid Mir Ḵān at the
moment of returning from Patanah to Jumčpur had chosen as a charm
of prophetic meaning, came true.—

"News of the victory suddenly came,
The head of Dā‘ūd came to the Court."

And the history of the battle is concisely as follows. When Sayyid
‘Abd-ullāh Khan joined the army of the Khan Jahān in neighbor-
hood of K’halgōn, he was very anxious to attack the enemy.
So the next day (which was the fifteenth of Rabī‘ul ākhir) the Khan
Jahān issued orders to the Amir.s of his own troops, and appointed
to each the place he was to take. Then Muzaffar Khan reinforced
him with 5,000 horse. And Dā‘ūd with the greatest presumption
and pride, being supported by his paternal uncle Jumād Khan,
and other leaders, drew out of the fortress, and leaving his hiding-
place offred battle. At the very first attack a cannon-ball struck
the knee of Jumād and shattered it. When the armies closed with
one another, defeat fell on the Afghans. The horse of Dā‘ūd stuck
fast in a swamp, and Ḵasān Bīg surrounded him, and brought him
to Khan Jahān. Dā‘ūd being overcome with thirst asked for water.
They filled his shipper with water and brought it to him. But, when
he refused to drink, Khan Jahān offered him his own private can-
on, 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 Amir.s said
it to spare his life would be to incur suspicions as to their own
blame, so he ordered them to cut off his head. They took two chops
his neck without success, but at last they succeeded in killing him,
in severing his head from his body. Then they stuffed it with
raw, and anointed it with perfumes, and gave it in charge to Sayyid
‘Abd-ullāh Khan, and sent him with it to the Emperor. They took
many elephants and much spoil. And on the twenty-third of
almā‘as-sāmī‘ the Emperor went to Ajmir with the intention of
turning 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 Sultaʻn Khwájah, son of Khwájah Kháwand Maḥmúd\(^3\) he appointed Mír Háji,\(^4\) and sent a sum of six laes 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 Sultaʻn Khwájah on his road to the two Sacred Cities, he himself, with bare head and feet, and dressed in the Ḩirám, 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 Qátbu’l-dínn Muhammad Kháán and Qulí Kháán, and Aṣaf Kháán were appointed to escort Sultaʻn Khwájah, with orders that they should part from the caravan at Kokándah, 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 Sháih Táhmásp had passed from the world,\(^8\) and that Sháih Ismá‘íl II had succeeded him. And they found this anemosynon for the date:—

“\textit{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 reverse 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‘im-uddín Chístí Sigízi of Ajmír
\(^3\) Dost. Blochmann.
\(^4\) Leader of the pilgrims
\(^5\) See Burton’s \textit{Mecca and El Madina, III.}
\(^6\) They were afraid that he was about to become a devotee.
\(^7\) Ráná Kiká, see above.
\(^8\) Sháih 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, Aṣaf Khan, and Qázi Khán, to come alone from that place, and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mán Singh and Aṣaf Khán (who were associated in treachery) for some time from the Court; while on the contrary Gházi Khán Badakhshi, and Mihtar Khán, and 'Ali Murád Uzbek, Khanjari 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 Rájá, who was pillaging in the mountain district of Ondipur, Jumpur &c.

At this time Khwajah Sháh Manqúr, a Shírízí clerk, who at the beginning of his career had been for some time clerk in the perfunctory department, and had been obliged to flee on account of the hostility and power of Muzaffar Khán, came to Mun'ím Khán at Jumpur, and was received with the greatest respect, and appointed to be his diván. And after the death of Mun'ím Khán he came to Court in accordance with an imperial firman, and on account of his exceedingly fine business qualities and soundness of judgment, he became diván of the whole empire, and by degrees became associated in imperial affairs with the prosperous Rájá:—

"He is an incapable who does not rise to power,
For at all events Destiny is on the look out for a capable man,"

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 Táhirí Muzání says that what displeased the Emperor was, that they could not suffer any plundering of the Rájá's country, and that it was this act caused the distress of the army. Elliot v. 461.

2 Rájá 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 Shah Manzur 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 Ràjah Muzaffar Khán and kept heap-ing upon him abundance of abuse:—

“For many bads are worse than bad.”

(P. 241) In this same year news arrived that Shah Isma’il, son of Shah Tahmásp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amir, by his own sister Parí Ján Khánam; and Mir Haidar, the riddle writer, found the táríkh of his accession in the word:—“A king 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 Tabrîz, Shirwán, and Mázandarán. And Sultán Muhammad Khudalíndah, son of Shah Tahmásp 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 Ummâniya, came to an end; but the heresy had already travelled from that country to this:—

“Error came to Hind from the land of Iráq.
Know that Iráq rhymes with rood to Nifáq.”

While the imperial army was encamped at Mohání the Emperor wrote a firman to Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán, and Ràjah Bagh-ván Dús ordering those two commanders to remain at Kokandah.

1 See p. 216.
2 Shahinshah and Zamín give 768 in both cases. And in the first rìj 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 Qur’án writer means that while the preceding Sháhs of Persia had been Shi’ah, the new Sháh was a Sunní
4 In Persian Nifáq.
and Qalij Khán with other Amírs he ordered to accompany the pilgrim-caravan as far as Idar, which is 40 cosses from Ahmadábád, and thence to send on a body of troops to convey them as far as Ahmadábád, while he himself should lay siege to Idar, and extirpate Narán Dás the Rájah of that place. So Qalij Khán in accordance with his orders remained at Idar, and sent on Timúr Khán Badakhshí with 500 horsemen to escort the caravan to a place of safety. But the Rájah of Idar, like the Khán, after the fashion of robbers kept wandering from mountain to mountain, and from jungle to jungle:—

"What does the Moen, that the Hab does not imitate?"

At this camping-place Shiháh Khán, and Sháh Búlugh Khán with his son 'Abd-al-Málat (P 212) and Shám Fakhr-ad-dín Khán and other zámiáds 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 Sháîf Muhammad Khán Atgam, and Majáhul Khán, and Turk Subhán Qulí, with 3,000 cavalry at the station of Mohani. And the military commanders 'Abdurráhmann Beg son of Jaláluddín Beg, and 'Abdurráhmann son of Mudáyydul Beg he left with 500 troops in the hill district; but he sent for Qutbuddín Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás from Gogandáh, and having stationed Shám Fakhruddín and Jaga'náth in Udépur, and Sayyíd 'Abduláh Khán and Rájah Bhagván Dás at the entrance of the defile of U打算, the Emperor went himself into the neighbourhood of Bánswálá and Damgarpur. At this place Rájah Todar Mal arrived from Bengal, and brought to the Emperor 500 elephants from the spoil of that kingdom, and other valuables.

While at this place he sent Qalij Khán (whom he had recalled from Idar, and appointed 'Aqáf Khán as leader of the army in his stead) together with Kalyán Rái Baqál an inhabitant of Cambay to the port of Cúrat to obtain an agreement from the Europeans, so as to set free the ships of Súltán Khwájábí', which for want of such an agreement were lying idle. Afterwards he was to come to Málwah and join the army.

1 I. e., Ráná Kiká.
2 The conductor of the pilgrimage.
3 The Portuguese held Bombay, and so were able to control the navigation of Súrát.
4 32
In the month of Zihijjah\(^1\) 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-úlláh 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 Kazawi Khán by way of Gwályár and Sárangpúr (P. 243), and Ujayn, and on the 12th of Zihijjah 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 Háfiz Muhammad Amin, 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 co 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 Háfiz Muhammad Amin 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.” Háfiz 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.
\(^2\) Lakhnau Lithograph gives Pasháwar.
\(^3\) That edition reads Hindún 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. 214) 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 Imam, and Khwájah Daulat Náźir 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 Ahmad 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 Dibálpúr. And some of the greatirs, such as Sháhsháh-ud-din Ahmad Khán he sent, with the júajirá of Málwah, against Rájah ‘Ali Khán in the direction of Asir ‘Burhánpúr, to subdue that district. And Sháhsháh Khán, Bakhshí was to see to the branding of the horses and the mustering of army. At that station Rájah Todar Mall, together with ‘Utmád of Gujrat, was appointed to look into revenues of the country Bárát, and into the stores of that kingdom

this time news came of the defeat of Rájah Náirán Dárá, and taking of Íдар. The particulars are as follows. When Qalíj by, through the efforts of ‘Ali Murád Uzbek, who had been sent fetch him, had left Ídar and returned to Court, and Aḡáf Khán had been appointed to the command, the Rájah of Ídar, who had been an outcast and wanderer, had with the assistance of Ráná́ and other zamíndárs collected an army and advanced to within of the station of Ídar, intending to make a night attack.

see above, p. 249.
Then Akfāf Khān and Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm and Timūr Badaḵshā, and Mīr Abu-l-ghays Bokhārī, and Mīr Muḥammad Maṭqūm Bakrī, &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 Zāhijjah, in the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984), when they had proceeded 7 cosses, Rājāh Narāín Dās 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 Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm, 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 Aṣaf Khān arrived, a firmān of commendation was issued to the officers of that army.

In this year Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Mīrādal, who had been appointed to the government of Bhakkar, sent Sayyid Abu-l-Faḍl and his other sons against Sabwī (?), and then reduced that fortress in a short space of time. And Mīr Sayyid Abūl Qasīm son of Mīr Sayyid Čalāli (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 Prophet⁴ belongs the taking of Sabwī".

And in this year the Mīr ‘Adī² departed this life, and the date is given by the following:—Sayyid-i-Faḍl⁵—May God deal with him according to excellence (faż̄ul)!

Among the events of this time was the arrival of Sharīf of Āmul, and his interview with the Emperor while he was at Dilālpūr. The sum of the matter is as follows: This reprobate apostate (P 214) 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 faż̄ul instead of faż̄ul, the date is 984.
vain fashion of Cufiism, which is void of all sophy, in the school of Maulana Muhammad Zaid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Husain of Khwarizm (God sanctify his tomb!), and had lived with darveshes. But as he had little of the darvash in him he set on foot abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurted it out, so that they expelled him. The Maulana wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:

“There was a heretic, and Sharif was his name,
Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same.”

In his wanderings he came to the Dak’lin, where from his want of self-restraint he betrayed the filthiness of his disposition, and the rulers of the Dak’lin 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 Hindustan 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 Mawlah, and settled at a place five gezere distant from the Imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the person of Jesps, and became the absorbing topic of general conversation. Many persons blind to God’s mercies, especially the heretics of Iraq (who separated themselves from the Truth the Faith, like a hair from the dough, ‘Nabatheans’ exactly resemble them, and they are destined to be the foremost worshippers of antichrist) gathered round him, and at his orders spread abroad report that he was the Restorer promised for the tenth century. Sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him he invited him one night (P 217) to a private audience in a long room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor’s suite used to say the five daily prayers at the stated hours. Peculiar in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping hard, he performed his obeisance, and then stood still with his

The ‘Nabatheans’ are the ‘Bezdians’ of the Arabs. “Cos gens sont fort fiers C’est pourquoi ils passent ordinairement parmi les Arabes pour des imbéciles et des ignorants.” D’Herbelot.

1 See p. 301, Text.
arms crossed, you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which is said to be a sign of hostility to the Prophet—peace be upon his head) lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself in worship, and then sat down dizzânâ, like an Indian camel.

there he held tête à tête with the Emperor, and discussed various questions. No one except the hakim-ul-mulk was allowed to be present with them, but every now and then from a distance, when raised his voice, I could catch the word 'ilm [knowledge]. He called the cud of a host of foolish stories, and called them "the 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 Mahmûd of Basakhwân, who lived in the time of Timûr the Lezzâr of Conjunction, at Basakhwân, which is the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Gilân. Mahmûd 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'. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Bahr ul Kûzakh, 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 Sharif had also written a regular conflict of absurdities, which he named "First glimpses of the Truth," in which he blindly follows Mir '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 Shamsulâf, of Gilân on the Caspian Blochmann p. 542
3 So Blochmann (P. 177) renders the words 'ilm-safâz âhâl. Our 'letter and spirit' (f).

'The Ocean and the Jâhâ, the God and the Soul, the Finite trying to reach the Infinite.'
aphorisms, each beginning with the word misarmtuland: 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 Bengal, possessor of 2 four* degrees of Faith, and in his turn summoning faithful pupils to these degrees. An account of these degrees will be given:

"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\(^2\) 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 'Ali."

And when the Emperor had satisfactorily settled the affairs of that district, he started thence by successive stages by way of Ranthambór, and hunting as he went along arrived on the 23rd of 'Jafr of the year nine hundred and eighty five (985) at Fathpur. And Shaikh Faizi, 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 Fathpur,
For my king returns from a distant journey."

1. *I. e., 'The master said', comp. the Hbr Midrash Pelammedéan 'he used to teach us'.
2. Akbar said that perfect devotion consisted in the readiness to sacrifice all things, Life, Property, Religion, Honour.
3. Al Qur'án 11, where 'Cow' is used for the 'Calf' of Exodus.
Two or three months later news arrived of the troubles in Gujrat, the origin of which was as follows (P. 249). When Rájah Todar Mall went in the afore-mentioned capacity to Gujrat, Muzaffar Húsain, son of Ibráhím Húsain Mírzá, who was daughter’s son to Kámrán Mírzá came from the country of the Dák’hin. At the time of the siege 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 ‘Ali, one of the old retainers of Mirzá Ibráhím Húsain, he gathered together a number of vagabonds and raised an insurrection in Gujrat. Then Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Muhammad Khán Atgah, and Bábá Bég Dúsain of Gujrat, marched against Muzaffar Húsain Mírzá, attacked him in the pargana of Patlá, and were defeated. Then the Mírzá went off to Cambay with some 2,000 or 3,000 horse. And Wazir Khán, governor of Gujrat, 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 Ahmadábád, upon which the Mírzá decamped from outside Ahmadábád; and retired on Dúlak, Wazir Khán and the Rájah pursued them, and a fierce battle took place in that neighbourhood, and defeat fell on the enemy, who retired to Júnágarh. At this juncture the Rájah returned suddenly to Fathpúr. Then Muzaffar Húsain returned from Júnágarh, and besieged Wazir Khán (who for the aforesaid reason had, rather than risk an engagement, again shut himself up in the fortress) at Ahmadábád. 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 ‘Ali, who was the Mírzá’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.

*He had gone thither after remaining two or three days at Cambay.  Kháliq, p. 251.
As soon as the Mirzâ became aware of this catastrophe he took to flight (P. 250), and went towards Sultânpur and Nadarbâr.

The renowned Amirs who, under the leadership of Shâhâbuddîn Ahmad Khan, had been appointed against Râjâ ‘Ali Khan, and had driven him into the fortress, and keeping him closely besieged had ravaged the country, were very near taking the fortress. Meanwhile Qâlib-uddîn Muhammad Khan became anxious, and separating himself from the Amirs went towards Bahrouz and Barolah, where he held a jâgir, and which through the Mirzâ had been thrown into the direst confusion. The financial affairs of Asir and Barhânpûr had become so completely embarrassed, that the Amirs had to content themselves with receiving from Râjâ ‘Ali Khan so much tribute as he was then in a position to pay, and sent it to Court, and themselves returned to their jâgirs.

At this time Hakim ‘Ain-ul-mulk Shirazî, who in the year nine hundred and eighty-three had gone on an embassy in company with the wazîf of ‘Adil Khan, ruler of the Dakhin’, returned and presented the elephants and other valuable presents of ‘Adil Khan to the Emperor: and after the superseding of Deb Chand, Râjâ of Maiholi, in the military command of Hâns Barelî, Hakim ‘Ain-ul-mulk was appointed to the command in the skirts of the mountain district. From that place he wrote a report consisting of over so y sections. In one of them he said: “Since I am separated from the Court, and in this desolate wilderness I have not a single friend for a companion, if a certain Râjâ who acquainted with the good and evil of this district, and the conduct of its affairs should mention my name, and if people inclined to restore their confidence to him, and he should many unrequited services at Court, please send him: it would treat kindness to him, and a great advantage to your humble. But your Majesty’s will is law.” Kwâjâ Shâh Mançûr over each section, and wrote an answer according to the Em- cy’s orders, but when he came to this section His Majesty gave neither ‘Yea’ nor ‘Nay’; —

uzâffar Hussain.

o was the reigning prince of Bîjâpûr.
"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 Rajab1 (in the year nine hundred and eighty-five) which is the time of the festival the saint Khwájá Ajjí, the Emperor turned his face towards Ajjí. And while he was at Todah, Sháh Abu Turáb one of the great Sayyids of Shíráz and counsellor of the Sultans of Gujrat, and Rájah Todar Mall, who after his victory over Mírzá Muzaffar Í̄rusín had set out for the Court, arrived. When not far from Mairthá he appointed Sháh Abu Turáb Mír Hájjí over a caravan of pilgrims, and to Í̄timád Khán Gujráí 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-nabi, 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 fulfillment 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 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 Lonkarán, governor of Sámbar, and gave it the name of Manohar-púr. This Manohar, whom they called for some time Mirzá 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 Tusúd, and an exceedingly able young man he is. He will be mentioned in the sequel containing Memoirs of the Poets. Thence by way of Nármúl the Emperor set out for Dúbí, and Shaikh Nizám of Nármúl, one of the greatest Shaikhs of the time, came to meet him. After performing the pilgrimages at Dúbí to the tombs of the great saints of that illustrious locality, the Emperor went on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Pílám.

At the beginning of the last decade of the blessed month of Ramazán in this year, news reached me at Rewáí, that at Basáwar a son had been born to me, a happiness which I had been long anxiously expecting. I presented an offering of ushrfís to the Emperor, and requested him to name the child. After reading the Fáithah he enquired the name of my father and of my grandfather. I answered “Mulúb Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Hámad”. He said, “This child is called ‘Abdul Hádí”—Hádí being a name which at that time was day and night upon his lips. Although Háfiz Muhammad Amin, the preacher, and one of the seven Imáms 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 Rewáí 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

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1 The Tabagát-Ilkabí says 20 days. Elliott V. 107
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 worlds¹ 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 Hásí, at the time that he was on his way to the Panjáb, a despatch arrived at Court from Sher Beg Tawáshí, to the effect that Muzaffar Husín Mirzá having fled from Gujrá and gone to the Dak'hín, had been captured by Rájah 'Alí Khán, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Záha'jah² in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor despatched a fardán to Rájah 'Alí Khán concerning Maqúd³ Jawhari which resulted in his sending the Mirzá to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram⁴ in the year nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the Jaláli period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the accession:

"The Čfår⁵ of the throne wins the day over the Sultan of th'...k`
Verily his fame rises up to Aries."

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the saint Gurj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit!), and then went for a Qamurghah hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandānah, 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 Čfárdání.
...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. 251) "Take care! for the grace of God comes suddenly, it comes suddenly, it conics to the mind of the wise."

And at the root of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqirs 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 Panjab to Sad Khán Mezhul, and appointed Qāzī 'Ali Baghdādi (who is the grandson of Mir Qāzī Husain Maḥāri) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as Madad-i Maḥād and Aymah in the Panjab 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 'Abdūnabā, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Fathpur. And near to Khurābād Sādhorah on the 5th of Jamada'-s-sāni' in the aforesaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amirs 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 Dihlī. 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 naderah.
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 Ajmir and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint'. 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 Aḥādīṣ, 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 Fath-pûr. There he used to spend much time in the Ḥādīṣ-khātnah 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 Shi'āh, of Hanîfî and Shâfi'î, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhâdûn-ul-mulk wrote a tractise, to the effect that Shaikh ‘Abdunnabî had unjustly killed Khizar Khān Sarwâni, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mir Habsh, who had been suspected of being a Shi'āh, 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 ‘Abdunnabî replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullâs became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and on the other, and became very Jews and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

1 Mu'in-ud-dîn Chishti Sigizî.
2 See p. 207, note 1.
3 Sabtî is from the Hebrew Shabbat 'a tribe' and is applied to Isrâ'îl as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (Shabba'tîm), the sons of Jacob.
and vain doubts, coming out of ambush, decked the false in
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
left to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity,
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
own, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islam was left
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.  

