THE AIN I AKBARI

BY

ABUL FAZL 'ALLAMI,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

BY

H. BLOCHMANN, M. A.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

PRINTED FOR THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. I.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY J. H. ROUSE, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,

1873.
The *A’in i Akbari* is the third volume of the *Akbar-nahm*, by Shaikh Abulfazl, and is by far the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Timur’s family as far as it is of interest for the Indian reader, and the reigns of Babar, the Sür kings, and Humayún, whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the A’in i Akbari, contains that information regarding Akbar’s reign which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the *áin* (i.e., mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government, as it was about 1590 A.D. The contents, therefore, of the A’in are naturally varied and detailed. The first of its five books treats of Akbar’s household and court, and of the emperor himself, the soul of every department, who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship, and who enters into the details of government, in order to create a harmonious whole. Vouchsafed as king with a peculiar light from on high, his person is prominently put forward as the guide of the people in all matters temporal and spiritual; in
whose character and temper the governed find that rest and peace which no constitution can give, and in whom, as the author of a new and advanced creed, the dust of intolerance is for ever allayed.

The second book treats of the servants of the throne, the military and civil services, and the attendants at court whose literary genius or musical skill receives a lustre from the encouragement of the emperor, and who in their turn reflect a brilliant light on the government.

The third book is entirely devoted to regulations for the judicial and executive departments, the establishment of a new and more practical era, the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, and the rent-roll of the great Finance minister whose name has become proverbial in India.

The fourth book treats of the social condition and literary activity, especially in philosophy and law, of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, and in whose political advancement the emperor saw the guarantee of the stability of his realm. There are also a few chapters on the foreign invaders of India, on distinguished travellers, and on Muhammadan saints and the sects to which they respectively belong.

The fifth book contains the moral sentences and epigrammatical sayings, observations, and rules of wisdom of the emperor, which Abulfazl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the A‘īn, therefore, we have a picture of Akbar’s government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects. Whilst in most Muhammadan histories we hear of the endless turmoil of war and dynastical changes, and are only reminded of the existence of a people when authors make a passing allusion to famines and similar calamities, we have in the A‘īn the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the
time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful, and therefore vivid, colours.

It is for this reason that the A'in stands so unique among the Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their contents, the A'in was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his 'Description Géographique de l'Indostan' long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtahdár Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "Ayeen Akberi," of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS., in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the A'in from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the A'in that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself. Abulfazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult, and his long career and training in various departments of the
State, and his marvellous powers of expression, fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the Akbar-námah and the Aʿín. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for enquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, shew that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offering of sterling wisdom. Abulfazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the Akbar-námah will shew that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery, at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves,—we may pardon Abulfazl when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected. The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidably slow.
I am deeply indebted to the Council and the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the A'in and entrusting me with the edition of the text, for which the Indian Government had most liberally sanctioned the sum of five thousand Rupees. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and late President of the Asiatic Society, for valuable advice and ever ready assistance in the execution of the work; and to Col. H. Yule, C. B., and to H. Roberts Esq., of the Doveton College, for useful hints and corrections.

I have thought it advisable to issue the first volume with a few additional notes, and two indexes, one of persons and things, and the other of geographical names, without waiting for the completion of the whole work. I have thus had an opportunity of correcting some of the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names, and supplying other deficiencies. That defects will still be found, notwithstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of my readers and critics can be more sensible than I myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Calcutta Madrasah,
23rd September, 1873.
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**Note on the title of Aṣaf Khán**

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FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

ÁÍN I AKBARÍ.

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PLATE IV. THE IMPERIAL CAMP, (p. 47).

1. The Imperial Harem (shabistán i iqbl). At the right hand side is the Dúshhyánah Mansil; vide p. 54, 3.

2. Open space with a canopy (shámyánah).

3. Private Audience Hall (dawlat-khánah i kház), p. 46.

4. The great camp light (ákdádiákh), pp. 47, 50.

"The aquacy-die resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed towards the king's quarters, near the tent called Nagar-kane, and during the night a lighted lantern is suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings.

"The name 'Aquacy-die' may be translated 'Light of Heaven,' the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star." Bernier.

5. The Nagda-rákh-khánah, pp. 47, 50.

AB, or distance from the Harem to the Camp Light, = 1630 yards;

AC = 360 yards; p. 47.

6. The house where the saddles were kept (zainkhánah).

7. The Imperial stables (istábal).

8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.

9. Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables.

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20. Tent for storing mattress (toshak-kkánah).
21. Tent for the tailors, &c.
22. Wardrobe (kurkýardq-kkánah), pp. 87, 616.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, &c. (chírdgh-kkánah).
25. Tent for making sharbat and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing pán leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (mewák-kkánah).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (rikúb-kkánah).
29. The Imperial kitchen (maštákáh).
30. The Imperial bakery (mánbá-kkánah).
31. Storeroom for spices (hawej-kkánah).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (qur-kkánah).
34. Women’s apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

Round about the whole the nobles and Mançabdárs with their contingents pitched their tents.

“The king’s private tents are surrounded by small kanats (qandts, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes.” Bernier. Bernier’s description of the Imperial camp (second letter, dated Láhor, 26th February, 1665) agrees in minute details with the above.

PLATE V. CANDLESTICKS, p. 49.
1. Double candlestick (dúshákháh).—2. Fancy candlestick with pigeons.—
4. The Akádákhá, or Camp-light; vide Pl. IV, No. 4.

PLATE VI. THE EMPEROR AKBÁR WORSHIPS FIRE.

In front of Akbar twelve candles are placed, and the singer of sweet melodies sings to the praise of God, as mentioned on p. 49, l. 10 ff.

The faces of the emperor and the singer are left blank, in accordance with the Muhammadan dislike to paint likenesses of anything on, below, or above the earth. The emperor sits in the position called dúsánú.
Plate VII. Thrones.

1, 2. Different kinds of thrones (aurang) with pillows (masnad) to lean against, the royal umbrella (chatr), and the footstool (panduli).

Plate VIII. The Naqqah Kha'nah, pp. 50, 51.


Plate IX. The Ensígn of Royalty, p. 50.

1. The Jhandá, or Indian flag. “The Royal standard of the great Mogul is a Couchant Lion shadowing part of the body of a sun.” Terry.
2. The Kaukabah.
3. Sáíbán or Aftágbír.
4. The Tumán-tóq (from the Turkish toq, or togh, a flag, and tuman or tündn, a division of ten thousand).
5. The Chatr, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or 'alam.
7. The Chatr-tóq. As Abulfazl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced chuturtoq, from the Turkish chutur, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (qufís) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

Plates X & XI. The Imperial Tents.

Plate X. The three tents on the top, commencing with the left, are (1) the Shámydnah; (2) A yakdari Khargdih, or tent of one door; (3) the Dúdari, or tent of two doors; p. 54, 5. Rolled up over the door is the chigh; p. 226, Xin 88.

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Below is a Zamindoz with two poles (dúeaurughíh). At the bottom of the plate, to the left, is the Manjái, p. 54, 6; and to the right, the 'Ajdíbí, 54, 5.
PLATE XII.  WEAPONS ; pp. 110 to 112.

The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on pp. 110 to 112.

1. The sword, shamsher (1).
2. The straight sword, 'k'hándah (2).
3, 3a. The gupti 'apá (3).
4. The broad dagger, jamdhar (4).
5. The bent dagger, khanjar (5).
6. The jamk'hák, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, básk (8).
8. The jhanbwaah, or hiltless dagger (9).
9. The katárah, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The narsinkmoth (narsering mot'h?), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, kamán (12).
12. The small bow and arrow, takshh kamán and tir (13).
13a. Arrow.
14b. The paikánkash, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, tarkash (16).
16. The lance, naizah (20).
17. The Hindústání lance, barchhaah (21).
18. The sánk, or broad-headed lance (22).
19, 20. The Saint'h, and selarah (23).
21. The shushbur, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of shashpar, p. 111, No. 26), from shush, lungs, and bur, tearing.
22. The axe, tabar.
23. The club, gyí (25). On p. 111, No. 29, the word piyázi has been translated by ‘club,’ and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call ‘piyázi’ a long knife with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, zághnol, i. e. crow-bill (30).
25. The chakar (wheel) and basolak (31).
26. The double axe, tabar-zághnol (32).
27. The tarangálah (33).
28. The knife, kárd (34).