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'; 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 any-
thing 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 sect-
arian 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 'blame' is '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 Samanás 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 ecstasies, 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 more 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. ārahaman.  
time before this a Brahman, named Puruk'hotam, who had written a commentary on the book Khirad-ajfa, 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 Debi, who was one of the interpreters of the Mahâbârata, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a charpâjî \( \text{charpâjî} \) till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he in-struc ted 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 Brahman, Mahâdev, Bishnu, Kishn, Râm and Mahâmî (whose existence as sons of the human race (P. 258) is indisputable, 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 no more flattering composed treatises in order to establish indisputable arguments in favour of this thesis. And having instituted research into doctrines of the sects of the Hindu unbelievers, of whom there are an endless and unmentionable host, and who possess numbers of sacred books, and yet do not belong to the \( \text{Athar-Kitâb} \), 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 Tâj ud din whom he sent for. This Shaikh was son of Shaikh Zakariyâ of Ajedhan. The prince \( ^{1} \) 'Ulamâ of the age call him Tâj-ul-arâfâ'. He had been a pupil of Rashid Shaikh Zanân of Pînipat, author of a commentary \( \text{aikh} \) the Lawâfî, and of other excellent works, was most excellent in the knowledge of Theology second only to S' Ibn 'Arabi, and had written a comprehensive commentary \( \text{common} \) \( \text{Mazhab ul-arâfî} \). Like the preceding he was drawn up to the utmost of the castle in a blanket, and his Majesty listened the whole

1 People of the Book, Jews, Christians, and Sabaeans. \( \text{Al Q. à'd} \) 46 &c., xxix.
2 Crown of the Çâfis.
3A
to his Cufic obscenities and follies. The Shaikh, since he did not in any great degree feel himself bound by the injunctions of the Law, introduced arguments concerning the Unity of Existence, such as idle Cufis discuss, and which eventually lead to license and open heresy. He also interested the Emperor in the question as to the faith of Pharaoh (the curse of God be on him!), which is mentioned in the book *Fusūṣ ul-ḥikam*, and as to the excellence of hope over fear, and such like questions, to which people, who naturally turn themselves from the warnings of Reason and the prohibitions of the Law, instinctively incline. Thus he became a chief cause of the weakening of the Emperor's faith in the commands of Islám. He allowed that infidels would be kept for ever in fire, but the eternity of the *punishment* he thought doubtful, and not actually established he also introduced many changes into the texts of the Qur'án, and (P. 259) the traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him!). And the expression *Insán i kámil* he said referred to the Khalif of the age, explaining it in the sense of 'holiest,' and interpreting most things in a manner not wholly correct, and not a few of them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he invented a *sajdah* [prostration] for him, and called it *samín-bos* [kissing the ground], and looking on the reverence due to a king as an absolute religious command he called the face of the king *Ka'bah i Murádat* [sanctum of desires], and *Qblah i Háját* [goal of necessities]. And in support of these matters he brought forward some apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some of the Shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles The Only One, The Absolute, The Perfect Man became commonly applied to 'the just, majestic, and magnificent Emperor. Similarly other of the great Shaikhs, such as Shaikh Ya'qúb of Kashmir, who is a white known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious Scrips, mentioned some of the opinions expressed by that chief both Qazis, Hamadání,¹ such as the following: that Muhammad the prophet of God (may God bless him and his race and grant him ) was a personification of the title *Alhádi* [the guide], and *Jílis* [the devil] is a personification of the title *Almuzill²* [the

¹ Abdul-Jabbar Hamadání, see D'Herbelot, *BdL. Orient.* fol. 396.
² Al Qur'án xxviii 14.
pter], and that both names, thus personified, have appeared in
world, and that both personifications therefore are necessary.
’sullá Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the castle wall
the same way, and uttered unworthy, bothsome abuse against
three Khalifs, and called all the companions of the Prophet,
r followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, (may
I show favour to them!), unbelievers and adulterers, and represented
Sunnis and the Ahl i Jam‘at as desppicable and contemptible,
pronounced every sect except the Shi‘ah as erring and leading
to error.

The differences among the Ulamá, of whom one would pronounce
thing as unlawful, and another by some process of argument would
pronounce the very same thing lawful, became to his Majesty a
use of unbelief. And since he looked on each of the Ulamá of his
own age as superior in dignity and worth to Imam i Ghazzáli and
Imam i Rázi, 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 Pápi, who is able to change religious ordi-
nances 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 Munád to take a few lessons in Christianity
under good auspices, and charged Abul-tazl to translate the Gospel.
Instead of the usual Bismilláh-trahmán-rrahín the following
line was used:—

Ai námí veg Gesu Christu,1

that is “O thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful.” Shaikh
Faizí added to this the hemistich:—

Subhánaka lā sîwáka yá hú.4

1 Those who in religious ordinances follow the qum‘ agreement or common
consent of the 1st cent. of the Hijrah.

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 Hu !
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 Birbar 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 luminous should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting 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 sectarian mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men 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 vicereigns. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the Non-ruz-i-Julali, 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 Hindus 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 Hindus 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 Non-ari in Gujrat, 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 Kaianians. 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.
hose 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
Ajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to
burn the hom, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship; but
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 Hindu, and he had jewelled strings tied on
his wrists by Brahmins, 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
parhi on the wrist, which means an amulet formed out of twisted
linen tags. [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 Islam as accursed. But in the course
of time the truth of this verse, 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 Islam.
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 Fateh púr. He said: "It seems to me that there is a fair ob-
jection to be made to all writers [on such subjects] on two grounds.
First—Why should they not have written as circumstantial histo-
ries

1 The branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for Soma juice.

2 Sanscrit satatka.

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".

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-aulya, and the nasabat-ul umns &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 would care to hear it! Afterwards I asked: "who will ever have a great 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, 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 Čadr, the Qāzi, the Ḥakim-ul-mulk, and Makhdam-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 Aṣaf 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

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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.
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 Islam, except Hakim Abul Fath and Mulá Muḥammad Yazdi 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."  

I read the verse of flight, 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 this 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's object of service, and I was quite content:—(P. 261).

"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 (Chanda p. 68) when they fear that their patron is drowned, that he was an egg-plant to them, whereas his strádik (funeral song) 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:\footnote{The Lakhnau edition reads \\textit{munqabat} not \\textit{munqa\textdialect{a}r}.} —

"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:\footnote{An adaptation of Al Qur'an \textit{LVIII}, 22, V, 61, XXXIX, 57.} —"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 prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that the inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the fate and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of \textit{Islam}, which anqâ\textdialect{a}-like turning its face to the Q̣i\text{f} 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 religi prosecution:\footnote{The fabulous bird (\textit{starugh}) said to dwell in the mountains surrounding the world (Q̣i\text{f}).}

"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 \textit{hokîm} came to Fathpûr, 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 \textit{gaz} by twenty \textit{gaz}, and three \textit{gaz} deep. In this they built a stone cell, and (P. 265) on the
proof of it they built a high tower, and on all four sides of the cell they left steps. But the pretensions of the hakim, like his medicines, proved a lie, and he fled and was seen no more. But Hakim 'Ali of Gilán some seventeen years later did construct such a pond at Líhor, and Mir Haidar a riddle-maker found “The pond of Hakim ‘Ali” 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 Banji'hú by name, a singer with a sweet voice, and of Cúfi tendencies, one of the disciples of Shaikh Adhan of Jumápur (whose name gives the date of his death), and had a very agreeable time of it. Then he sent for Miyan Tánsin, and other unexcelled singers of Hind; but he preferred him to any of them, and ordered that Shaikh Banji'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 a exchange. And the rest of that money the Emperor in the purse of three years, more or less, got rid of by means of various expenses. About this time he received from Shaikh Mubárak a lecture on his extravagant expenditure. Before that, at the time of the [musical] exhibitions, Shaikh Fázi had said: “Our Shaikh is not much of a courtier.” “No,” replied the Emperor, “he has left all those extravagancies to you.” He sent Shaikh Banji'hú, and Miyan Tánsin, and all the musicians to the Shaikh that he might tell him what they were worth as musicians. He said to Miyan Tánsin: “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'úm Khán, foster-brother of Mirzá Hakim, who was a brave youth, and was always performing valiant deeds, being vexed with the Mirzá 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 + 60 = 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 jármán making him a mánçádáir 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 'Ali (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 Shavvâl of the aforesaid year the Emperor sent for Mullá Taib from Kit'hal, and patronized him, and appointed him Diswín of the province of Bihár and Ḥájílpúr. And most of his acts of patronage were of a like character. Also Rái Purukhotam in reward for his commentary1 he made Bakhshí. And Mullá Majdí of Sarhind, who had formerly been warrant-writer to Islam Sháh, he made Receiver-General of revenues. And Shamshír Khán, khwájah-sári, 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 Mu'á quàm Khán to revolt, as shall soon be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In this same month Maqúr Jauhari Mirzá Múzaffár Ḥusain brought the presents of Itájah 'Ali 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-law3, and took him into favour.

1 The tenth month.
2 On the Khwájah-sári. See p. 265.
3 In the 36th year he married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultan Khánun.
4 See p. 269.
In this year the Emperor appointed Shahbāz Khān Ḍakhshī, with Ghāzi Khān Badakshah and Sharīf Khān Atgah, and others to march against Rānā Kikā. The Rānā shut himself up in Konbhal-mīr, which is a strong fortress. The imperial troops were victorious and ravaged that district. One night the Rānā (P. 267) effected his escape from the fortress, and took refuge in another mountain-fastness.

In this year Sūltān Khwājah 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 Čadr.

The office of Mīr-Hājj for the year nine hundred and eighty-six was given to Khwājah Mūhammad Yahyā, one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār (God sanctify his spirit). He left thousands of rupees as a deposit at his ancestor’s shrine, and in the month of Shavvār of this year started from Ajnār to go to Makkah.

Now Shaikh ‘Abd-um-nabī and Makhduām-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 Islam, and learning eventually brought about its natural result, and “He is great, and man is little” was found to give the date.

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987) news arrived of the death of Khān Jahnān governor of Bengāl. The Emperor wrote a farmān of condolence to his brother Ismā‘īl Qulī Khān, and he appointed Muzaffar Khān, who had been honoured with the post of Diwān, as governor in his stead, and Razāwī Khān

1 Also called Pratāb, or Pratāb.
2 On the frontiers of Utpāpur and Jodhpūr.
3 The 10th month.
4 \[ 5 + 6 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 100 + 6 + 10 + 30 + 6 + 700 = 987. \]
he appointed Bokhari, and Ḥakim Abu-l-Fath he made Qâdir, and Râi Patr Dás with Mir Adham as his colleague he made Diwán, and sent them off from Fathpûr.

On the 19th of the month Čafar¹ of this year the Author (praise be to the Most High!) was blest with the birth of a darling son named Muḥi-d-dîn (may God prolong his days, and furnish him with wholesome knowledge, and acceptable works!). He was born at Basâwar.

In this year Mullâ 'Ashqi, who had the title of Khâán, and had written a divân² and a masnâri (a ridiculous one too!), and who had gone as vakîl of Qâzî Čâdr-ud-dîn of Lâhor to Kashmir (P. 268), came back, and in company with one Muhammad Qâsim by name, ambassador of ‘Alî Khâán governor of Kashmir, brought presents of quantities of safron and musk and costus arabicus, and shawls and other precious products of Kashmir and Tibet.

At this time the Emperor sent Ḥakim ‘Alî, a relative of Ḥakîm-ul-mulk, of Gilân (who is now without an equal in philosophy, and medicine, and other rare sciences) in company with the vakîls of ‘Âdîl Khâán of the Dâk’îin to Lijagarh.

At this time Mir Nizâm, sister’s husband to Mirzâ Shâhrâkh, came as ambassador from Badakhshân with presents of Badakhshân 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 Amîr Timûr Qâhilqârîn, and Mirzâ Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgân, and several others had themselves read the khutbâh, he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtâhid of the age. Accordingly on the first Friday of Jumâda-l-awwâl³ of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven, in the chief mosque of Fathpûr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty began to read the khutbâh. But all at once

¹ The second month.
² Blochm., p. 698.
³ The fifth month.
he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faiz had composed, but came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of Imam to Ḥāfiz Muhammad Amin, the Court Khatib. 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 Cæsary,
His description is higher than the range of thought,
Exalted is His Majesty, Allāhu Akbar!"

(P. 209) And in these days, when reproach began to spread upon the doctrines of Islam, and all questions relating thereto, and ever so many wretches of Hindūs and Hindūizing Musalāms brought unmitigated reviling against the Prophet, and the villainously irreligious Ulamā 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 through the motives of hope and fear, and the word of truth could not proceed out of their mouths.

At this time Muzaffar Khān, governor of Bengal 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 30 elephants were presented by Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Kābulī.

On the second Friday of this month the Emperor assembled the poor and the deserving in the chauqān-field, and came in person to the place. Nearly a lac of persons, men and women, were present in that enclosure. And Sultan Khwājah the Ǧadr, and Qulij Khān
presented to each a piece of gold. 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 Bengal, there fell purses full of ashrāfī rupees. This affair caused great suspicion to arise as to the poor. An order was issued, that in future but few persons should be brought together at once, but he soon laid aside also.

In these same days the Emperor appointed Qutb-ud-din. Muhammad Khan 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-ullāh Khan Uzbek came from Transoxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship. The Emperor sent Mirzā Fāhūl Bārīs, with Khwājā Khatīb, who was a native of Bokhārā, 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 Makhdūm-ul-mulk, of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabī Ẓadr-ud-sulār, of Qāżī Jahāl-ud-din of Multān, Qāż-ud-ṣalāt, of Ẓadr Jahān the mufti of the empire, of Shaikh Mubārak the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghāzī Khān of Badakhsān, who stood unrivalled in the transcendental sciences. The subject-matter of the document was the settling of the absolute superiority of Imām-i-ṣādiq over the Mujtahid and the investigation of the ground 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 ijthād applicable?” And, “whether it is the duty of the Imām-i-ṣādiq,
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*: "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-țádíl; whosoever obeys the Amir, 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 Sultán-i-țádíl, is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amír of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, Abu-l-Fath Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar Padshíh Gházi (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.

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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 Islam, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab 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 Mubáрак. 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 Imam 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 Imam became law.

But the state of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl resembles that of the poet Hairáti of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the god and sober people of Bawara-n-mahr, joined the old foxes of Shi'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 Ajmir. It is now fourteen years since His Majesty has been to that place. On the 5th of Shawwád, at the distance of five kos from the town, the Emperor alighted and went on foot to the tomb of the Saint [Mu'in-ul-dín] But sensible people smiled, and said, It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwájah of Ajmir, while he rejected the foundation of everything,

1 The seventh month.
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 Ajmīr] Makhdūm-ul-mulk and Shaikh Abd-un-nabī tempted mankind by suggesting the forgery of the Qurʾān, and by going out of the way to show the impossibility of inspiration, and by throwing doubts on the authority of prophets and Imāms, 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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān remains, and many an old Tomb.
The Tomb tells not a word to any,
For the secret of the Qurʾān 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". The Emperor tried hard to convert Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán and Shabbz Khán. But they staunchly objected. (P. 274). Qutb-ud-din Khán said: "What would the kings of the West say, such as the Sultan 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. Shabbz got excited, and took part in the conversation; and when Bir 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 Shabbz 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 Muhammad Khán, governor of Patan arrived from Gujrat.

And in this year Qázi 'Ali of Baghádád, who had been appointed in spite of Shaikh Abd-un-nabi to look into the administration of the Madad-i-mádhn lands, and their encroachment, brought those holders 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 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". 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 بَيْر روْضُم read بَيْر روْضُم as in p. 254, l. 11.
3 Compare Text p. 254, l. 9; Translation, p. 261.
4 See Blochm. 274.
5 I propose to read فِذَوْرَيْيَنَهُ instead of دُوْرَيْيَنَهُ.
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'an into a gambling-stake."

And the Emperor after showing much severity to Ḥakim-ul-mulk on
account of his opposition to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, whom he called
Fazlah, at last ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Makkah.

In the blessed month of Ṣamāzān of this year the afore-mention-
ed Qāzī ‘Ali 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 Ajmīr, and mentioned my 1,000
bigna of subsistence-land, which he said caused me to waste my
time:—

"To the Court of Princes in season and out of season
Thou shouldst go in order to receive some grant."
have without condition of attendance." Shaikh ‘Abd-un-nabî sent word by the late Mullána 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 bigaha. 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 disciple, and I used frequently to allude to it, and in extemporary verse to 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 Tomghá¹, and the Jazyah², which brought in several krors of dáma were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.

In the same year Ma’qúm Khán, son of Mu‘in-ud-dín Ahmad Khán Faranqhudi, 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-qurat of Jaunpúr, and the governorship of Dihlí was given to Muḥibb ‘Alí Khán, son of Mir Khalifah.

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’qúm Kábuli, and Muḥammad Ma’qúm Khán Faranqhudi, and Mír Mu‘izz-ul-mulk, and Nayábát 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 Ẓâ'īdat, who bears the title of Peshrau Khán, when he had been to Ma'qûn Khán Jaunpúrī 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 Firozábād. (P. 277), which is eighteen cosses from Agra, 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 Qázi 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 Ulámi of Láhor, he separated them from one another like a disheveled thread. Of the number of these was Qázi Ẓâ'd-ul-dín Láhorí, whose free-thinking was greater than that of Makhdúm-ul-mulk; him he appointed Qázi of Bahroch in Gujrát. And Mullá 'Abdu-sh-shukúr Gúl dáár he appointed Qázi of Jounpúr, and Mullá Muḥammad Ma'qûn he appointed to Bihár. And Shaikh Munawwar he banished to Málwáh, and made him Ẓâ'd 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 travesty, 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'in, grandson of Mulláná Mu'in, the celebrated preacher, and giving him no trouble left him at Láhor. He died in the year nine hundred and ninety-five. And Ḥājí Ibráhím Sarhindí he made Ẓâ'd 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 Häjí 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 Häkim '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 'Arabi (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 Häjí Ibráhím had interpolated in an old pamphlet, one of the works of Mulla Abu Sa'id, nephew of Miyan Panipati, 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 Fath-ulláb, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Häkim Abu-l-Fath, and satirizing them, the Emperor sent him to the castle of Kintamb'hóor. 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."

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's 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 worship, he named "a shop," and either sent him to prison, or dismissed him to Bengal or Bakkar. And this business was always going on. Those Pirs 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 _farmāns_ the Čāfis, who gave themselves up to dances and ecstacies, were subjected to the _testamur_ of Hindū examiners, and through their evil state "they forgot their religious ecstasy." 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 Čāfis were for the more part quite worthy of perishing:—

"That is not Čāfī action or liberality,
But rather deceitful action and bawdry.
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 of 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 Hillel in _Mishnáh_, _'Abót_; and many similar sayings throughout the _Talmüd_.

3 A pun on the two meanings of _ḥāl_, _ordōs_ and _eukaros_. 
"The virtues of Kafur, 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 loos-  
ing 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 days² pulls out the beard of  
every one."

In this year Muzaffar Khan arrived in Bengál, and began a  
course of great strictness in his administration, and commenced wrong-  
ing and oppressing the Amirs of that district, and confiscated many  
of their jāgīrs. He practised the dāgh-u-makall 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 Khan Qáqshál, and Khálidí Khan, who were nobles  
of great importance, however much they tried to escape the dāgh,  
and begged to have their jāgīrs confirmed, did not obtain their  
request. But Muzaffar Khan with a view to getting back the

¹ Put to death by Hárún-ur-rashíd.
² I. e., a short time.
money from the jāgīr, which Khālidī Khān had acquired through neglecting the dāgh-u-nahall, put him in prison and ordered him the bastinado. It so happened that at this time he received a farmān addressed to him ordering him to bring to punishment one Roshan Beg by name, a servant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had arrived in Bengāl from Kābul. Muzaffar Khān seized him from the midst of the Qāqshāls, and using harsh language to Bābā Khān showed him the farmān and ordered him to cut off Roshan Beg’s head at the head of the diwān. 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 Lakhnauti, and looted the goods of Muzaffar Khān wherever they found them. Muzaffar Khān collected a number of boats, and ordered Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath and Patrī Dās to march against the Qāqshāls at the head of their own armies. It need hardly be said that by Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath, who was a bottle-man rather than a battle-man, and by Patrī Dās, who was a Hindū writer, no great signs of valour would be likely to be shown in this time. Muzaffar Khān sent a farmān to the Qāqshāls, expressing his wish to conciliate them all, and promising to confirm them in their jāgīrs. But they sent him answer, that he must send to them Razī Khān and Patrī Dās as a guarantee of his sincerity. Accordingly he sent them the afore-named together with Mīr Abu Ishāq, son of Mīr Sayyid Raḍ’ul-dīn Muḥaddīn, all of whom they imprisoned, and then applied themselves still more vigorously to rebellion.

Meanwhile Mullā Tib and Rāi Purushtam, Bakkshī, who had at one blow confiscated the jāgīrs of Ma’ṣūm Khān, and ‘Arab Bahā’ūr and the other Amir of Bihār, 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 ḽosā with their whole force in order to attack Ma’ṣūm Khān. But ‘Arab Bahā’ūr came upon Rāi Purushtam unawares, and having slain him took much spoil. Then having opened a correspondence with Bābā

1 appears to be a mistake for ١٠٥٣.
Khan Qaqshal with a view to co-operating with him, he hastened to Garhi.

On the side of Muzaffar Khan Khwajah Shams-ud-din Muham-mad Khawafi1 (who is now Divan-i-kuli2) opposed their entrance into Garhi.

Then Ma'qum Khan having been victorious and having succeeded in forming a junction with the Qaqshals, crossed the river Ganges to oppose Muzaffar Khan. Muzaffar Khan shut himself up in the fort of Tandah, which consisted of four old walls and nothing more. Vazir Khan Jamil Beg, who was one of the old loyal Amirs (P. 282), in conjunction with Ján Muhammad Khan Bihiwadi and other warriors, joined the rebels. They took Hakim Abu-Fath and Khwajah Shams-ud-din and most of the nobles prisoners. But these two leaders together with Kai Patr Das by some means or other effected their escape, and with the help of the zamindars managed to reach Haçipur. During these troubles Hakim Nur-ud-din Qarari lost his life. The Qaqshals and Ma'qum Khan lured Muzaffar Khan out of the fort of Tandah 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 Mirzá Sharaf-ud-din Husain, whom the Emperor had sent from the prison of Qasim 'Ali Khan Baqwal governor of Kábul to Bengál, and made him their general.

Then Rájah Todar Mal, with Cádiq Muhammammad Khan and Tarsún Muhammammad Khan and other mighty Amirs were appointed from Fathpur to go and quell the rebellion. And Muhibb 'Ali Khan, governor of Rohtáš, and Muhamrád Ma'qum Khan Farakhábádi, governor of Jaunpúr, and the other jácir-holders of the neighbourhood were ordered to assist the Rájah. While they were still on their way Sháham Khan Jaláir engaged with Sa'id Khan Badakhshi

1 Khawáf is the name of a district and town in Khurásán. Blochm. p. 445.
2 The 12 Divánás who in 1003 had been appointed to the Çubahs, were under his orders. Diván-i-kuli is the same as Vazir-i-kuli, or Vazir-i-Maláy, or merely Vazír. Blochm. p. 446, note 3.
slew him. Muhammed Ma'qum Jounpurí joined the Rájáh with 3,000 well-trained and perfectly appointed cavalry. But symp-
toms of rebellion were apparent in all his actions. The Rájáh
feeling this tried to soothe him by every possible means. Mean-
while he sent a report of the state of affairs to Court.

Muhammed Ma'qum Khan Kábulí, and the Qáqsháls and Mírzá
'Ab-d-ud-dín Úsáin with 30,000 gallant horsemen, and 50 elephants
and a number of boats and cannon in battle array seemed to intend
to offer battle in the neighbourhood of the town of Mungir (P. 283).
The Rájáh since he could not quite trust his army, which was on
the look-out for the slightest change of fortune, did not deem it
brave to fight in the open, and so shut himself up in the fortress
defended by Mungir. Every day skirmishes took place, and the Imperial
army was reduced to great distress. At this time Zain-ud-dín
Kambú, a relative of Shabbáz Khan brought by water a lac of
rupees under a postal-guard, and delivered them over to the Rájáh.
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
Khan Abdár, another time by Sarmadí, and another time by a son
of the banker1 Bhagwán Dás the treasurer, and so received news
each time. Of the number of the postal-guard was one 'Abd-ul-Hay
Khawwás, a handsome man without brains, son of Qázi Qadr-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 Qui Khan, and
at the time of the discussions about the new Musalmánish customs,
and the worrying and examining of men at Ajmir, had been a witness
of those dreadful pieces of work, together with Tarkhán Díwánah
tied from the army of the Rájáh and joined the rebels.

It so happened that during the course of the siege Bábá Khan
Qáqsháll fell grievously sick, and was on the point of death. Then
Jabbári, son of Majún Khan Qáqsháll, 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 Khan showed an inclination to

1 Hindi Sél'h, Sanskrit āshka "excellent", "banker".
be off. And so the solidarity of that confederacy began to be broken up. Ma'qūm Khán Kábúsí was obliged to hasten towards Bihár. And 'Arāb Bahādur went from thence by forced marches to seize Patnáh and get the imperial treasury into his hands. Pahár Khán Kha'q-ı-khálí, who is generally known as Sayyid 'Arīf, shut himself up in the fortress of Patnáh (P. 284). And Rájah Todá Mal sent Ma'qūm Khán Farankhúdī with a force to the assistance of Pahár Khán. 'Arāb Bahādur, being unable to withstand the force opposed to him, withdrew to Kachíl, a well-known zamindar (?). The Rájah and Čādiq Khán with the rest of the Amiřs set off for Bihár with the intention of suppressing Ma'qūm Khán Kábúsí. The latter made a night-attack on them. It so happened that he attacked the quarters of Čādiq Khán. On that night one Tōrmáh 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 Čādiq Khán held his ground. Ma'qūm 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 zamindar of Orísa, 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 Gáphi came into the possession of the imperial army.

At this time the Emperor sent for Shājá'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 Sáraugpúr to come to Fathpúr. 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 Shājá'at Khán, and other Kháns, who were in the audience-chamber. After he had importuned them

1 This is also the reading of the Lakhnau lithograph.
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 Shárif Kháñ 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 Kháñ i'Azam from Agrah, 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 Bengal. And having sent for Sháhbáz Kháñ from the district of the Rámá, he appointed him with a well-equipped army to assist Kháñ-i'A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hájipúr and traversing the jungle of Kachiti should compel ‘Arab Bahádur to come out of that place.

In this year Hákim-ul-mulk Giláni, being reckoned by the Emperor as one of those not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith, was sent, as has been already narrated, to Mekkah with a sum of five lacis of rupees, to be given as presents to the worthy among the sharifs 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 bigahs 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 cloak 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."

(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 Chânîdâh, successor of the great
Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'azîz, an inhabitant of the town of Siwâhnah. In
accordance with the Emperor's command he went down to the Ibâdat
Khânak and began to display and sell perverted prayers. He fore-
told 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 Suyyid Hâshim Firozâbâdî 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
Muttabî Afghân Kâsî from the Panjâb, 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 Fathpûr he alighted at
the house of Shaikh Jamâl Bâkhtyâr, and sent word: "My eye
has not rested on any blessed sign of the Emperor." So the Em-
peror without granting him an audience sent him quickly about
his business. Also Shaikh-ul-hadyah Khairâbâdî 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 Isâm Shâh, in accordance with the command of the
famous Moulawi, the great Master Miyân Hâtîm, Sambhalî (God
have mercy on him!), read the Isrá'îl-î Qîzî, and the commentary
thereon. He has now succeeded his father, and is the great autho-

rity on all knowledge and practice and Qâli-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.

\(^1\) al-Fâlami is in allusion to certain letters of the alphabet with which some of
the Chapters of the Qurân, 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 Cāhib-i-Zamán, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islam and the Hindús. Sharif 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 Moulána of Shiráz, the heretic of Jafdrín, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharifs 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 Mahdi would immediately take place. The Moulána also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shíáhs mentioned similar nonsense connected with 'Ali, and quoted the following Rubáí, which is said to have been composed by Náqir-i-Khusrou, or according to some 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.

Meanwhile a despatch arrived from Rájah Todar Mal, stating that all this while he had kept Maʿqúm Khán Faramkhúdá along with him by conciliatory treatment, and all sorts of expedients. But that Khwájah Sháh Maṇḍúr Díaún had claimed a good deal of money due from him and Tarsúr Múhammad 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 Maṇḍúr 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 Kmul, see above p. 282.
2 Of God.
to Sháh Qáli Khánum Muḥarram, and in his place (P. 288) appointed Vazír Khánum, brother of Āṣaf Khánum of Herât, as Diwání-i-kul. And to Qázi ‘Ali 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 nursetings of mothers.

“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 Compare Chaucer, Pardoner’s Tale 12661—12672.

“No Death alas! no will not have my life.
Thus walk I like a restless wight,
And on the ground which is my mother’s gate
I knock’d with my staff, early and late
And say to her, “Love 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,” ver. ἐκ τοῦ γαμμὸς αἱρέσεως, 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 Dániyal with Shaikh Faizí, who was his teacher, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and a number of courtiers to Ajmir. And he presented a donation of 5,020 rupees to the faqírs of that monastery.

In this year Raňäh Todar Mal and the other imperial Amírs passed the rainy season in Hájípúr. (P. 289.) And Ma'qúm Khán Farankhúdi, who was in a discontented state of mind went to Joumpúr without the permission of the Amírs, and broke out into rebellion. The Emperor sent Peshrú Khán, known as Mihtar Sa'ádat, the head of the chamberlain department (dáro-ghah-e-faráshkhánah), with a farmán to appease him, and the government of Joumpúr was given to Tarsún Khán, and that of Oudh to Ma'qúm Khán Farankhúdi. 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.

At this time Niyábát Khán, son of Háshim Khán, Nishápúrí, who at the time of the Emperor's going to Patnáh had found favour, revolted in Jhósí and Piyáj, which was his jágír; and marching against Kárah, which sided with Isma‘íl Quli Khán: and an Afghan named Ilyáś Khán, who was governor of that place, slew Ilyáš Khán in battle. They then laid siege to the fortress, and began to ravage and lay waste the country. The Emperor appointed Isma‘íl Quli Khán Vazír Khán, and Muṭlab Khán, and Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár, and other Amírs, to march against Niyábát Khán.

Sháh Quli Khán Muḥarram, and Birbar bádzfarosh, he sent to Oudh to try and appease Ma'qúm Khán Farankhúdi.

"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 Khwájah Sháh Mançúr, and reappointed him diwán-i-kul.

When Niyábat Khán heard of the despatch of this army against him, he raised the siege of Karah, and went towards Gasht a dependency of the district of Patnáh. The Amirs crossed the river and quickly attacked him. He turned back to offer battle, and alone against so many Amirs 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'qúm Khán.

And 'Arab Bahádur was at the same time defeated by Shabbáz Khán, and also took refuge with Ma'qúm Khán. Shabbáz Khán went in pursuit of 'Arab Bahádur, first to Jounpúr, and afterwards to Oudh. Ma'qúm 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 Shabbáz Khán, and in the twinkling of an eye overcame him. Shabbáz Khán fled in one day a distance of forty cosse as far as Jounpúr. But by good luck Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, who was in the right wing of Shabbáz Khán’s army, had remained hidden in the jungle, and at the moment that the troops of Ma'qúm 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 Shabbáz Khán heard this news, he hastened back just as quickly as he had gone, and joined the force of Tarsún Muḥammad Khán. He attacked Ma'qúm Khán a second time, and a great battle was fought in the environs of Oudh. This time Ma'qúm 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 Sawalik mountains. This event took place in the month of Zi-hájjah 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 Hājf Ĥabīb-ullah 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, 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 Ĥakîm Humâm mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abu-I-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 of the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989) nows arrived that Mirzâ Muḥammad Ĥakîm on the invitation of the two Ma'qûms, and at the instigation of Farîdûn Khán, who was his maternal uncle, and a regular leprous spot, set out with the intention of conquering Hindûstân. He sent his servant Shâdmân over the Indus, but Mán Singh, son of Bhagwán Dás, marched to oppose him, and slew him. On hearing the news the Mirzâ crossed the Indus, and encamped in the environs of Sayyidpûr.

Upon this the Emperor, having advanced the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, and leaving the prince Dânîyâl with

1 Probably the bellows.
2 The first month.
3 Viz., Ma'qûm Kâbulî, and Ma'qûm Farankhûdî.
4 There is a play on the word khâfî, which means both "uncle" and "mole."
Sultan Khwajah Gadir, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm the Abyssinian, as vice-generals, marched from Fathpur towards the Punjabi. At the sarai of Bād, which is fifteen kossees from Fathpur, news arrived of the victory of Shahbāz Khān.¹

(P. 292). Mān Singh found in the portfolio of Shādmān three letters of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm addressed respectively to Hakim-ul-mulk Gīlānī, Shāh Manṣūr Divān, and Qāsim Khān Mir-bahīr. He sent them verbatim to the Emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dihli news arrived, that the Mīrzā was encamped at Lāhor in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and that Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh, and Sa'id Khān had shut themselves up in the fortress.

At Pānpat Malik Sānī Kābulī, vazīr of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had the title of Vazīr Khān, having been vexed by the Mīrzā arrived at the quarters of Shāh Manṣūr, 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 Sānī Khān from the Mīrzā at such a juncture seemed to the Emperor to be accounted for by some design on the part of the Mīrzā, and as not being devoid of interested motives, so it confirmed his previous suspicions of Khwajah Shāh Manṣūr. 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 Shāhābād Malik ʿAlī, brother of Qāzī ʿAlī, who is now Kotwāl of Lāhor, sent to the Court in one parcel two obscure letters. One was addressed to Shāh Manṣūr from one Musharraf² Beg, who was a servant of Shāh Manṣūr. The second was from a person, whose identity was suspected, containing an account of his interview, first with Faridūn Khān, and secondly with the Mīrzā, and how the Mīrzā 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 Shāh Manṣūr, who was

¹ Over Manṣūr Farankhūdī.
² Called Sharaf lower down, and also in the Ṭabaqat-i-Akbarī.
Shikōdār on his behalf in the parganna of Firozpur, thirty cosset from Lāhor, had written to his master: “I have had a interview with the Mirzā through the intervention of Faridūn Khān, he has sent his agents everywhere, but he has exempted our parganna.” (P. 293) And suspicion became a certainty. Most, nay all, of the Amīrs, who had received many annoyances from Shāh Manṣūr, 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 to hang him on gallows at the Manzil of Kajh-koṭ.

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 Kalānūr and Rohtās, and reached the Indus. When the Mirzā heard this news, he crossed the river of Lāhor, and turned his reins back to Kābul. And so the mystery of the verse: “On that day shall a man flee from his brother” became manifest.

In the month of Rabī’us-sāni of this year the Emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is generally known as the Sind-nāgar, a fortress, which he called Aṭāk Banārās, to distinguish it from Kaṭāk Banārās.

From this place he sent the prince Sultān Murād with Qulī Khān and other Amīrs to Kābul. And prior to this he had sent Mān Singh with a body of Amīrs towards Pashāwār.

1 Revenue-collector.
2 The Khidmatīyyah were foot-guards on duty in the environs of the palace. These chiefs received the title of Khidmat-rāī. Blochm. p 232.
4 Al Qur’ān L.XXX, 30.
5 The fourth month.
6 Xīdāb.
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 Mirzá sent Khwájah Abúl-Fażl Naqshbandí, and Muḥammad ‘Alí Diwánáh as ambassadors to the Court to sue for pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent back with them Hájí 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 Mirzá said to Hájí: “Khwájah Ḥasan will not agree to sending my sister, for he has taken her away to Bādakhshán. 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 Kafir, 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 Jalá-lábád to the prince Sháh Murád and the Amirs, 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 Hájí Ḥabíb-ulláh came together from that place, and at Pasháwar gave each his own message to the Emperor. Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad said: “Although the Amirs in their usual talk say: ‘We ourselves are sufficient’; yet in the language of present facts† they say: ‘Victory follows on the footsteps of the Emperor.’” Accordingly the Emperor left the prince Sulṭán Salím with Hájí Bhagwán Dáš and Qázi ‘Alí Mirbakhshí 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 Mirzá Muḥammad Ḥakím at seven cosses from Kábúl, at a place called Khurd-kábúl had a severe engagement with his nephew*, who was like the king’s son in the game of great chess*. The Mirzá at last took to flight with the intention of taking refuge with Abd-ulláh Khán Uzbek. Prince Murád entered Kábúl.

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1 This juxtaposition of qāf “voice”, and ḥāl “present circumstances” reminds one of Demosthenes, Ist Olynbiac 6 παρὸς καυμὸς μονονοιχὸς λέγει φονευτέρου λοιπὸς.

2 Prince Murád.

The day before the action Faridun Khan had attacked the rear of the Prince's army, and had slain many men. He had plundered the treasury of Qulij Khan and the other Amirs, and carried off much spoil. Haji Muhammad an Ahaif, 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 Surkhab and told the tale to the Emperor 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 the Emperor entered the fortress of Kabul. He spent a week enjoying himself in the gardens (P. 295) of that city. When he enquired of some trusty followers of Mirza Muhammad Hākim the history of the affair of that letter to Shah Manṣūr, and examined closely into the matter, he found out that Karam-ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khan together with other Amirs 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 Amirs. So the Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Shah Manṣūr:

"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 elixir by Sohrāb.

The Emperor sent Lātif Khwājah Mīr shikār to the Mirzā to tell him that his offences were forgiven, and so prevented his taking refuge in the territory of the Uzbeks. Mirzā Muhammad Hākim took in his presence on oath of allegiance, and executed an engagement, which he sent by 'Ali Muhammad Asp along with him to the Court.

His Majesty conferred Kabul upon Mirzā Muhammad Hākim, and leaving the army he returned quickly to Jalalabad, where there was a large encampment. At this time Khwājah Muhammad Hūsain, brother of Muhammad Qāsim Khan Mīr bāhr, who was

1 The seventh month.
2 That is, it was too late.
one of the confidential Amirs of the Mirzā, came and did homage to the Emperor.

From Jalalábād he sent an army to plunder and lay waste the mountain district of Kator', which is a well-known stronghold of Kāfirs, and then stage by stage he marched to the Sindsagar, which he reached on the twelfth of Sha’bān. There he crossed over and transported his whole army by a bridge in one day, and by successive marches went quickly to Lahor, where he arrived in the latter part of Ramazan.

He again committed the government of the Panjāb to Sa‘d Khān, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh. And with a view to making inquiry into the management of the grand-lands of that province, he appointed a Čadr to each Doāb. These were Mullá Ilāhīdād of Amrohrah, Mullá Ilāhīdād Nabawi of Sultaunpūr, Mullá Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, and Mullá Sheri (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 Shāh Muhammad wrote a mandate to Shaikh Išāq Kākawī, a holy and God-fearing sage, with such pomp, that [you might apply to it the verse] "Our people obey God's preacher!" And Shaikh Faizī he appointed Čadr of the Doāb. And Ḥakīm Humām, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath the Čadr of the metropolis, he sent to the other side of the Ganges.

When His Majesty arrived at Pānipat, Shahbāz Khān (who during the Emperor's absence had more suo turned the whole of the imperial dominions right away from Kāphī to the Panjāb into people's jagirs,

*1 Lak'hnau Lithograph has Gandhi.
*2 See above p. 301.
*3 The eighth month.
*4 The ninth month.
*5 The five rivers which enclose the Panjāb 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 Itachna between Chenab and Ravee, and Doab of Bacee between Ravee and Garra.
*6 Al Qur'ān XLVI, 30.
*7 Probably that between the Satlaj 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 jāyīrs from 
whom you please":—

"From whom you please take away, 
To whom you please give."

On the twenty-fifth of Shavvāl the Emperor returned to Dihlī, 
and the younger prince, and the queens came out to meet him, and 

During this journey since I had been left behind on account of 
a bond of great friendship which I had contracted with one Mazhari, 
who was one of the divine objects, and on account of my freedom 
and abandon which lasted a whole year at Basāwar, and brought 
me in the course thereof into many strange and difficult circum-
stances, when I arrived at Fathpūr 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 
Kābul he had directed the Ḍadr-i-Jahān to make out and present 
to him a list of all the people of piety (P. 207), who were attending 
with the army, or who were absent. When my name came up, the 
late Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, author of the Ṭūrīkh-i-
Nizāmī, 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'nau ed. has Pashāwar.