PLATE XIII.  WEAPONS (CONTINUED).

29. The gupti kárd, or knife concealed in a stick (35).
30. The whip, qamchí kárd (36).
31. The clasp knife, chágú (37).
32. A bow, unstrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, kam't'ha, or kamán i gurokah (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, tufák i dakhán (40).
35. The pušhtkhár (41).
36. A lance called girih-kushd, i. e. knot-unraveller (43).
37. The khár i máhi, i. e. fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, gobhan (45).
39. The gajbôy'h, or âńkus, for guiding elephants (46); vide p. 129, No. 27.
40. The shield, sipar (47).
41. Another kind of shield, dhāł (48).
42. The plain cane shield, pahri, or phari (50).
43. The helmet, dubalghah (52).
44. The g'hug'hwah, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, zirih-kuldh (54).
46. The mailed coat, zirih (57).
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48. An armour for chest and body, joshan (59).
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51. An armour of the kind called pddiqi (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, angirk'hah (63).
53. An iron mask, chihrax-zirihi dánhì (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, chihi-quad (67).
55. The long glove, dostwdnah (68).
56. The small one is the mosah i dhangi, or iron stocking (71); and the large one, the rdak (69).
57. The kajem, or kajam, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58, 59. The artak i kajem, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The qashqah, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The kays'hah zobhd (07).
62. The rocket, bdn (77).

PLATE XV. AKBAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS: vide p. 115, Ain 38, of the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESS FOR HORSES. Ain 52, p. 136.

PLATE XVII. GAMES; pp. 303, 304.

The upper figure shews the board for Chaupar, p. 303, and the lower figure is the board for the Chandal Mandal game. Both boards were made of all sizes; some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard, as in Fathpur Sikri, and slave girls were used instead of pieces. The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.
ERRATA:

31, last line, for Bahrah read Bahirah.
32, line 1, for Kalànwar read Kalânur.
34, note 2, add vide p. 364.
55, line 12, for woollen read woollen.
57, line 2 from below, for Bharaj read Bahraich.
62, line 5, for kind read king.
25, for heron read crane.
73, line 16, for chalk read slaked lime.
84, last line, for Maruriij (?) read Mararj.
57, line 2 from beloa, for Bharbij read k&r&ch.
63, line 5, for king read kind.
88, line 26, for heron read crane.
88, line 16, for chalk read slaked lime.
104, note 3, for 111, p. 139 read 11, p. 278.
122, line 22, vide p. 618.
167, line 24, for are read is.
174, line 4 from below, for Hussain read Hasan.
176, line 26, for Nabaitis read Naqtiavis.
180, line 16, for Puzkhotam read Purukhotam.
190, line 15, for the heretic of Jafrdán read the heretical wizard.
225, for bricklayers read diggers.
226, line 6, for p'ha read p'har.
228, line 2, for Sdbiabar read SnbEBr.
273, line 21, for tyrannical read tyrannical.
274, line 3, for p. 38 read p. 33.
282, line 10 from below, for p. 225 read p. 252.
286, line 22, dele comma after Fatphûr.
309, line 14, for Sânbbar read Sânbhar.
310, line 15, dele Jodh Bái, and vide Additional Notes, p. 618.
310, line 23, for Dás of read Dás.
331, note 1, for couein read uncle.
333, line 4, for Dost read Daulat.
335, line 1, for Sarkij read Sarkich.
338, line 9 from below, for Mecenas read Mccenas.
340, line 19, for Sing Râm read Saugrâm.
Page 340, last line, dele younger son or.

344, line 18, et passim, for Wajjúr read Bajor.
345, line 17, for Bajgorah read Pajkorah (or Panjkorah).
351, line 13, for severally read several.
357, line 20, et passim, for Gulábi read Kolábi.
358, line 7 from below, for 81 read 80.
358, note 2, dele and the latter...Editors.
367, line 17, for Chandr read Chand.
371, line 2 from below, for Uymaq Kál read the Uymáqs of Miyánkál (vide p. 620).
379, line 20, for 81 read 80.