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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 Lahore, or to Dihli, 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: “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 dost 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’an 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
Su’íd Badakhshí had the khútba hád, and coins struck, in his name
in the district of Tírht, and took the title of Bahádur Sháh. They
say that the following rhyme was composed for his signet (but God
knows):

"Bahádur-ud-dín Súltán
Son of Asfíd Sáh Súltán.
His father was Súltán, and himself Súltán,
Bravo! Súltán bin Súltán."

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A’zám Káń:

"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 that its wings should not grow."

When Ma’qúm Kháń Faránkhúdí had become thoroughly bewildered
and forlorn in the mountains of Sáwalik* through the intervention
of A’zám Kháń he made confession of his fault, and received a farma'n
of pardon. He came and did homage at Fáthpúr. 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). Níyábat* also, by the intervention of the imperial
Begum, on the very day that Ma’qúm did homage, was admitted to

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* 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 a la hormiga."

* See p. 298.
* See p. 297.
His Majesty's presence. The Emperor, to please his uncle Shiháb-ud-din Ahmad Khán, governor of Málwah, spared his life for some time and sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hóor. 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 formán, and had him executed.

At this time Hájí Begum, who was a second mother to the Emperor, and attended on the tomb of the late Emperor, 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 Bakhtyáár, to bring Shaikh Qálib-ud-din of Jálésar, who was a majzúb, and intoxicated with the Divine Love. When Qálib-ud-din came, the Emperor brought him to a 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 fákirs, as the Emperor was jealous of his triumph. There he died.

A large number of Shaikhs and Fáqirs 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 'Iláhis.' 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

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1 She was daughter of the brother of Humáyún's mother.
2 This is the meaning of Jannat-ášáhí quoted by Blochm. p. 465, and so also apparently of our expression Jannat-ásháhí.
3 De Sarcey, Pseudo Nah, n. f.
4 Kharábí is the same as must.
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 Jounpur, with their wives and families, and sent than to Aujnîr, and gave them a fixed provision. One, two, or three of them died, and some of them are living now in poverty.

Shaikh Husain, grandson of His Reverence Khwájah Mu'n-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 Ahmad, on the occasion of the Emperor's sending for Ittimás Qázi Fathpúrî, and Shaikh Kanál Biyábání, from Bakkar, mentioned the name of Shaikh Husain also. So His Majesty sent for them all, and since they performed the Zamánbos the Emperor considered that he had gained all that he required, and gave orders for their release. But Kanál Biyábání, whose being found in fetters 1 in the prison of Bakkar they attributed to the Khán Khánán, the Emperor sent to Rintamb'hîr. And to Shaikh Husain 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 Mu'harram 2 in the year nine hundred and ninety (990) A'zám 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 Mu'çúm Kábúl.

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1 Vol. III, pp. 87-88 Text. Qalîb is given there as his takhallus.
2 The first month.
On the 15th of the month Čafar\(^1\) 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 decorated 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 Agra and at Fathpūr 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 Hindū and Persian, and dancers, both men and women, by thousands of thousands: and each day one of the renowned Amirs 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 Islām, 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 Ulamā (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 Islām, 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 Tūrikhi Alfi,\(^3\) commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written. And many other wonderful and strange innovations, by way of

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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.
politie and wise expedients, did he devise. For one thing he decreed that Sijdah, under the name of Zamín-bos, ought to be offered to kings. Another was that wine might be drunk, if for the healing of the body 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," *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 Shaytānparah. 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 Devilasville.
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 Amirs were severely reprimanded and punished, and imprisoned for a considerable time. Among them one mentioned the name of Raja Bir 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,' 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 jagir. When news of this reached the veil of his door, he wished to become a Jogí. 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 haram, 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. hikmat wisdom (prudence) shinját courage (fortitude), 'iffat chastity (temperance), and 'addát 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 nourish-
ment from the testicles, and that since for this reason they never
saw any eunuch with a beard, what could be the virtue and distinc-
tion 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 dis-
grace, 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'd-ul-quzáát,* they interpreted as meaning that some of the Qázís
of Írák were in the habit of shaving their beards, whereas the
true reading is *Kamá yaf'alu ba'd-ul-tuzáát* 'as some obstinate sinners
do.' One day Ģákín Ġabúl-Ġath, at the beginning of my atten-
dance at Court, observed that my beard was a little shorter than 'it
was the custom to wear. 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 Shi'áhs and reli-
gious 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

¹ In which it was stated that "some Qázís" 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 Mirzá 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 Islam, 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 Mujtahid⁴ 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 Islam ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the haram 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 boar⁵ 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

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¹ Meaning the Crucifix.
² See Blohmann in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May 1870.
³ 20 + 80 + 200 + 300 + 11 + 70 + 204 = 986, which is five too little.
⁴ Abu-l-Fazl. (Blohmann, p. 194.)
⁵ Sanskrit vañços avatara.
most entertaining in all sorts of music[,] 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 ‘Iraq 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 Mir, 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 genitalis 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 ablation 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[,] 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 (V 306) Ash-i hayat ‘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.

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1 Vādī is the Sanscrit Vādya ‘music,’ comp. Text. p. 42, l. 5. It does not mean ‘department’ as Blochmann Akh-i Ashbarî, p. 194 paraphrases it.

2 Compare p. 60, note 6.
The wearing of gold and silk dresses (at prayer-time) was made obligatory. One day I saw the Mufti 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 Islam, 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 Niqáb-uc-fihán.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 Tírúkh-i-Iláhi.² On copper coins and gold mahurs 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, philosopshy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, viz., ﷼ ﷺ ﷺ, were avoided. Thus for ﺇ ﻋ ﻚ ﻎ ﻒ ﻖ ﻎ ﻚ ﻎ ﻒ ﻖ ﻚ ﻎ ﻒ ﻖ ﻚ, people wrote Abd-ulláh; ²

² Divine era.
and for Ahadi they wrote Ahadi &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shahnâmah, which Firdusi of Tus gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at Court:

"Through the eating of the flesh 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 Sajahrâk (?) 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 Islam, whether special or general, as the prophethood, the harmony of the Islam with reason, the doctrines of Râyat, Takif, and Takwin, 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'an 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 Latif (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 Blochm. p. 196 notes.
Khâjâh, who came of a noble family in Turkistân, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi's Shami'îl, 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." Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet in the beginning of his career plundered the caravans of the Qurânîsh; 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 check, 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,' 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 Mülâs 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 Khalifâh, and the quarrel about Fâdak, the war of the Cîlfrin &c. would that I were deaf! The Shi'âhs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis 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. 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 Hâbiba, the Prophet's favourite wife. Ai (qur'an) XXIV
3 The 40 Abîzâl. 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 “Allāh Akbar.” This caused great commotion. Mullā Sheri (P. 309) at this time composed a qītāh 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 Ullamā and the pious, nay even the Qāzīs and Muftis 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 [Faizi, 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 jāgirs, 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 Rájáh Bhagwán Dás from Láhor.

During the absence of A'zam Khán and the other Amírs, who had come to the metropolis from Hájípúr, one Khábisah¹ by name, a servant of Mátqúm Khán Kábúlí, together with Tarkhán Dívánah, and Sárkh BadaKháshi, raised a rebellion in Bihár. And Muḥammad Cúdiq Khán, together with Muḥáb Alí Khán defeated them in an engagement, and slew Khábisah.

In this year the prince Sultán Salím² went to Ajmír to meet Gulbadán Begum, and Salímah Sultán 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 Cúdiq Khán came from Bihár, and was quickly ordered off again, in conjunction with A'zam Khán, to repulse Mátqúm Kábúlí. And Sháh Qulí Khán Muḥarram, and Shaikh Ibráhim Chishtí, and other Amírs, who had not gone in the army to Kábúl, were appointed to assist Cúdiq Khán.

At this time Sháh Abu Turáb, and I'timád Khán Gujráti, who had been together on a journey to Hijáž, 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 peace¹):

"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 Blachm., p. 356 note.
² Who succeeded his father with the title of Jahángír.
On the nineteenth of the month Sha'ban\(^1\) the weighing of the eldest prince took place.

In this year, or the year after, Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi, and Mukhdüm-ul-mulk, who had received the decree of eternal banishment,\(^2\) hearing the news of Mirzá Muhammad Ḥakím's insurrections, came from Makkah to Gujrat, and set their hearts on their former positions of authority, forgetful of the saying, 'The fleeting does not return':—

\[\text{"The world is wide, O my child,}
\text{Thou art our corner, our corner.}
\text{Like the locust from the field of the king,}
\text{Thou art our ear of corn, our ear."}\]

Mukhdüm-ul-mulk died at Ahmádábd, and in the year nine hundred and ninety Qázi 'Ali was sent from Fathpúr 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-nabi came to Fathpúr, 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 Máj, 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 the next day, until after-

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\(^{1}\) 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, 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" 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 spiritual effigy, and mirror of divine grace, that paragon of people of rapture and ecstasy Shaikh Jalâl of Thânâsâr (God rest his spirit!) became an inhabitant of the garden of Paradise: and "The Shaikh of Saints" was found to give the date.

In the same year Açâf Kháñ, Mîr Bakhâhî Sâni, who had the title of Mîrzá Ghiyâs-ud-dîn 'Ali, gave up his place to his own nephew Mîrzá Ja'far (who afterwards obtained the title of Açâf Kháñ), 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 Háji Ibrâhîm of Sarhind, as has been narrated, from the Ýadrate of Gujût. And when he heard that he had received many bribes, and that he kept many women, and that he desired to escape to the Ýak'bîn, he had him seized. For some time he entrusted him to Ĥâkim 'Ain ul-mulk, but after a time he sent him to the fortress of Kintamb'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 Mubârik of Nágor said in the presence of the Emperor to Bîr Bâr: "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 + 60 + 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" was found to give the date.

At this time His Majesty sent Qázi Jaláí Multání, together with Khwájá 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 farman a draught for five lacs of tankahs, which he had drawn from the treasury for his own use. The Emperor thought it likely, that the rulers of that part, who were exceedingly bigoted in that heresy, would put Qázi 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

\[1 + 8 + 4 + 1 + 500 + 2 + 4 + 70 + 400 = 900.\]
not make up their minds to part with him. (P. 314) But at last he gained this felicity, and having arrived at Bāthā: 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 Qāzī-l-quzāt, Qāzī ‘Abd-us-samī’ the Transoxonian of Miyānkāl,1 of whom the poet Qāsim Khān Mouji 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 azīn, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like ʿĀḥmad, Muḥammad, Muṣṭafa &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 Yār Muḥammad, Muḥammad Khān, were altered to ʿAbḥmat. 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 Agraḥ (P. 315), and burnt down house and home of both great and small, and eventually the fire extended to the graves2 of those who kindled it (may God abandon them!)

1 A hilly tract between Sumarqand and Bukhāra. Blocha. p. 546 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 Rabī'-us-sānī' of the year nine hundred and ninety the Sayyid Mīr Fath-ullāh of Shiráz, who in the regions of Theology, Mathematics, and Physics and in all branches of science both logical and traditional, and in talismans, and incantations, and discovering treasures, was without his equal in that age, in obedience to a furmān requiring his presence, left 'Ādil Khán of the Dak'hin, and came to Fathpúr. The Khán Khánán, and Ḥakim Abu-l-Fath 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 Čadr, 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 Mīr Ghīyās-ud-dīn Maṇṣūr of Shiráz, who had not been over strict in religious matters, he thought that Fath-ullāh would be only too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fath-ullāh was such a staunch Shi'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 titles of bigoted Shi'ism. Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shi'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 prompt associated him in the vazîr-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, ὑβόλῃ, μαθηματική, φυσική.
teaching the children of the Amirs, and every day would go to the houses of the courtiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Hakim Abu-l-Fath, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and to other children of Amirs 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."

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, be 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 Fath-ulláh Imám of saints."*

One night the Emperor, in Fath-ulláh's presence, said to Bir 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 [Bir Bar] and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten,—said "Yea, Your Majesty is right," and chirped in confirmation. But Fath-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 teaching children.

2 300 + 80 + 400 + 8 + 31 + 35 + 41 + 41 + 7 + 30 + 11 = 990.
About this time Mullá Ahmad of Tat’jah, who was a bigoted Shí‘ah, and had made himself a țakīm 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 Ahmad in the company of Mirzá Makhdúm (who was a Sharíf, and a zealous Sunní, and wrote the Kitáb-un-náqáz 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 had yet had no interview with Shaikh Faízí, 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 bídár, 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 Alfi. He further ordered the word riḥlat¹ to be substituted for hijrah² 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 Naqib Khán, the second to Sháh Fath-ulláh, and so on to Hakim Humám, Hakim ‘Ali, Háji Ibráhím Sarhindi (who had just then arrived from Gujrat) Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, 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 Khalifah (may God be propitious to him!) I had just finished the account of the foundation of Káfah, and the building and destruction of Qarí-ul-imárat, which was narrated in detail together with the cause of its destruction, and the marriage of A mun Kulsán, daughter of the Amir-ul-muminín ‘Ali (God be propitious to them both!), as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Naqibin, and the scorpions big as cocks, which were made use of to effect its capture, when one night Qasf Khán Sálí, who was the same as Mirzá Ja'far, thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts. Notwithstanding this, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Gházi 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 Rauza-ul-Ahábíb and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Naqib 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 Hakim Abu-l-Fath the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Ahmad of Tat'nah, 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 Changiz Khán, when Mirzá Fáhíd one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullá Ahmad, 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 Aṣaf 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 Aṣaf Khán.

Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of the Mahábhárata, which is the most famous of the Hindu 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 Pándus, 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 Hindu 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 Shahmánah, and the story of Amir Ḥamzah, in seventeen volumes transcribed in fifteen years, and had spent so much gold in illuminating it, he also heard the story of Abú Muslim, and the Jánu-il-hikáyat, 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 Hindu 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
Hindus, he gave them directions to write an explanation of the
Mahabharata, and for several nights he himself devoted his atten-
tion to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan, so that the Khan
might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On the third night
the Emperor sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahabharata,
in conjunction with Naqib Khan. The consequence was that
in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections
of the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations
may well be amazed. Two parts were written. Such discussions 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
predetermined must come to pass.

After this Mullâ Sheri and Naqib Khan together accomplished a
portion, and another was completed by Sultan Hajji of Thanesar
by himself. (P. 32:1) Shaikh Faizi was then directed to convert
the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not
complete more than two sections. The Hajji 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 Lakkar,
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 Paudus, 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 Ajiz-nâmah, and when fairly

1 Al Qur'an XVI, 108.
2 Al Qur'an II, 25 &c.
engrossed, and embellished with pictures, the Amirs 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 Kur'ān 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 Čafar of the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991), was celebrated, and according to the old custom, stalls in the fancy Bázar were distributed to the different Amirs, and arranged by them, and all sorts of festivities and amusements were the order of the day. And Sháh Fath-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 Farwardin; the whole of the month of Abán (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'ān 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 wear it at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store-rooms and into Hindú guard-rooms. For the word jamā'at, His Majesty used jīmā', and for hayya 'ala, he said yalalā talāhā. 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 Khan, and other great Amírs were appointed, and went and took possession of Tandah. Khálidi Khán Jabbái, and Mírzá Beg Qaṣíl deserted Ma'qúm Khán Kábúl; and came and had an interview with A'zam Khán. Then Ma'qúm 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 Dák'hín (P. 323), His Majesty gave the governorship of Bengál to I'timád Khán, and made Sháh Abu-Tiráb Amin, and Khwajáh Nizám-ud-dín Almád Mír bakhshí, and Abu-l-Qásim Tabárízí, brother of Mouláná 'Abd-ul-Quédir, the Emperor's tutor, he made Diwán;

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. Wlocwm.
and a number of people, such as Muhammad Husain, and Mir Abu-
l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khan, and Mir Hasmim, and Mir Câlîh
Da'i, and Sayyid Abu-Ishaq, and he ordered to hold jagirs in that
province.

In this year the Emperor who had imprisoned Shahbâz Khan
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 Râjah, and through the intervention and patronage
of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he released him from captivity. On the
eighteenth of Janáda's-sâni the Emperor sent him off to Bengal,
with instructions to hand over all that district to the jâgîrdâr,
and to drive Ma'qûm Kâbuli (of whose movements news had arrived)
from the province of 'Isa, for "when the river of God comes, the
river of 'Isa is useless"; and if in this context for Nahr-u'Ulâh
you read Shahr-u'Ulâh, the saying is not without point and appro-
priateness. Meanwhile news arrived that Khan-i-x'zam had sent
Shaikh Farîd Bokhârî to Qâtlû Afghan Nohâni, governor of Orisâ
with a view to pacification. Qâtlû on account of his confidence in the
Shaikh Farîd's holy descent went out to meet him, and assumed
the post of servant to him. After this bond of friendship had been
tied, Bahadûr Kûr Farah6 one of the zamindârs of Bengal, coming up
very unceremoniously wished to be hale fellow well met with the
Shaikh, but the Shaikh assumed zamindâr-ish airs. Upon this

2 The 6th Month.
4 In the original proverb the (Freytag i. p. 133) name is Ma'qîl, one of the
companions of the prophet; Nahr-u-Ma'qîl being the name of a river near
Bassrah. Our author seems to call the Mahanâil of Orisâ the Nahr-u-'Isâ
after the name of the zamindâr of the place. The month Rajab, which
follows Janáda's-sâni is also called Shahr-i-Khulâ, i. q., Shahr-'Ulâh. He
means that when Rajab came in, Orisâ was conquered.
5 Generally spelt Lohânt.
6 Another reading is Kûrdah. Tabaqâtî Akbarî, Elliot, V, p. 422, has Gaun-
riya.
Sháhú, son of Shaikh Rájú Bokhári, of Sarbind, who was not (P. 324) always just in his behaviour, and some other Bokháris, all showed some ill-temper. Bahádur was so enraged that at the time of the Shaikh's return, when Qatlí 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 Murtazi Nizám-ul-mulk, governor of the Dak'hin, fled from his brother. First he came to Málwah to Qutb-ul-dín Khán. From thence, in obedience to the Emperor's command, he came to Court in the north Rajah, 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 jíyír in Oudh. But since he was unable to bring proof that he was Burhán, he had fled and hid himself among the Jogis. 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 Jogis also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of Jogípúrah.

His Majesty also called some of the Jogis, 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. ¹

¹ That is of Ahmadnagar. 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 kimiyá be formed from rima in Ahsánin, after the analogy of the two preceding words kimiyá alchemy, and simiyá natural magic, and mean “devity?”
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 Jogis from all parts (P. 325). This night they called Sīrāt. The Emperor eat and drank with the principal Jogis, 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 Lāmahs, 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 Lāmahs, 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 Taḥīd-i-Ilāhī:—

"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 Śīrātā, 'night of Śiva.'
2 Divine Monotheism.
And a number of disciples, who thought themselves something particular, he called Cheleah, in accordance with the technical term of the Jogis. And another lot, consisting of wolves among the sheep, and hunters of the weak, 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, a 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. Cheating, thieving Brahmas collected another set of one thousand and one names of “His Majesty the Sun,” and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation, like Kím, 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 Brahmas 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 Akhádi, 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 دان شیا و میاد زنون read از دان شیا و میاد زنون
In this year also in the State Hall of Fathpúr having filled the 100 square cubits of the Hanafis, and the Qullatain of the Sháfi’ís and Shí’áhs, 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 Sunnis should stand separately from the Shi’áhs, when the Hindústánís, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shi’áh side.

But, as we have often said, it is not possible for the most voluble historian to explain fully all the particulars, and minutiae 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, which was the ladder of his ambition, he went to Sáróhí. He severed that district from Sarnál, and entrusted it to Jakmál, brother of the Ráhá. On the twelfth of the month of Shá’bán 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 malecontents, went to Káthiápúr to seek Muzaffar bin Súltán Máḥmúd 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 Súltán.

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.

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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 Kari, which is twenty cosses from Aḥmadābād.

One or two persons on the part of I'timād Khān and Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad went, and tried to quiet those rebels, but without success.

On the twenty-seventh of Sha'ban Muzaffar with the people of Kāṭhīwār and the rebellious Muguls came to Dholqāh, which is twelve cosses from Aḥmadābād.

Meanwhile I'timād Khān, and Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad abandoned the city, and together (P. 328) went to Kāri with the intention of bringing back Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, and appeased him by offering to restore to him his old pargannahs as jāgīr 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 Kāri in charge of Sher Khān, son of I'timād Khān, and left Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm 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 Dholqāh, and some of the devotees of Sarkīj, which is three cosses from Aḥmadābād, took from the tombs of the late Sultan'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 Aḥmadābād.

Two Amīrs, 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 Kāri with a few followers, and arrived in the morning at Osmanpur. Muzaffar made his entrée without fear or

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1 Aḥmadābād.
3 Iʿtimād Khān and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān.
shame, with his troops drawn up as an istiqbil, and stood on the sandy shore of the river of Ahmedabad. 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 writing requisitions, and despatching letters! And when things became desperate, 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 Nahrwalah, and situated four or five cosses from Ahmedabad, 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). Muhammad Sharif, son of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad with his soldiers abandoned the protection of house and family, and managed to join his father. The fugitives, together with another body of Amirs, who had come to their assistance from Fathpur, 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, 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 Khan Filadi, who had been formerly governor of Patan, from the province of Surat, where he had been in misfortune, sent him with 4,000 horse against Patan.

The leaders at Patan sent Zain-ud-din Kambú, brother of Shabáaz Khan, to Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan requesting him to march on Ahmedabad 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 Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan 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 Shahnámeh, p. 522.
2 Nizam is from Názishan to boast. Názam yaqfurd-ı-Khuda 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' with 5,000 horse, had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village of Miyanah, fifteen cossees from Patan. And Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khán and Ittimád Khán after much hesitation and cowardice determined to flee towards Jálor. But by the exertions of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad 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 Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, and a great battle took place between the two armies. The breeze of victory and success fanned the banners of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, and Sher Khán fled and retreated in haste towards Ahmadábad. But, however much Nizam-ud-din Ahmad strove to impress on the Amír the importance of following up the victory by proceeding against Ahmadábad, they would not consent. And this was the very crisis of affairs, for they had not yet received news of the defeat of Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán. In this battle a great deal of spoil fell into the hands of the Amírs, so that they went to Kari 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 as the sense of Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán. Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán, the foundations of whose life were even weaker than theirs, sent out Zain-ud-din to Muzaffar to make terms of capitulation. Muzaffar at a moment's acquaintance treated Zain-ud-din as if he had known him for a thousand years. To Khwájâgí Muhammad Çâlîh, a former Çadr, who had been appointed to accompany Ittimád Khán, he from a

1 Son of Ittimád Khán, not Sher Khán Fuládi.
2 We follow the Lakhnou lithograph, which reads, sest after Muhammad Khán.
3 See Blochmann, p. 628.
feeling of generosity granted his life, and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage. And to Quṭb-ud-din Muḥammad Khān, the eye of whose penetration was blinded by the injury of fate, and whose bark was foundering 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 private 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 Nawārī, a zamīndār of Rājpīplah, and others of the soldiery, he had the ground levelled over his head like his own buried Qārūn treasures. Then going from Parwār to Baroṣch, he took that fort from the wife and dependants of Quṭb-ud-din by capitulation. And there he found fourteen lacs of rupees from the treasury of Cambay, which I'timād-ud-din, the krorī, had carried off, together with all the property moveable and immovable, and the immense private treasures of Quṭb-ud-din Khān which exceeded 10 krores; and collected them together. And as for the other goods and chattels how can one describe them! And, which is very strange, Naurang Khān, the able son of Quṭb-ud-din Khān, together with Quṭīj Khān, and Shārīf Khān, and Tulak Khān, and other Amīrs of Mālwah, in these harrowing circumstances did not stir a foot from Nazarbār and Sulṭānpūr, 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'now lithographed (edit. reads نارن not نارن).
And the army, the number of which has been before mentioned, consisting of Moguls, Afghans and Gujratis, gathered round Muzaffar. On hearing this news Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad and the other commanders went to Patan, and joined those two renowned Amírs. There they kept expecting the arrival of Mirzá Khán, son of Bairám Khán Khánán, and all the Amírs who had been appointed to go from the Court, and were marching towards Ahmadábad through Jálor and Patan. Mirzá Khán remained one day at Patan, and then marching on halted at Sarkich. And (P. 332) Muzaffar returned from Barodah, and committing the charge of the fortress of Barun to his wife's brother, Naqín by name, and to a Rúmi named Jarki, who was a servant who had fled from the imperial Court, had 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 M'amúrabad. And Sayyid Hásím Bárba and Kizr Aqá the wakil of Mirzá Khán were stained in the gore of victory, 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 Mu'harram 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, 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 Ῥουφιος.
4 To become the "Rose of Victory" means to be slain in gaining a victory.
5 Rnádnu, "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 Mirzâ Khân, such as Daulat Khân Afghân Lodî, Mulla Mahmûdî, 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?” Mirzâ Khân 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 Amîrs, and having caused their names to be written on them, 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 Nizâm-ud-dîn Aîmad (who some time during the life of Bairân Khân Khânân had married his foster-sister) and put the case before him. He gave the following advice. These followers2 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 Shihâb-ud-dîn Khân 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’timâd Khân, who once upon a time was commander of 20,000, horse, to salute you? And since Pâyandah Muhammad Khân 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. Mirzâ Khân accepted their advice, and gave up the pretension.

1 See p. 194 note 4.
2 Lakhnou Ed. reads تابیکین 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 Qulij Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah came to Ahmadábad. 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. Muzáffar betook himself to Barodah, and thence towards Rájpúplah, and Nádot. And Mirzá Khán having come to Barodah, sent an army against a servant of Muzáffar's, named Daulat to the gates of Cambay, and brought him out, and then hastened to Nádot; Qulij Khán and the rest of the great Amírs he appointed to go to the mountain district of the interior, where Muzáffar had taken refuge. And everywhere Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad 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. 331) nay even beyond the limits of human power. At last through his efforts a great battle, like the first battle of Sarkieh, took place with Muzáffar. They gained the victory, and Muzáffar's forces were dispersed in all directions. Mirzá Khán came to Ahmadábad, and directed the Amírs of Málwah, and the rest, to besiege the castle of Baroich. After seven months, Jarkas Rúmi, who held the command of that fort on the side of Muzáffar, was killed, and Naqír Muzáffar's wife's brother capitulated.

This year after sending Mirzá Khán and the army of Málwah to Gujrát the Emperor started from A'grah in a boat on a pleasure expedition to Ilábábád, 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 Chishti, who had kept a voluntary fast for seven whole days, and in intense ecstacy had made the circuits of the Ka'abah barfooted until his feet were blistered, 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 Háji Hu-ain, 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 Kháń Kokah, and Bir Bar, who
had formerly been a servant of Rájah Rám Chand B'hatta, on an em-
bassy to Chórágh. Rám Chand agreed to submit, and after
paying Zain Kháń all sorts of hospitality, he kept him with him,
until he came in his company to Fathpúr, and did homage there.
There he offered 120 rubies, and other jewels in the same propor-
tion 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. 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 Miyan Tánsingh, the musician. And I have mentioned
above, how that he gave to Ibráhím Súr the ensigns of royalty.
Miyan Tánsingh did not wish to leave him. Finally Jálál Kháń
Qurechí came, and brought him back to his sense of duty.

At that time A'zam Kháń came in haste from Hájípúr 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 thence-
forth that place should be the Capital. And they struck a new
coinage, and Sharif Sarmádi, the registrar of outposts of whom
some one said:

"There were two registrars, and both were coarse,
One was Sharif and not Nafís,

1 A pun on Jahím and humím.
The other was Nafis and not Sharif," 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 Ilahabad."

About this time Mullá Ilahdád of Amrohah and Mullá Sherí attended the Court in order to flatter the Emperor; for they had been appointed to Cédar-ships in the Duáb of the Panjáb. Mullá Sherí presented to His Majesty, a poem composed by him, entitled Hazár Shu‘á, which contained 1,000 qit‘ahs in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased.

In the month Zi-hájjah of this year the Emperor returned thence, with a view to going to Fatphúr to quell the disturbances in Gujrát; but in environs of Atiawah news arrived of the victory of Mirzá Kháán.

And in the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992), when the Emperor returned to the capital gracious firman was issued to the Amirs of Gujrát. To Mirzá Kháán was given the title of Khán Kháín; and a horse and a dress of honour, and jewelled girdle and dagger, and a tuwántah, and the rank of a commander of 5,000, which was the highest dignity of Amirs. 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.

In this year the Emperor commanded me to make a translation of the Rámáyana, which is a superior composition to the Mahábhára-

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1 I suppose the other was called Nafis "precious." Sharif means "noble."
2 See p. 235 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 plokh-portion consists of 65 letters.² The story is about Rám Chand Rájáh 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 Lachhman 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 brother³ 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 Amir Hamzah,⁴ or else it must have happened in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the jinn— but God alone knows the truth of the matter.

¹ śloka.
² More accurately 32 syllables.
³ He joined Rám early in the conflict. His name was Vibhíshaña.
⁴ An uncle of Muhammad, who named him Asad-ulláh “Lion of God” on account of his courage and valour. His wonderful exploits are celebrated in the Hamzeahnámah.
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 Rāmāyana 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 Mullā Alim of Kābul, who was very learned, and sweet-voiced, and of pleasant conversation, and was the most cheerful fellow imaginable, died, and the date was found to be given by: "The greedy man's hair is covered with dust," and the Fawatik-ul-xcaldyat is his work.

At this time the thirtieth year from the accession, and the Nowroz-i-Sultāni, which corresponds with the Nowroz-i-jalāli, arrived. On the eighth of the month Rabi'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992) the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place. And the customary fancy bazaar and festival was held, 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 Sāmari—were played, and made a great noise. And bilan, which are tents looking like domes, and are an invention of the Europeans, were set up. And they sacrificed their wealth, and life,

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1. I. e., by no means a saint. He was no favourite with our author. See Vol. iii, p. 143. Text, and Blohm pp 159, 546.
2. First steps towards saintship.
3. The new year's day of the Hijār era.
4. The third month.
5. A relative of Aaron according to Al Qurān.
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 way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-disciples\(^2\) he gave them a likeness; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousness, and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And \(\text{Allāh Akhār}\) 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 \(\text{Gudiyah}\) (God bless him and his family and give them peace!) he utterly abhorred. And all his other heretical attacks on orthodoxy who can speak of! Would that my ears were filled with quicksilver, so that what things would they escape hearing! And the failure 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 \(\text{Mujtahid}\) and spiritual director,\(^{6}\)

\(^1\) The 4 grades of devotion, see above.

\(^2\) Bloch. 203, note.

\(^3\) This is a philosophical use of \(\text{داخیل}\). The word \(\text{کیاپت}\) means “economy,” as well as “ability”, “sufficiency.” The whole is sarcastic.

\(^4\) I. e. \(\text{Aishah}\), who was only 9 years old at the time.

\(^6\) \(\text{Fiz. Abu-l-I-Fazl}\).
got the name of *Abu'l-kīahl*, yea "when the ruler is oppressive, the vazir 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 *nawrōz* to be thrown open from time to time for the amusement of the Bəāqs and people of the haram, and the wives of high and low, and on such occasions distributed gold. And the important affairs of those, who were outside the haram, 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 Hindū infidels, (who are indispensable, and of whom half the army, and country will soon consist, and as whom there is not among the Moghuls1 or Hindūstānis2 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 Khān came by forced marches from Ḥājīpur [opposite] Patnāh in accordance with his promise. And representations arrived from Mirzā Muḥammad Ḫakīm to the effect, that Badakhshān had entirely fallen into the power of Abūl-ullāh Khān Uzbek, for that Mirzā Sulaimān, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Makkah, had seized Badakhshān, and that Mirzā Shāhrukh had fought with the Uzbek, and being defeated by him, they had both of them fled for refuge to Hindūstān.

(P. 340) In the first part of the month *Ziq'udah* 2 of this year a communication arrived from Mān Singh from the banks of the Indus, saying that Mirzā Shāhrukh 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 Mirzā Shāhrukh

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1 The then dominant race.
2 Native Musalmāns.
3 The eleventh month.
had then crossed the river Indus. This service of his was favourably received by the Emperor.

In this year many of the Amirs and magnates of the Empire died, and among them was Muhammed Báqi Khán, brother of Ahdam Khán, in the district of Karahkatangah, which was his jagir.

Another was Gházi Khán Badakhshán, who had obtained leave to go from Ilahábád 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!" One night in front of the house of Qalij Khán, where a great company had gathered together to break the Fast, he interpreted the Surah "Amá futahni." 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 mançâb of a thousand horse." I said, "So it seems." Many were angry at this. Afterwards by the intervention of Aqaf Khán, bakhshi, we read the verse "Peace is best," and that trouble was got over. On another occasion when he was going from Ilahábád, I had a discussion with Gházi 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.

And 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, night 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'an, XLVIII.
3 Al Qur'an, 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 Ahmad of Tattah found out a mnemonic
with one unit short:

"The Sultan of heretics."1

At the beginning of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (998)
which was the end of the thirtieth year of the Emperor's reign, Mirzá
Sháírúkh and Rájá Bhagván Dás arrived near Fathpúr, and having
sent the Prince Dányál with Shaikh Ibrahim Chishti, and a num-
ber 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 ele-
phants, and ever so many camels and mules and servants.

Mean while the Emperor, in accordance with his established cus-
tom,2 married the Prince Sultan Salim to the daughter of Rájáh
Bhagván Dás. And going himself to his house the Emperor cele-
brated the ceremony of marriage in the presence of the Qizís and
nobles. And the sum of two kroás of tankáhs was fixed as the
marriage settlement. And they performed all the ceremonies, which
are customary among the Hindus, such as lighting the fire &c., and
over the litter of the Princess the Emperor ordered gold to be scat-
tered 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 Rájáh 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. 312).

And on Thursday the nineteenth of Rabi' ul-awwal3 of the year

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1 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 501 + 30 + 600 + 6 + 1 + 200 + 3 = 991.
2 Fiz. of connecting himself with Hindu families.
3 The third month.
nine hundred and ninety-three, the scouts of the army of spring, and
the advance-guard of the Nouroz-i-Sultani came up, and according to
the writings of Mirza Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, 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 Acce-
sion started in Atak Banaaras from 25th of Rabiu'l-awwal of the
year nine hundred and ninety-four, as shall be related hereafter if
God, He is exalted, will. And at the same time the origin of the mis-
take on the part of the Mirza was forgetfulness of the fact that, on
account of the intercalated days, which every three years makes a
difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a
whole year, between the solar and the lunar years. And I, as I had
no almanack with me, allowed myself necessarily to follow the Mirza,
and the responsibility rests on him (but God knows best!). More-
over the Mirza during these years was in Gujrát, and not with the
Imperial 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 among the Amirs, and suitable presents, so that
even food, and scents, and presents fit for dancing-girls, were ad-
mitted into the treasury. And from a commander of 5000, down to an
Ahadi 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 Hazari on account of my being honoured
with 1000 bighaha of land, followed the example of the old father
of Joseph (peace be on him!) and brought my 10 rupees, 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 com-
mander of 12,000, and to the next 9,000, and to the third 7,000, and

1 Text, p. 851.
2 See p. 321 Text 4 infra.
3 Referring to the "small sum of money which Jacob's sons brought to Pha-
raoch, Al Qu'ran XII, 88.
gave them a separate wardrobe, and royal insignia, and a tumantagh,\(^1\) and kettle-drum.

And at the beginning of this year Mîr (P. 343) Murtaza,\(^2\) and Khâdâwand Khân, the Amîrs of the Dak'în, who had gone from the district of Berâr against Ahmadnagar, which is the metropolis of Nizâm-ul-mulk, were beaten in a battle with Çaâhâbat Khân, the Vazîr of Nizâm-ul-mulk. Then they went to Râjah 'Ali Khân to Bûbânpûr. And Râjah 'Ali Khân plundered them of all their elephants, sent 150 of them by his son, Ibrâhîm Khân, to the Court, where he arrived at the festival of Nourûz. After he had done homage he presented the rest of the goods, which remained over, and stimulated him to conquer the Dak'în. In consequence of this the Emperor made Shâh Fath Ullâh (whom he afterwards called Mîr Fath Ullâh), with the title of Azûd-ul-doulat and a present of 5,000 rupees, and a horse and a robe of honour, Çadr-in-chief of the districts of Hindûstân, and appointed him to the Dak'în; in order that looking after Khân-i-A'zâm and Shihâb-ud-dîn Ahmad Khân and the other Amîrs, and leading an army into that district he might become a rallying point for the Amîrs.

And he left his servant Kamâlé Shirâzî at home as his Deputy, to bring to Court the lackland Aimahdûrs, some of whom still remained scattered here and there. And under him the Çadrâte reached its acme,\(^3\) but afterwards little by little things reached such a point, that Shâh Fath Ullâh, for all his pomp and circumstance, could not make a grant of 5 bigâhs of land! Nay, after withdrawing the whole of the grants of lands, his duty of collecting 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 Aimahdûrs and ryots. And now those oppressions are chronicled in the books of the acts of the Çadrs, although their names are forgotten :—

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\(^1\) See P. 346, note 4.
\(^2\) Instead of aspâdî the Lak'hnou reads asbûdî.
\(^3\) Kamâlé, a pun on his name.
\(^4\) See Blochm. 274.
Of all the Great Qadrs naught remains
In the heart of the Earth but the bones of the Qidrs.

In the month of Rajab 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 Uy-  
'máqs 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".

And in the month of Shábán of this year the Khán Khánán, in  
accordance with orders, came by forced marches from Gujrát to  
Fathpúr, and Muzaffar once more created a disturbance in Gujrát. And  
on account of the great trouble which the Jám, and A mín Khán  
Ghorí, governor of Júnágarh, gave him, and the tricks they had  
played him, he went and laid siege to the fortress of Júnágarh. Qulíj  
Khán remained in Aḥmadábád, and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad sent the  
Amirs of that district against Muzaffar, who was not able to with-  
stand them. He crossed the marsh of the Rin' (which is separated  
from the salt sea by a distance of from ten to thirty cosses, and enter-  
ing the sandy desert of Jaisalmír, there loses itself), and came into  
the district of Kachh.

At this time Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad wrote a letter to me from  
Gujrát, saying that since the Khán Khánan at the time of setting  
out [for Fathpúr] made a promise, that if he got the Emperor's leave  
he would at this time bring with him Mullá ʿIlúhdád Amrohah, and

1 A play on ʿızám-i ʿızám and ʿızám-i ʿızám.
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.
yourself 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 Khan Khánán, when he came into the writing office, which had been set apart in Fathpúr as the translation-department. But he, as quickly as possible, was sent off to Gujrat (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 Khan Khánán having arrived within 10 cosse of Sárohí, determined to take Sárohí and Jálór. And Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Bábhá hastened thither to meet him, and arrived with a large force. The Rájah of Sárohí brought many presents, and gave 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 Khan Khánán had gone to the Court, he had exhibited some unpleasing actions, and shown tokens of rebellion, the Khan Khánán made him prisoner and brought him to Aḥmadábád. He deprived him of Jálr, and left his own army in that place.

And some time before this Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín, the grandson of Máhmúd Bárbáh, on account of a love affair with one of the dancing-girls of the Court by name Siyáh Yámín, who may now be called Ahrímaní,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 Gujrat with his uncle Sayyid Qásím. Some time after the events related above, the Khan Khánán, in accordance with a farrádán, demanded him from Patan (which was Sayyid Qásím’s jágír) and sent him bound to Lálhór. 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 Fathūllah Sharbatí, his wife's brother, he treated
him with great kindness and consideration, and allowed him to re-
main 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
Khvájah Shams-ud-dín from Āṭak Būāras (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 Roshani² 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
smoke³ went towards Kábul by another route. Seventy persons
through thirst, and want of water, perished on that journey.

Meanwhile news arrived that 'Abd’ullah Khán⁴ had fitted out an
army of superior numbers against Mirzá 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 con-
flicting 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 nakhkháds is given by Shakespeare.
² Elphinston, p 617.
³ A common expression in the Sháhnámah, and very appropriate in this con-
text.
⁴ Usbek.
"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
Ḥákím. But when the Amirs represented that the sons of the Mirzá
were still of tender age, and unable to discharge the duties of
government:

(P. 317) "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 firman in haste, and appointed
the Khán Khánán to Gujrát, and sent ‘Azad-ud-daulat from the
Court to Málah and Rāisfī to look after the affairs of the Dak’hin,
and to help Khán-i-Azam and Shiháb-ud-dín Ahmad 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 Shawwát in Dihlí. When at the station of Pániqat
he gave a jágir in the environs of Lak’hnou to Mir Abú-Ughais of
Bókhára, 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’il,
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 habita-
tion: the one at Lodhíyánah, and the other at T’hánsar: and this
enigma was invented to give the date:—

Hemistich.

"The beautiful Rose left the Garden of the World."
And at 3 coses from Siálkót, Mullá Iláhdád Amrohab, who had

1 Rágh-i Jahán "Garden of the World" gives 1062. From this take Zebá
Gul "Beautiful rose," which gives 70, and we get 992. This is one too little.
received a wound in his breast, the fever of which had reached his heart, took a purgative from Hakim Hasan, 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 Cadiq Khan from the confines of Labur to the government of Bakkar. And on (P. 348) 16th of Zi-qa'dah' he encamped on the banks of the river Chanab. At this station Shaikh 'Abd-ur-rahim of Lak'hnou, a friend of Mir Abu-l-Ghais and Shaikh Muhammad Bokhara (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 Hakim Abu-l-Fath. The Emperor bound up his wound with his own hand, and gave orders that he should be taken care of at Siálkot. 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. At this stage Muhammad 'Ali the treasurer, who had been appointed to Kábul, represented, that after the death of Mirzá Muhammad Hákim, Faridún Khán, and Kaiqa'ád, 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 Kháfi, 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-hajjah Ráwal Pindi, which is a town between Aták Banáras and Rohtás, became the Emperor's halting-place. And Mán Singh 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 Mirzá Sháhrukh, and Rájáh Bhagwán Dás and Sháh Quli Mahram, with 5,000 horse to conquer the country of Kašmir.

And in these days he appointed Isma'īl Quli (P. 349) Khán, and Ráj Singh Darbári, against the Balúchis; and Zín Khán Kokah he appointed with a well-appointed army against the Afgháns of Sawad and Bijor.

On the eleventh of Muḥarram of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) Aták 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 Roshání, 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 Salsabil,
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 Roshandis (who are in very truth utter darkness, and hereafter will find their interpretation in darkness*) he appointed Kábul as the jagir of Mán-singh, that he might extirpate those rebels.

In the month of Ḍafar of this year the Emperor sent Sa'íd Khán Gakh'har, and the accursed Bírbar, and Shaikh Faízí, and Fatúláb Sharbatí, and others, in the train of Zín Khán (P. 350). And afterward some days he sent Ḥákím Abu-l-fath 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 willfulness 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 Amirs and chiefs, such as Hasan Khán Pání, and Khwájah ‘Arab, the

* Our author is playing on the word Roshandí which means 'bright.'
Khâq Jahân's pay-master, and Mullâ Shâri 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 Khudjâh 'Arâb!" with one unit too little. Hâkîm Abu-l-fath and Zîn Khân were defeated on the fifth of Râbi 'ul-awwal" 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 Birbar, 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 Amir as he did at that of Birbar. 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 Aîghânîs were coming against Attâk, he sent the prince Murûd the next day across the river Indus, and appointed Râjâh Todar Mal to accompany him in driving back those rebels. But eventually he recalled his son, and appointed the Râjâh to that duty.

In that mountain district he built many forts. In the other direction Mânsîngh, who had been appointed to go against the Roshanâs, slew and took prisoners a large body of them.

At this time news arrived that Mir Qârisîsh, the ambassador of 'Abd-ullâh Khân, had arrived with a letter, and that Nazar Bey Uzbek, governor of Bâlkh, with his three sons had come to do pay homage to the Emperor, because they had quarrelled with the Khân. Consequently he sent Shaikh Farîd Bakhshî, and a body of the Ahâdis to meet that caravan. And this body of men on their return conducted them through the Khaibar Pass. The Roshanâs seized the road, and attacked them, but were defeated.

\[ 9 + 615 + 772 + 98 = 992. \]

\[ \text{The third month.} \]
On the 25th of Rabi 'ul-awwal of this year, the sun entered Aries, and the thirty-first year of the reign began; but according to Nizam's reckoning the thirty-second year. And having arranged the public audience-room at Attak the Emperor received on that day Mir Quraish. And Mánsingh (P. 352) came and did homage at that festival. And Shaikh Faizi composed a qaṣīdah of welcome, 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 for 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. As a matter of fact the son of the Mirzá, named Muḥammad Sharīf, who investigated the dates in the Tabaqat-i-Akbarī after the death of his father Mirzá Nizám ud-dīn Aḥmad must here be acknowledged as the remover of the error.

At this time Mirzá Sháhrukh, and Rájah Baghwaṇ Diś, and Sháh Quli Khán Muhram, who had come to the frontier of Kashmir and reached the Pass of Phulbas, on account of the arrival of the news of the defeat of Zin Khán, saw the best course of action to lie in pacification. So they made peace with Yúsuf Khán, governor of Kashmir. 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 Āmīrs were denied access to the Court and forbidden to travel abroad. But afterwards on the day of Sharaf-i-dīflāb 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 lace of tankahs were given to Nazar Bey which is equal to 500 Persian tumāns. Here is a copy of the letter of 'Abd-ulláh Khán.

1 P. 342 of Text.
* The letter seems not to have been inserted.
Ismá’il Quli Khán and Ráj Singh brought the leaders of the Balochís to the Court. Mán Singh was appointed to help Rájah Todar Mál, and so the Emperor’s mind became at rest again about that province.

On the 24th of Rabí ‘us-sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) the Emperor started from Attak for Lábóhr. And from the banks of the river Behtar he sent Ismá’il Quli 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 Hámid of Bokhárá in Pesháwar to help Ismá’il Quli Khán, and to make a road.

On the 17th of the month Jamáda’-s-sání he arrived at Lábóhr. Contemporaneously with these events the worthless head of ‘Aqaf Bahádur, who in the neighbourhood of Khákim Abul-Fath, 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 Kámdán, and found its resting-place on the pinnacles of the fortress of Lábóhr. And thus this disturbance was quelled.

On the 19th of the month Rajab² the Emperor married the daughter of Ráj Singh B’hatta to the Prince Sultán Salín.

And at the beginning of the month of Sha’bán³ Muḥammad Qásim Kháín, Múr-bahr, and Fath Kháín, the Master of the Elephants, and general, started with a number of the Amírs to conquer Kashmir. When, before this the Emperor had imprisoned Yúsuf Kháín Kásmirí, who had come under the safe-conduct of Rájah Baghwan Dáś, and wished to have him put to death, Baghwan Dáś in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger. But by the advice of Shaikh ‘Abd’ur-rahím the heretic, he gained his point, and eventually in companionship became a partner with him⁴. When the Amírs arrived at the Pass of Katrúl,

¹ The fourth month.
² The seventh month.
³ The eighth month.
⁴ Probably he means, that Baghwan Dáś became as heretical as Shaikh Abd’ur-rahím.
Ya‘qūb the son of Yūsuf, who had been received among the nobles of the Court, and like Muzzaffar of Gujrat had received 30 or 40 rupees a month, and had fled to Kashmir, and on account of his bigotry for the Shī‘ah heresy had killed the Sunnī Qāzī 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 Amir, 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 Qāsim Khān, and some of them in Srinagar, which is the capital of Kashmir, raised the standard of revolt. Ya‘qūb 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 Kashmir without any one to oppose them. Ya‘qūb having no power to resist them fled for refuge to the mountains. Thus the kingdom of Kashmir at one blow came into their power. Again Ya‘qūb collected a force and attacked Qāsim Khān, but was defeated. Again he made a night-attack, and gained no advantage. And the Mīrzādah ‘Alī Khān 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 Qāsim Khān, and went with him to do homage to the Emperor. Finally the Emperor sent him before his father to Bihār to Rājah Mán Singh. And Yūsuf and Ya‘qūb 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 Ramazan1 Mīr Quraish the ambassador, with Ḥakīm Humām, brother of Ḥakīm Abul-Fath, and Mīr Sadr Jābān the mufti of the imperial dominions, an inhabitant of the village Pihānī in the district of Qanouj, were despatched to Transoxania in order to offer condolence to Sikandar Khān, the father of Abd-ullāh Khān. And he sent as a present nearly a lac and a half of rupees, and all sorts of gifts of the valuable things of Hindūstān by the hand of Muḥammad ‘Alī the treasurer.

1 The ninth month.
In these days the Roshanais with about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse came against Sayyid Ḥāmid of Bokhára one of the great Amirs of the Sultans 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 Mahram, and Sháikh Fárid bakhshí were sent in that direction to repair this disaster. And Mán Singh came out from Kábul with all his force to the Khaibár Pass, and fought a severe battle with the Roshanais, 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 Išmáil Qulí Khán was at the station of Auhand (?) with a well-appointed army, came to the assistance of Singh, Mán and the Afgháns fled. Nearly 2,000 of them were killed.

At the same time Mirzá Suláimán 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 Khaibár Pass. Thence he went to Himístán, and in the month of Rabí‘ul-awwal1 of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (955) he paid homage at Láhór.

Among the notable things which happened is the following: Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, 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 ʻAbdílláh Khán had given him in charge to his own teacher and spiritual guide, Khwájah Kalan Beg Bagshbandí, one of the grandsons of Khwájah Ahrár (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 Suláimán Mirzá arrived at Court in incognito, together with some beggars from Transoxiana, 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 Túghán an Akádi1 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 Rábí’-us-sáni of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) the celebration of the Imperial New Year's Day (P. 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 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 jalálahu," and that this was to take the place of "Saláám" and the response "Saláám". And another was, that the beginning of the reckoning of the Hindú month should be from the 28th and not from the 13th3 (which was

1 For the Lak'hnou edition has عهدى.
2 Lak'hnou edition reads مي not مي.
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 formáns 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 Mussalmáns. 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 Tárikí. And he defeated him together with the leaders of Afghan 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 calamity, ensued on the slaughter and capture of these people.

And in this year, which was nine hundred and ninety-five, the birth of Sultán Khusrau, son of the Prince Sultán 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 Birbar was still alive; after that he was safely located in the lowest

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1 L. e., Rouhaní. See p. 361, note.
2 Lakhmán has خا instead of خا.
grade of Hell. The following is a summary of the matter. When the malignant Hindus 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 Nagarkôt, in the northern hills, in company with Jogis and Sanñyásis; and that he was walking about. And His Highness believed, that it was not improbable that a cat like him, who had become detached from the attractions of the world, should have assumed the garb of a faqir, and on account of shame for the misfortune he had sustained at the hands of the Yusufzásis 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 Lábhor. But after that an Ahadí 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 faqir. And the Collectors of Kálinjár sent a written report to this effect: "when they were anointing him with oil 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. The Hindu Krori deceitfully took a certain poor traveller, who had been condemned to death, and treating him as Bir 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 Bir 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 Krori, 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 Čádiq Khán having gone against the district of

1 Hindi, Sanskr. viđāli. The reference is again to that story in the Anwár-i Sohailī, ed. Ouseley, pp. 274 sqq.
2 Tel or tāli Hindi and Sanscrit.
3 That the barber should come to Court.
Tattah, laid siege to the fort Sihwán, and Mírzá Jání Beg, grandson of Múḥammad 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 Zi-Qā'dah' the Emperor sent Ain-ul-mulk back with the ambassadors, and confirmed the government on Mírzá Jání, and issued a farmaá to forbid Čádiq Khán to molest him.

At the beginning of Itábi's-sa'í a Khán Kokáh 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, Mírzá Khán, came from Gujrá with that paragon of the age Sháh Fath Ulláh of Shíráz, who was called Aẕ-ud-da'ulat, in haste to Láhái. And on the 27th of the month Rajáb' Čádiq Khán came from Bakkar.

A summary of the affairs of Múzaffar and the Khán Khánán is as follows: Múzaffar after his second defeat at Nálot fled, by way of Chanpání, to the district of Súrat, and took up his abode at Kundál, which is 15 cosses from Chúnagár and 3,000 scattered horsemen rallied round him. And he sent a lac of Múnhábndís and a jewelled dagger and girdle to Amin (P. 350) 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 Ahamdádád, and so excited his cupidité. Amin Khán with the finest finesse sent him deceitfully to the Jám, Satársál 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. Múzaffar arrived at a place six cosses from Ahamdádád and there waited for the fulfilment of the promise of Amin Khán Ghórí, and the Jám, while the Khán Khánán came in great haste with a strong body of men. And Múzaffar despairing of the help of the faithless Amin,

1 The eleventh month.
2 The seventh month.
3 Text 333, 7 infra.
4 Múzaffar.
5 Punning on his name.
and the slippery Jálm, returned in confusion to the mountain district, and took refuge in Dwárká, which is the name of the capital of Súrat. And the Jálm sent his Wakíl, and Amin Khán his son, through the intervention of Sháh Abu Turáb, to the Khán Khánán. The men of the Jálm 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, who were the clan of his mother, went towards Gujrát. He took refuge in a place called Ašniyáh, which is situated on the bank of the river Sárbarmáti 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 Báráh fought a great battle, and Muzaffar found his name deceptive. And his elephants and parasol fell into the hands of the people of the sun, and many of his people were killed. He himself fled to Kátiwár, which is outside the dependencies of Gujrát. The Khán Khánán returned from Barodah, and went against the Jálm. The Jálm, on the other hand, collected a force of 8,000 horsemen (p. 360), and 2,000 of his servants (they say), who had forswn food, and sworn to die for him, came out to meet him. When a distance of 7 cossec remained the Jálm sent his own son with three elephants, and eighteen Kachi 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 time in haste in accordance with a firmáån to Fathpúr. And Muzaffar during his absence with the help of the Kátis and other zamindárs, laid seige to the fortress of Chúnágarh. Nizám-ud-dín Áḥmad and Sayyid Qásim Báráh, with a body of men, by command of Qulí Khán went from Aḥmadábád towards Súrat, and Muzaffar

1 Means “cup.” Another pun.
2 Káthí. The name of a tribe inhabiting Káthíwár. 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 Gujrat, as has been described before.

After that the Khan Khánán arrived at Ahmadábad by way of Sarohí and Jálwar, the Emperor appointed Sháh Fáthulláh Azd-ud-doulah, together with Mír Murtaza and Khudáwand Khán, to govern the district of Barár, and sent them in the escort of A'zam Khán and Shiháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán and the other Amírs of Málwah and Ráisín, and wrote a farmán to the ñef-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 Ahmdnagar. 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 Ahmad 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 Ráisín, which (P. 361) was his jáɡír. A'zam Khán went against him, and nearly brought a great disgrace on the reputation of the Empire. And Khwáiýagí Fathulláh bakhshi 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 'Álí Khán, governor of A'sír and Burhánpur, 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 Gujrat, 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."
And Rájah 'Ali 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 Ilíchpúr 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 Mah- múdá vád 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 Aḥmadá bád 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 Amirs, who were appointed to that district, to go together to Barodáh, 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 Khánán went to Behróách. 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 Malwáh and the Khán Khánán from Behróách to Aḥmadábád, and Rájah 'Ali Khán and the Dak'hinís went to their own homes again. Five months had passed since this event, when the Khán Khánán sent from Aták Banárás, which he also called Aták Katak¹, a petition to Court in the following terms: “Since the Emperor has determined to attempt the conquest of Bādakhshán, 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 Aták to Láhóhr a farmán was addressed to him, ordering that Qulí Khán and Nizám-ud-dín Aḥmad should remain in Gujrat, 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 Láhóhr, and of his bringing Aẓl-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 Túrikh-i-Nizámí.

And in this year Mír Abu-l-Gháys 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 Láhúr of an attack of cholic. This sacred bier was brought to Dihlí and buried in the Ronzah-i A'bi-i-kirám, and the date was found to be given by "The Mír of praiseworthy disposition".—(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 Búturáh,3
   Abu-Gháis, whom the Heaven calls a Gous, the pivot of the sky.
   Alas! for my lord of worthy disposition, and of as happy fortune,
   The nature of Muhammad was manifest in his smiling face.
   A Bokháráí through whom Dihlí became the Qubbát-al-Islám.4
   What is become of that Qubbah, and that Islám, and where
   O God! is its Musalmán?

1 $40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 4\cdot0 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 925$.
2 A title of 'Álî.
3 One of the 7 Abúdát, 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 Ispahan.
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.”

And in Sha’bán of the said year Mán Singh came to Court. News
also came that Abd-ulláh Khán had taken Hari², and slain ‘Alí
Qulí Khán, commandant of that place, together with an immense
number of Turkomán and inhabitants of the town, and “the taking
of Hari” was found to give the date.

In the month Muḥarram³ of the year nine hundred and (P. 364)
ninety-six (906) 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 Harú.
³ $300 + 20 + 60 + 400 + 5 + 200 + 10 = 995$.
⁴ The first month.
At this time he gave the government of Kashmir to Yusuf Khan Razawi of Mashhad, and sent for Muhammad Qasim Khan from that place.

On the twelfth of qafar¹ of the year nine hundred and ninety-six (996) he sent Muhammad Caidiq Khan to expel Yusuf Zii from Sawad-u-Bajir², and he gave the jagir of Man Singh, consisting of Sawalikat³ &c. to him. And he sent for Isma'il Quil Khan from Sawad-u-Bajir, and appointed him to supersede Quilij in Gujrat.

In this month Mirza Fulad Beg Barlas managed to get Mullá Ahmad the Shi'ah, 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, and other persons also observed this phenomenon, God preserve us from the wickedness of our souls! They bound Mirza Fulad 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 Hajim Abul-Fath and asked him: “Can zeal for the faith have been the motive of your killing Mullá Ahmad?” (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 Shi'ahs 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 Sealcoat.
⁴ 7 + 5 + 10 + 600 + 50 + 3 + 200 + 80 + 6 = 31 + 4 = 996.
⁵ 600 + 6 + 29 + 60 + 100 + 200 + 10 = 396.
⁶ See Blockm. p. 206, n. 2.
river]. After his burial Shaikh Faizi and Shaikh Abu-I-Fazl set guards over his grave, but in spite of all precaution in the year when His Majesty went to Kashmir 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 Quli Khan came from Gujrat 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 Kámaún, 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 Sawálík 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. 360) the heat of the atmosphere died on the way. I saw it, and it was in form like a fox, and two small tusks projected 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 Hakim Ayn-ul-mulk arrived with the ambassadors of Mirzá Jání\(^3\), and brought all sorts of presents, and became the recipient of His Majesty's kindness.

\(^1\) See Blochm. p 207, n. 1.

\(^2\) \(300 + 10 + 6 + 70 + 40 + 70 + 80 + 10 + 10 + 400 = 996\) is spelt with only one but to make the date right it must be written with \(i\) ambd.\(^4\)

\(^3\) See p. 370
In the month Jamáda’-l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven (997) I finished the translation of the Rámayána, 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 Muhammad 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 Bayání 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 wakil, 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 éme 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-Fath to give me a shawl from the privy wardrobe, and a horse and my expenses. Then he said to Sháh Fath-ullah ‘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 Biddión, we have of our own will changed his madad-ma’dsh without abatement from Basáwar to Badáón.

Sháh Fath-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 *ajmáh*-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 Fath-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 Gujrat to see Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, 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 *Chouqán Begí*, and Mirzá-dah 'Ali Kháń, who were of the most esteemed Amirs, died in Kashmir in the following circumstances. Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh Khán on the twelfth of the month *Rabi' ul-awwál* 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 Mirzá Yúsuf Kháń, and caught a fever, and gave up his soul to the Beloved. And Mirzá-dah 'Ali Kháń, was killed one year before (P. 369) thus, on the night when Ya'qúb made a sudden attack on Muḥammad Qásim Kháń:—

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 of the year nine hundred
and ninety-seven the Emperor set out from Kábul for Kashmír, which
he called his haram 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 firmán to the Prince ordering
him the take the haram on to Rohtás and there await the Emperor's arrival.

At this time that wonder of the age Sháh Path-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 Hakim 'Ali 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 cities² of Kashmír, by the side
of the tomb of Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khán Chougán Begi. And that
king of poets Shaikh Faizí wrote as an elegy on him a tarkíbbán,³
of which the following verses form a part :—

1 The sixth month.
² Viz., Srinagar, i.e., Kashmír the Capital.
³ See Gladwin's Dissertations, &c., p. 39.
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 Fath-ullah Shirazi,
Two hundred Bu-naqârs\(^2\) and Bu'-alis\(^3\) 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 tilházi.
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!\(^4\)

On the twenty-seventh of Ramazán\(^4\) of this year the Emperor intending to go to Kából went by way of Pak'hí to the fortress of Atak. During this journey Íkákım Abu-l-fath died at the halting-place of Damtûr,\(^5\) and was buried in Húsán Abdál:—

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\(^1\) In ٤٤٨٤ح and ٤٥٠٤ح there seems to be an indirect reference to the "four elements" and the "nine heavens."

\(^2\) A name of Al-FâryâBI a great Arabic Doctor who died 343 A. H.

\(^3\) A name of Ibn Sina (Avocenná) 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," 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 Shabbáz Khán was appointed to go and repel the remnant of the Yusúfzáí Afghánis. On the twenty-second of Zi-qa'dáh of this year the Emperor arrived in Kabul. At this time Ḥákím Hamám and Čadr Jahán returned from being with Abú-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 'Amir-ul-umárá, 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;" 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."

(P. 372). On the twentieth of Muḥarram of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998) having assigned the government of Kabul to Muhammad Qásím Khán, Commander-in-chief by land and sea, the Emperor returned towards Hindústán. He appointed 'Aẓám Khán

\[ 600 + 4 + 1 + 10 + 300 + 60 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 4 = 997. \]
\[ 2 + 5 + 20 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 40 + 200 + 4 + 50 + 4 = 998. \]
\[ 6 + 10 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 204 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 40 = 998. \]
to the government of Gujrat, and sent a farmán ordering him to remove from Mālwah to that place, and sent for Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad to return to Court. He gave Joumpūr to the Khán Khánán instead of Gujrat, and Mālwah was given to Shihāb Khán. And A‘zam Khán to spite Shihāb Khán laid Mālwah waste, and levelled it all to the ground.

At this time Khudáwānd of the Dāk‘hīn, 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 Kārī in the district of Gujrat, went to the abode of Hīl. And the mnemosyne was found: “Khudáwānd of the Dāk‘hīn is dead.”

And on the fourteenth of Jamā‘al-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 Diwan-khānah of Lāhor, and on the second day of Nowrūz that city became the royal camping-place. And on the third day Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad having travelled six hundred cases 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 Baghwān Dās, the Emperor gave to Mán Singh the title of Rājāh, and sent him a farmān 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 Bādāūn to Court, and met Mīrzā Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad after a separation of seven years.

(P. 373). In this year A‘zam Khán went from Gujrat to conquer the countries of Súrat and Júnāghar. And the Jám Satr Sál, and Doulāt Khán the son of Amin Khán Ghorí, who had succeeded his

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1 Read ۹۹۸ instead of ۹۹۶ and we get the correct date, viz., ۶۰۰ + ۴ + ۱ + ۶ + ۵۰ + ۴ + ۴ + ۲۰ + ۵۰ + ۴۰ + ۲۰۰ + ۱۴ = ۹۹۸.

2 The fifth month.
father, being beguiled by temerity and the number of his revenue, 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. Khwajah Rafi Badakhshi leader of the left wing, who was a youth distinguished for his valour and courage, and Muhammad Hussain 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 Turáth, was also martyred. And of the infidels four thousand men went to Hell in the company of the son of the Ján, who was his father's vicegerent:

"The stock which was drunk through the passing of the cup,  
Behold now it is desolate and with his cup broken!  
The king of the world is drunk with the joy of wine,  
Because the Ján is come into the king's hand."

This victory took place on the first day of the week, the sixth of Shawwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998), and Shaikh Faízí found the date to be given by "A glorious victory."

In this year at Ahmadábád that Pattern of learned and profound sages, the author of comprehensive works, the wise unto God, Shaikh Wajih-ud-dín answered, "Adsum" to God's lictor's call, and "Shaikh Wajih dín" was found to give the date:  

1 There is a pun on the name Ján which also means "Cap"; also on dawr, "passing" and "age.
2 That is, has broken up the assembly.
3 The tenth month.
4 80 + 400 + 6 + 9 + 1 + 400 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 10 = 999, which is one too many.
5 800 + 10 + 800 + 4 + 5 + 10 + 5 + 4 + 10 + 60 = 998...
May God have mercy on him, abundant mercy!"

In this year too Shaikh Cháyan Ladah1 successor to Shaikh 'Abdi-
ul-aziz of Dihli, who was the chief orthodox religious teacher in
the town of Sbnah (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 Jonpur 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 Múzá Jání. And in the month Rabí‘u-
sání of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (399), the Emperor
despatched to that quarter the Khán Khánán, with a number of re-
nowned Amírs, such as Sháh Bég Khán, and Sayyid Bihá’ud-dín
Bokhrá and Mír Muhammad Ma’qúím Bakkárí and others, and a
hundred elephants with them. And the prince of poets Shaikh Faízí
found the date "On for Tatáh!"3

In this year came from Málik the news of the death of Shiháb-
ud-dín Khán, and "I am Shiháb 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 Kashmir, which Múllá Sháh Muhammad of Shiháb-kád,
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 Sbnah is a town about 18
miles from Dohn.

* 8 + 100 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 80 + 100 + 200 = 998.
* 100 + 90 + 4 + 800 + 5 = 999.
* 300 + 9 + 1 + 2 + 600 + 1 + 50 + 40 = 999.
* 700 + 40 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 6 = 990 + 1 + 80 + 999.
presented it, and it was put into the Imperial library, and it is read as a sample.

In this year Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishti died a natural death at Fathpur, 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 kros 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 his agents. And since he was noted and notorious for avarice and vice, and was accursed, "Base of disposition"¹ (P. 375), and "Vile Shaikh"² became the unmemosyon of his death.

In this year many of the chief men of Lāhūr died. Of this number were Khanjari Turk, who died of emerods; and Shaikh Ahmad the younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-rahim by a fatal accident with an elephant; and Mulla 'Urī of Shirāz, the celebrated poet, of an ordinary¹ bodily ailment. And at the moment of departing he uttered the Rubā'ī:—

"Urī! 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."³

And since he had said a great many impolite words against the doctors, both ancient and modern, they found out this unmemosyon for his death:—

Said "Urī: 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 + 10 + 50 + 600 + 4 + 1 = 999.
At this time Hakím Hamám praised the book Mu'jam-ul bud láni, 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 Bâdáûn, and it was accepted.

On the twenty-fourth of the month Jamâ'ah'-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. Among the different edicts, which were fixed in this year, is the forbidding of (P. 370) 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 Hâji Mîrzâ Bîg Kabûlî, who had gone to ‘Ali Ráí, ruler of Little Tibet, brought his daughter and married her to the eldest prince.

And a treatise was written concerning the manners and customs, and religious sects of those people from the account of Mîrzâ Bîg, and Mûlî Tâlib Iqfahání, 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 Akbârnâmah, in which is a description of the cities of Hindûstán and Kabûl, and Tibet and Kashmir.

1 Blochm., p 106.
2 The Lakh’man text has 2 instead of 23.
Towards the end of Shaban¹ of this year the Emperor allowed Mirzá Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad to go to the parganna of Shamsábíd, which had been given him as his jāgir. And the son of his maternal aunt, Muhannad Ja'far by name, a very able young man indeed, and a regular Bahádur in fighting and friendship fell in action at that place, and the following munsuqyoun 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 Ahmad five months' leave of absence. And when the afore-said 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 Čâdr Jahân 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 Shamsábíd, and there (P. 377) I fell ill, and going to Badasun and visiting my relatives they occupied themselves in preparing plasters and cures. The Mirzá hastened to Lihôr. And on account of the book Khirul-ażâ, which had disappeared from the Library, and concerning Salimah Sultan Begum's study of which the Emperor reminded me, (and though many messengers consisting of my friends started for Badasun, on account of certain hindrances they never arrived,) an order was issued that my madad-ma'ish should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me volens volens. And the aforesaid Mirzá (may he be steeped in God's mercy,) did me many acts of kindness in secret. But Shaikh Abu-I-Fazl did not lay my repeated representations before the Emperor, so that no refutation at all should reach his ears.

In Shawwal² 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 Faizi was sent to Raja 'Ali Khan ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. And Amin-ud-din, who was formerly called Muhammad Amin, and at his own special request got the name of Amin-ud-din, was sent to Burhan-ul-mulk, who had left the Court, and with the help of friendly Amirs had raised himself to the Sultanate and assumed absolute power in Ahmad-Nagar, which was the place of his ancestors. And one, Mīr Muhammad Amin by name, who was a former servant of Ĉādiq Khan, was sent to 'A'dil Khan ruler of Bijāpur. And Mīr Munir was sent to Qutb-ul-mulk the ruler of Golkandah. The order was that Shaikh Faizi should deliver his letter to Raja 'Ali Khan, and then go on to Burhan-ul-mulk. And there the friendship between the Shaikh and Amin-ud-din 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, and accused him of giving him poison, and said:

"Bābā Shaikhū (P. 378) Ji 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 Ḥakīm Hamān, 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 Murād. In a short space of time the Emperor's sickness was changed into health, and the people of the harem and the Shāhzādah Murād told this incident to the Emperor.

1 Prince Salm, afterwards Jāhāngīr.

*Jāhāngīr* says in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk*, p. 1) that his father always called him by this name. *Shaikhū* is the vocative plural in Hindūstānī.
On this account on the twelfth of Zí·hajjah of this year the Em-
peror gave the government of Májwah to the Prince Sulțán Murád,
who was entitled Páhírí. On appointing him to this government he
granted him a pennon, kettle-drum, martial music, and a royal
standard, 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 Qull Khán as his wákîl, 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” they thought superior to the other princes in majesty and
pomp. Having gathered together an immense army from the environs
of Agrab, Qunnauj, and Guáyár, he fought in the neighbourhood
of Narwar several engagements with Madhukar, the zamínádár of
Undelah, who was distinguished above all the Rajáhs 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 struts by his robberies, and desert-
ed him in every direction. But at that time Madhukar died a natural
death, and went to Hell. His son came with liltng offerings, and
had an interview with the Prince, who sent him with Yár Muḥámmad,
the son of Čáliq 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 Újjain, 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

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3 The twelfth month.
4 Because he was born in the mountain district. See Táziyá, p. 26 (Trans.).
5 See Siochm., plate 9, 4
2 The three princes were Salim, Murád, and Danyal.
3 Means “Bee,” “honey-maker.”
4 Spelt in our maps Ooroka.
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
Joumágarh, who had been wounded in battle with the Jám, died.
A'zam Khán had gone to try and reduce that fortress, and the Amirs
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 Zi-qádah in the
aforesaid year.

And on the twenty-sixth of Muharram\(^1\) 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 Jâlsilmur many gunners and Rá'
Singh, who was one of the Amirs (P. 380) of four thousand, t
the assistance of the Khán Khánán. And Jání Beg, after a mo
valiant resistance was at last conquered and reduced to extremity
so that he submitted and gave his daughter to the son of th
Khán Khánán. After the conquest of Kashmir he came to
the Khán Khánán (as will be related) and did homage to the
Emperor.

On the fifth of Jâmá’í\(^2\) 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:—

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\(^1\) 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."

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 Ashrafis 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 Qulij Khan, 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 furusans 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 Khwajah Shams-ud-din the Chief Dīwān, that command was really put in force.

On the day of Shavval-i-альной, which was the 10th degree of Aries, Ja’far Beg, whose title was A’ṣf Khal Bakhshi, the Emperor appointed to march against Jalalud the Rosha’ni, who had got in advance of Abd-ulhād Khan and was marching on Kabul, that with the help of Muḥammad Qāsim Khan, the commandant of Dihli, he might exterminate those rascals. And Nizām-ud-din Ahmad (P. 381) he appointed to the post of paymaster-general. And at the end of Safar2 he appointed Zin Khān Kōkāh to help Aṣf Khal to exterminate the remnant of the Rosha’ni and to colonise the district of Sawād-u-Bajūr, which had been completely desolated. In the middle of the month Shavvāl3 of this year Ḥātīz Sultān Rakhimah of Herat, who was a most excellent person, of whom a host of worthy traces are remaining, notably the garden and buildings of Sarhind, which

\[ \begin{align*}
200 + 10 + 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 1 + 1 + 4 + 6 + \\
40 + 80 + 60 + 14 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 10 &= 1000.
\end{align*} \]

1 The eighth month.
2 The ninth month.
3 The tenth month.

50.
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 Faizi of Sarhul 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 Hudd." ³

On the twenty-fourth of Shavval [news of the rebellion of] Yadgär Kal, nephew of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Razvi, who had left him as his deputy in Kashmir and set off to the Court, arrived. And the Emperor having left Quilí Khán to settle some affairs in Lihór, 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 Chanú. At this place the news became current that Yadgär had fought a battle with Husain Beg Sháikh 'Unri Badakhshí, who was collector of the revenues of Kashmir, and had come off victorious; and that the Kashmiris had cut off the ears and noses of Qázi Āli Baghdádí, the enemy of the annahdar (who held the post of Díváin of Kashmir, 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 Ekhboh means "fissure." The verse may also be rendered "Akhshah went to Paradise, and glory departed." The numerical value of bağh "garden" is 1003: that of َة water is 3, take 3 from 1003 and you get the date 1000.

² I. e., from ٥ 1000 which is at the end of the word ٥ َة "garden."

³ ١١ + ٨ + ١ + ٨٠ + ٩٠٠ = 1000.

⁴ Husain Beg and Qázi Āli had been sent by Akbar to Kashmir to look into the revenue. Blochme, p. 346.
and sent him back again; and this resemblance was found for the

"When Qâzî 'Ali Baghdâdî
Brought the anger of Yâdghr upon him,
The pen of the Munshi of Fate wrote
The date of his death, the obnoxious one is dead."

After this Yâdghr in accordance with the ancient customs of the
set a jewelled turban on his bald head and borrowed the name
Sultân.

"The crown of empire, and diadem of royalty
How shall it come to every bald man, God forbid!"

They say that the custom of Kashmir is that on the day of the
cession they stand drawn up in two ranks holding their naked
words over the new king's head. They say that on this account
Yâdghr at the time of the reading of the khutbah fell into a tremour,
fainted, and did not recover for some time. One of the incidents
which occurred is the following. The very same day that he found
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
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."

Iusain Bêg Shaikh 'Umri fled, and thinking half a life a great
gain left the passes of Kashmir as quickly as possible, and reaching
Râjîrî, which is between Kashmir and the end of his journey, he
there waited for orders. Yâdghr gave manâqabs and jâjîrs to his
men, and giving them all sorts of titles appropriated the treasures
and horses and arms of Mirza Yusuf Khân. And his wives and

1 46 + 700 + 10 + 10 + 200 + 4 = 1000.
2 His name Kal means "bald."
3 On the frontier of the Panjâb and Kashmir.
family, after taking away all the gold and ornaments and useful female slaves, he mounted on small horses, and sent out of Kashmir 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 Amirs 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 Abúl-Fazl. Meanwhile he sent forward Shaikh Faríd bakshī with Shaikh ‘Abd-ur-rahim of Lak'humou 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 Kashmir with a large force intent on fighting, and that he had alighted at a pass called Hirápúr, 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 Afghans, 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 Láhidj.

When in the month of Zíhijjah1 of this year the Author came from Badáún to the Camp in accordance with orders, Ḥákím 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 p. 376.
a report from Ḥakīm ‘Aīn-ul-mulk to the same effect from Dihlī. 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 Khānīsh. So I remained repulsed, grieved, and disappointed in the camp, which was left with (P. 384) Prince Dānīl at Rohtās. 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 Qasidah e bordah,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 Kashmir to Lihōr rendered him favourably disposed towards me, and on the pretext of my making a translation of the Jām‘-i Rashīdī,² which is a very huge volume, some kind and true friends, such as Mīr Nizām-ud-dīn &c., mentioned my name confidentially at his private audience. And so a command was issued that I should wait upon him. After his return from Kashmir on the day of Bahman-khar³ of the festival month of Bahman, the divine month,⁴ which corresponded with the seventeenth of Rabī-ul-akhir⁵ of this year the Emperor granted me an audience. I offered him an ashrafī, 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 Jām‘-i Rashīdī was with the approval of ‘Alīm Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl issued to me. Of this whole book I took the genealogical tree of the Khalīfs of the Abbasīdes and of the Omānīs 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-ullāh Muhammad Shari-uddin.
² Mordey, 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 sāhōn.
⁴ That is, according to the Ilahī 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 Kāshmir, 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 Yūsuf Khán, on the sixth of the month of Jāfar\(^2\) of the year one thousand and one he embarked in a boat on his way back, and reached Bārah Mūlah on the confines of Kāshmir (P. 385) and at the end of the road to Pakhālī.

On the road he came to a lake, which is known as Zain-lankā,\(^3\) 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 coses, and is very deep. The river Bābāi flows through it Sultan Zain-ul-ābidūn, whose history has been written succinctly in my abridgment of the history of Kāshmir, had a jarīb 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 Kāshmir is a sensitive tree in the village of Khānpūr, the width of its stem is two arash\(^4\) and its height more than a gōz, and its branches are like an inverted Bēl-i-Majnūn,\(^5\) 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 Shāh Fath-Allāh Shāhāzī, and his account has been inserted in the Akbarnāmah by 'Allānī Shāikh Abru-Fazl.

During the first part of the month Rabi‘-ul-awwal\(^7\) of this year His Imperial Highness took up his abode at Ruhštās. On the fifteenth of this month he returned to that abode of delights Pe-

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1. The first month.
2. The second month.
3. According to the Tānik (Sayyid Ahmad's Text, p. 45, last two lines) it was the building which was called Zain-lankā. The lake was called Ugr.
4. Jellum or Hydaspes.
5. A cubit. "Feters."
6. Weeping willow
7. The third month.
sháwar, and on the sixth of the month Rabi‘-us-sáni‘ he took up his abode in that city which is the city of all arts. At that time news came, that Bahádur Kordah, a little account of whom has already been given, after the death of Qutlu Lohání² 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 Jumáda‘-sáni‘ 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 Jumáda‘-sáni‘ 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 manqásb and jügtés. At first, Multán was fixed as the jügt of Mirzá Jání, after some time he was transferred to Thathah, and Multán was given to Mirzá Rastán, as shall be hereafter narrated, it God, He is exalted⁷ will.

At this time came news that, when the Khán-i-A’zam took possession of Surat Muzaffar Guzrátí, who was in that neighbourhood, fled to Kangár the zamíndár of the province of Kachh 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 Khán⁵ 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 Nohánt.
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 Orisah.
In this year in accordance with the decree that all the Amirs of
the frontier at the end of a certain fixed period should come to Court,
which was a very wise and politic provision, a jámáda 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 Jánágáph,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 Abl-Fazi
and Birbar, 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 Gamiliel, son of Rabbi
(Mishnah, Aboth iv.) “Make His will thy will, that He may make thy will
His will.” And for the “turn” of the verse, compare Kapit’s note on the
Masógdí:

Cathayam, solis amans, solam dum spectat amanum,
Duuri cum, quem flet, tu quoque solus esercem.

² The capital of Surat.
Rajab\(^1\) of the aforesaid year he left Jumaghar and went to the port of Diá intending to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and the following *memosyllon* 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 heed the date of the year,
It said: *Mirzâ Kôkab 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 *farman* was sent to the Prince Sulhán Murád that he should become governor of Guzrít, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Qâlij Khán, in the place of Janbal Quli Khán as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Baruch, on account of the removal of Qâlij Khán, was fixed as his *jilijir*. In this year Zum Khán Kôkab and Aqaf Khán who had been appointed to punish the Afghans of Swât and Bajír, and to extirpate Jallilah the Rashúná (P. 388), killed many of them, and captured the wives and family of Jaliláh, and his brother Wâljat 'Ali 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 Zil-qâdah\(^5\) of this year the government of the district of Mîlah was given to Mirzâ Shah Khán. And Shahbuz 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

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\(^1\) The seventh month.

\(^2\) \(40 + 10 + 200 + 7 + 1 + 20 + 6 + 25 + 2 + 8 + 3 + 80 + 200 + 400 = 1062\). The date is therefore 1601.

\(^3\) He went with all his children and a ten members suite.

\(^4\) Abu Ishaq bin Adham a great saint, died 165 A. H. He made a very famous pilgrimage alone to Makkah. See D'Hérbelot *sub voc* "Adham." 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 wakif to Mirzá Sháh Rukh.

On the seventeenth of Zí-qá'dah of this year the learned Shaikh Mubárik departed from this world. At his funeral his sons shaved their heads and beards and mustaches and eyebrows as people do the beard. And Faizi, the king of poets, found the date: *Pride of perfection*; and I found the date: The perfect Shaikh. And *A new land* gives the date on which these people had their hair, beard, mustaches, and eyebrows shaved.

On the eighth of the month Muharram of the year one thousand and two (1002) Mirzá Rustam bin Sultan Ihsán Mirzá bin Bahárán Mirzá bin Ima'íl Çafawi, who himself held the government of Zamindáwar and its environs, and his elder brother Mirzá Muzaffar Ihsán held the government of Qubalahír and the Ga'ím ir,6 being angry with his brother, came to Court with his children, wife, family and brother-german. The Emperor sent Hákím 'Aim-ul-mulk and others to meet him, and take to him a private pavilion, and an audience tent, carpets and other paraphernalia of the *fizarbd khánah*, a belt and jewelled dagger. And at four *costs* from him he ordered the Khan Khánán, and Zain Khán Khán, and the other great Amirs to go and meet him. After he had done homage the Emperor made him a present of the sum of a *kror* of *takíshe* in small change, and enrollel him among the Amirs of five thousand, and appointed Multán as his *fázír* (P. 389).

At this time coming four months after the king of poets Shaikh Faizi, the other ambassadors arrived from the rulers of the Dák'ihin

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1 Father of Faizi and Abul-Fazl.
2 80 + 600 + 200 + 31 + 40 + 39 + 20 = 1001.
3 300 + 10 + 600 + 21 + 40 + 39 = 1001.
4 360 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 + 3 + 3 + 10 + 1 = 1001.
5 The first month.
6 The temperature in Persia, India Ave., depends more on elevation and soil than on latitude. The higher and colder regions are called *sur«* or, the better *garmir*. See Balfour's *I't. Hus.», p. 103, n.
7 See Blochmann, p. 73.
8 It was the custom to keep bags of 1000 *dast*, at hand ready for distribution. Thomas, *Potham Kings of Behis*, p. 124, n. 1.
9 See supra, p. 377.
having succeeded in their negotiations; and paid their respects. And
since Burhán-ul-mulk had not sent any acceptable present on the
twenty-first of Muharram the Emperor appointed the Prince Dányál
to this service, as wáqil to the Khán Khámán, and Ráí Sing (whom I
should rather call Sing)*, and other Amírs with 70,000 specially
assigned troops.

The Emperor married the Prince Dányál to the daughter of the
Khán Khámán, 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 Sultánípír, which is twenty-
five farsas from Líbír, he changed his mind and ordered the Prince
to return. In order to take counsel with the Khán Khámán, who had
got as far as Sáchínd, he sent for him. He made him turn back to go
and meet the leaders of the army; with order to abandon the enterprise,
and again dismissed him, and himself returned to Líbír.

On Friday the seventeenth of Jámádá 's-níší of this year Miyáu
Sháhí Ṭáhir-ulláh, the lawful heir of his reverence Miyáu Sháhí
Dání (God sanctify his spirit) passed to the eternal world, and
The Pure Spirit of Sháhí Dání 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 Táhirí Lábírí Sháhí, the date of which
I, this erring author, (P. 390) after much thought found to be
Nízámí.* 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 comprehensible style.

On Monday the twenty-eighth of Jámádá 's-níší of the year one

1 King of Abúmahár.
2 l. c., Dgu.
3 The fifth month.
4 I cannot make it give more than 992.
5 50 + 900 + 1 + 10 + 10 = 1001.
6 The sixth month.
At midnight (2 A.M.), 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:

1. 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 follows, 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 and such like. That he should have continually in his employ in every street, and lane, and bazaar, 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 Hindustán.

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 krori (tax-gatherer), or a banker, receiving deposits, the heir might take possession of it; otherwise it

1 Or, waz may mean "bloodshed"; but I have taken it as the Arab. τεθ., as it is used in a table, mood.
passed into the Imperial Chancery, and until that took place the treasure they were not to vary from the prescribed form.

In order to show respect to the Sun [i.e., Emperor], ordered that in all temples I should be placed in the graveyard on the eastern side of the city. If any of the disciples called Dursaniyyah1 died, whether male or female, they were to hang some uncooked grain and a 'burial' bag 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 one was, or else after the manner of the inhabitants of Cathay2 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 Khan-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 bazaars 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 Hindu, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Mussalmán 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, Agra Affairs, p. 187. Darsan is Sanskrit for “sight.” Gr. ὁράσαν.

2 Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo mentions the custom of exposing dead as current in Cathay. (Vol. II. pp. 117, 118.)

3 Khooll is a emanative from Xikku. See Vullers’s text, p. 286.
No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, so
anyone was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased.
It is Hadist that a woman fell in love with a Musalman (p. 501) at
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
mosque, 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-writers,
and the khrūs, and the dağh-umahall, and the fights
between elephants, and deer and cheetas, and tigers, and birds, and
goats and dogs, and boars, and of observing established rules on the
part of the dependents of a householder, 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 de-
scribed? 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-ámmāh
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 Tārikhi-Alis,
which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mullá Ahmad
of That'bah, the Heretic (be on him what may) and the third by
Aqaf Khan. And an order had been issued to "no to revise and

1 See Blochmann, p. 218.
3 I propose to read (A) instead of (A) which might, however, be rendered
a method."
collate it, in conjunction with Mullâ Mustâfa Khân of Lahore. This
is a worthy blend of mine, and is become one of the Ananda. I pre-
sented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approbation.
And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor
commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I suffi-
ciently collated it, but on account of my own fault of "bigotry.
(P. 388) 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 an-
swers, "They have apportioned me only just this amount."

At this time Shaikh Faizi, the king of poets, finished the com-
mentary on the Qurân, which is altogether without diacritical points,
and is of the thickness of seventy-five juz. And he found nine lines
without diacritical points which gave the date of its completion.
And some sheets he sent into Irâq that it might become generally
known. And now he is occupied with Amrâr-i-sâini who also
gives the date of its revision and collation. And the learned men of
the age wrote their imprimatur on it. Thus Shaikh Ya'qûb of
Kashmir wrote an imprimatur in Arabic; and Miyan Aman-ullâh
Sarhindî found the verse of the Qurân: "There is nothing green
nor sore, but is noted in the Perspicuous Book;" and Mir Muham-
mad Haidur Mu'amârî, the whole of Surât-al-ikhâlâ without the
"bismîllâh". And the author of these pages found, "One of the

1 See Text, p. 917.
2 He means that he could not afford to reject work for which he was paid.
3 Called Sawâd'ul ilhâm. The rays of inspiration. See Blochmann, p. 647.
4 $I + 40 + 200 + 1 + 200 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 = 1003$.
5 Al Qur'an, 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 1009
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'an, chap. CXIII. The whole surah added does give 1002.
"Thanks to God who grants desire, he has finished the Sawāfī- 
O God the unique writer has not erased The Word. [al-īthām.]
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 ʿAṣār of the year one thousand and two (1002). 
Khwājah Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Aḥādī, who was one of the author's 
particular friends, departed this life. And Khwājah Ibrāhīm Ḥusain1 (God have mercy on him!) was found to give the date.

This same year God (He is praised! glorious is His Majesty!) grunted 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 Ghans of mankind, orthodox teacher, and asylum, Miyan Shaikh Dāūd Jhanūl 
Wālī2 (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 Zī Ṭāḥah4 of this year Muḥammad Qāsim 
Khān Mīr Bahr, and Mirzā Muḥammad Zāmān, who was one of the sons of Shāhrukh Mīrzhā, were killed in Kābūl. It happened as 
allows: When Muḥammad Zāmān Mīrzhā came to Badakhshān, 
after returning from his pilgrimage, the inhabitants of Badakhshān

90 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 = 1002.

Jhanūl is near Lāhōr. He died in 982. Blochm., p. 539.

Si Al Qur’ān, 34, 23.

The seventh 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 Muhammad 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 Muhammad Qásim Khán, commandant of Kábul. Muhammad 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 Muhammad 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 Muhammad Qásim Khán by force. They put him to the sword, and sent him to his last resting-place. Muhammad Háshím, son of Muhammad 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 Muhammad 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 Muhammad Qulí Khán, who for some time had been manager-in-general, to be commandant of Kábul, and dismissed him to go to his command. He appointed Shams-ud-dín Muhammad Khawátí to the office of superintending the affairs of State and finance, and made him absolute Dú'ín. At this time the Emperor sent Ačaf Khán, Bákhsí, to Kashmir to look into the affairs of the military and civilians of that country.

1 Qulí properly Qulí, means in Turkí a sword. Blooms., 355, n.
2 Jamlat al Mulk, see Blooms, p. 349.
3 See p. 290, n 1.
4 Viz. Ja'ír Bug, see Blooms, 528
In this year God (praise be to Him!), when the successive blows of misfortune, and the scourges of vicissitudes were battering megraciously 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" was found to give the date. And the king of Poets (Faizi) composed this verse:

"My Shaikh has indeed repented of sinning:
His date is Excelling in penitence."

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 Muharram of the year one thousand and three (1003) Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who was associated with Aqa 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 of this year the Emperor crossed over the river Íwí, and spent twenty-five days in amusement and hunting in the neighbourhood, and then returned.

At this time the king of Poets 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 ashráfís. 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 Faizi.
read like the translations by Naqib Khan. The first couplet of the book is the following:

"O in the search of Thee from the beginning
The 'Anga of sight is soaring high."

And verily it is a Masnavi, the like of which for the last 300 years since Mir Khusrrou no poet has composed.

At this time Mirza Nizam-ud-din Ahmad 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 Tahqiqat-i Akbari.
"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 Safar of this year. They carried his bier from the camp to Lāhōr 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)

"Death grants eternity 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 qūfah was composed to give the date:—

"Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad 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."

At this time Shaikh Farīd Būkharī, who had been sent to reduce the State of the Sawālīk mountain district to order, was sent for to administer the affairs of the office of Bakhshī, which had been committed exclusively to him. The Emperor appointed Qāzī Hūsain Qazwīnī to succeed him [in the Sawālīk mountains].

At this time A’zam Khān returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharīfs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the ṣīdah, 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 ’Allāmī, and received Ghūzīpūr and Hājípūr as jāyīr:—

1 20 + 6 + 5 + 200 + 12 + 2 + 5 + 1 + 7 + 4 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 200
+ 80 + 400 = 1003.

2 See p. 326.

3 L. &. 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 Diwan.

And the saying about repressing one's whims came true.1

On the ninth of the month of Rajab2 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 window3 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 unworldly4 individual of Qāfī 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 Mahā-
bhārata) "and last night I called Naqib Khan 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 practice, 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.
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 Nakir, 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 chronicle 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 Čadr Jahán, without any one's having suggested it to him: "How would it be if I were to appoint so and so to the guardianship of the blessed tomb of his holiness the Khwájah of Ajmir, 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.
So 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.
If thou mention the name of sobriety.”

On the night of the last of the blessed month of Ramazán¹ 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-Fazi in my presence; “Although the guardianship of Ajmir 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 Sultan Zin-ul-‘ábídín, king of Kashmir, and named the Bahr-ul-‘ámár, 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.

“The Sea of Tales.” It is probably the Rájáratránjint, “The Ocean of Ráings,” the only piece of History in Sanskrit. The Kathá Sarit Ságara could hardly be meant.
thickness of sixty jurs', 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 Bahir-ul-azmâr, which Sultân Zîn-ul-âbidîn 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 zamânîbâs, and heartily undertook the commission. I began to work, and after showing me a great deal of favour he presented me with 10,000 tankâhs 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 Ḥâkim ‘Ain-ul-mulk, and Shâbabz Khân from the confines of Hindiah, that they had put to death Burhân-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 farman to the prince Sultân Murâd, and another farman to the Khân Khânân ordering them to set out with haste, and proceed to the subjugation of the Dakhin.

During the first part of the month of Zî-hajjah¹ of this year Shâh Beg Khân Kâbuli went to Qandahâr, and Mîrzâ Muzafer Hussain, commandant of Qandahâr, came to Court in company with Qarâ Beg Mîr-shikûr, and brought valuable jewels with other precious things as a present to the Emperor. The Emperor treated him with special favour and kindness.

Shâh Beg Khân fought a battle at Zamîn Dâwar 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 besieged there. He bombarded the fortress and took it by storm. Then he continued his advance and took the Garmisir.

(P. 408). The Emperor conferred the province of Chitâr on Mîrzâ Rustâm, and took away the district of Samb’hui from Abu-
Fazl and gave it as jāgir to Mírzá Qandahári. And Multán, which had become completely desolated by the tyranny 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'qub Kashmiri, who had the taskhulluc of Čurfi, 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";

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 Ḥakim '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 jāgir), 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 heart 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, not Fate with thee,
Why then this cry, that Fate is treacherous?"

1 The Mírzá Muzaffar Hussain mentioned above.
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 Muharram of the year one thousand and four (1004) Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī (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 Mūsā Gilānī Qādirī, son of the Master, Shaikh Hāmid (God sanctify his tomb!), younger brother of Shaikh ‘Abd-ul Qādirī 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 Čār Jahān, the Mufti of the imperial dominions, who has been appointed to a commanderyship of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two foolish sons; and having taken the Shāfī of the new religion, he went into the snare like a fish, and so got his commanderyship 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 Mullā Taqi of Shustar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of the learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Shāh-nāma into prose in accordance with the Emperor’s orders, and whenever the word ‘Sun’ occurs he uses such phrases as jallat ‘azmatuha and ‘uzza shāminu. Among others that joined was a Shaikhzādah, one Go-salāh Khān by name, of Banārās, (but what good can be expected from a zādah?) and Mullā Shāh Mū‘āmmad of Shāhābād, and Čafi Ahmad musician of the Mamluq-i-Qād of Diblí, 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. Bluefin, p. 514
2 Shafī was the symbol which the Emperor presented to each novice of his Divine Faith (Bluefin, 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 bān, and zādah.” A possible explanation of this saying is, that some words expressive of contempt, such as bān and zādah, bastard, and names of menial servants, such as bānās &c., end in bān and zādah.
"A Idis 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" was found to give the date. These new-religionists behaved like Hindús turned Musulmáns, 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."

Ahmad "the little Çúfi" is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor of Shaikh Ahmad 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 Sultán 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," was as follows: Through the intervention of Shaikh Abu-I-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 Ahmad the little Çúfi 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

\[1 \quad 40 + 6 + 400 + 200 + 1 + 300 + 3 + 50 + 4 = 1004.\]
\[2 \quad \text{Al Qur'án vii, 146. Gostánah is Persian for "a calf."} \]
Year's assembly he allowed the matter to transpire, and took away the jagir of Two-Hundred from Ahmad Sufi, and Mulla Sháh Muḥammad, which they held conjointly in the skirts of the mountains, and recalled Gosálah of Banáras.

On the tenth of the month of Ćafí of this year the King of Poets, Shaikh Faízí, 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 Mussáms, as PO(“iated and been mixed up with dogs day and night, they say that at the moment of (P. 403) 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 mnemonikon 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." And one of his friends invented this mnemonikon:

"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 Ji I have brought Ḥakím 'Ali 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 Sufi “base” seems to be given him in contempt instead of Ḥanif.
2 The second month.
3 The title of the Emperor is Sujli "baso" seems to be given him in contempt instead of Ḥanif.
4 See Bloom, p. 466.
questioned him, he cast his turban on the ground. 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 Islam!"

A few days after this event Hakím IIumán died on the sixth of Rabí-ul-awwal, and on the seventh Kamálí 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, 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 Masuwlí, "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. 21, note 3. Instead of "Probably the Diván-i-Háfiz, for" read Our author means the Diván-i-Háfiz. Ouseley in his Lives of the Persian Poets says that the terms lišd-i-ghāb, and tarjumá-ul-āsrār were first applied to Háfiz by Jámi.

P. 37. For note substitute, "the phrase dar wāli-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—"the passage may refer to the zahr-i arrah, a mode of saying haqq without moving the tongue, see Vullers, i. 964 a."

P. 53. Add to note—"Compare infra, p. 294, note."

P. 73, ll. 1-5. This passage should run

"In this year the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Fath-púrí Chíshti,—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 mnemosynas and included them in an Arabic letter which he wrote and sent him from Badaún, which will be given in its proper place if God, Hí 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 Lúlá 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. "Onslaughter,"—reading for نفیس.

P. 129, l. 3. In the text here (p. 125, l. 7) should probably be read نظر.

P. 138, l. 11. Our author should have written Mahmúd for Muhammad as he has done below.

P. 150, l. 17. There is something wrong in the text here.
P. 167, ll. 8—17. This passage should run thus: "the next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fathullah Tarin, who was one of the renowned deputys of Shaikh-ul-Islam Fathipur, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of us together with Tolak Khan Qucrin and Beg Nurin Khan and Ruhman Quli Khan and the other Amirs of the jigh of the neighbourhood of Duli (who were come to repulse the Mirza and were waiting for us in the pargana of Akbar 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 A. "This is a Turk 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 rooses of Ahmadabad."


P. 174, l. 26. Probably for "the Emperor" we should read "the Saint."

P. 178, last l. Add note, "perhaps may mean disputations."

P. 181, l. 14. Rather "who relishes this fresh new wine" reading  بتاريخ.

P. 182, last l. Add in note after Gajpati, "See Blochmann Transl. Aihn i Akb., pp. 399, 400."

P. 185, ll. 1—3. These lines should run,

"He swam over the river Panjeen on horseback, and hastening on by forced marches, arrived at Daryapur on the bank of the Ganges, distant 20 rooses 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 Habari, but Blochmann, p. 370, gives it as Jabari.

P. 216, l. 1. "In the hot air" should perhaps rather be "in his intense fervour."

P. 196, l. 11. This passage should rather run;

"In this year a learned Brahman, Shaikh Bhawan, who had come from the Dakhin and solens solens turned Musalmén, 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 Islam. I was appointed to render it from Hindi into Persian."
P. 217, l. 12. Walî Nî'mat Bégum was Mîrzâ Sulaimân’s wife, see sup. p. 61, l. 9.

P. 230, ll. 18—21. These lines come from Hâfiz, 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 Fâtîlah 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 Multân, the Tabaqât-i-Akbari calls it Mulathân, see Elliot, v. 406.

P. 268, l. 13. Can متّى mean "certain men who had been brought over to his views?"

P. 276, l. 19. Bijâgarh should be Bijâñagar if the Persian text is correct, but it no doubt refers to Bijâpur.

P. 284, l. 2. 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 Blochmann, p. 425, note.

P. 308, l. 18. We should read بخیار for بخیار 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. Dole note[2] 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 Khabîrah read Khabitah Bâhîdur, 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 برطمیان for تبرطمیان as Butriyah 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 "Hardánkhuhr 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 Roebeck, 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. 167, l. 1, 19.) See Defrémery, Mirchond, Sanā'īn. p. 10, l. 17.

P. 373, l. 24. This should be "to Atak Banāras, 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 إنما. The text should be "to quadruple the number," (cf. p. 167, l. 1, 19.) See Defrémery, Mirchond, Sanā'īn. p. 10, l. 17.

P. 385, ll. 15, 16, for تنثا تنثا translate, Tatah which was drunk through the passing of the cup, Behold now it is desolate and with its cup broken!"

P. 389, l. 24. For the Khurad-afzd, see, supra, p. 180.

P. 390, ll. 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 دار غنله is obscure, cf. p. 374, l. 17 (text), could the line mean "he ordered Naqib Khan (the translator) to take it as a model"?
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