361, line 13, for severally read several.
368, note 2, deb and the latter...Editors.
371, line 2 from below, for Uymaq Kál read the Uymáqs of Miyánkál (vide p. 620).
379, line 20, for 81 read 80.

361, line 13, for severally read several.
368, note 2, deb and the latter...Editors.
371, line 2 from below, for Uymaq Kál read the Uymáqs of Miyánkál (vide p. 620).
379, line 20, for 81 read 80.
BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAIKH ABDUL FAZL I 'ALLÁMÍ.

Shaikh Abdul Fazl, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram, 958, during the reign of Islam Shah.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaikh Musa. Abul Fazl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the 9th century of the Hijrah in Siwistan (Sindh), at a place called Bel (برتل). In this pleasant village, Shaikh Musa's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the 10th century, when Shaikh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindustan. There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijaz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nagor, N. W. of Ajmir, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mir Sayyid Yahya of Bukhara.

The title of Shaikh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors.

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl's father, was born. Mubarak was not Shaikh Khizr's eldest child: several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubarak, i.e., the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islam holds out to the believers, that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life.

Shaikh Mubarak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaikh 'Athan (عثان), who was of Turkish extraction and

* 14th January, 1661.
had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodî to Nagor, where he lived in the service of Shaikh Salâr, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaikh Khizr had now resolved permanently to settle at Nagor, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistân. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nagor in great distress; and a famine which broke out at the same time, stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nagor only Mubarak and his mother survived.

Mubarak grew up progressing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopedial attainments, for which he afterwards became so famous. He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts; but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwajah Ahrâr,† to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Maldeko disturbances broke out, Mubarak carried out his wish, and went to Ahmadâbâd in Gujarât, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman Ahmad of Khatû.† In Ahmadâbâd, he found a second father in the learned Shaikh Abul Fazl, a khatib, or preacher, from Kâzarûn in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaikh 'Umar of Tattah and Shaikh Yusuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindûstân, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamunâ, opposite Agra, near the Chârbâgh Villa,‡ which Babar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mîr Râfî'uddîn Safawî of Injû (Shirâz), among whose disciples Mubarak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubarak's two eldest sons, Shaikh Abul Faiz,§ and four years later, Shaikh Abul Fazl, were born. Mubarak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Agra, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign,

* Died at Samarqand, 29th Rabî' I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.
† Vide p. 507, note. Ahmad of Khatû is buried at Sark'hich near Ahmadâbâd.
He died in 849 (A. D. 1445).
‡ Later called Haibt Bibisht, or the Nûrafshân Gardens. It is now called the Râm Bâgh.
§ Born A.H. 954, or A.D. 1547. Vide p. 490.
and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Agrah and caused a
great dispersion among the population, incline him to settle elsewhere.

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubarak attracted
a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he
gave his sons; and the filial piety with which Abul Fazl in numerous
passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile
writers as Badoni, leave no doubt that it was Mubarak's comprehensiveness
that laid in Abul Faiz and Abul Fazl the foundation of those
cosmopolitan and, to a certain extent, anti-Islamitic views, for which
both brothers have been branded by Muhammadan writers as atheists,
or as Hindus, or as sunworshippers, and as the chief causes of Akbar's
apostasy from Islam.

A few years before 963 A. H., during the Afghan rule, Shaikh
Mubarak had, to his worldly disadvantage, attached himself to a reli-
gious movement, which had first commenced about the year 910, and
which continued under various phases during the whole of the tenth
century. The movement was suggested by the approach of the first
millennium of Islam. According to an often quoted prophecy, the latter
days of Islam are to be marked by a general decadence in political
power and in morals, which on reaching its climax is to be followed by
the appearance of Imam Mahdi, 'the Lord of the period', who will re-
store the sinking faith to its pristine freshness. Christ also is to appear;
and after all men, through his instrumentality, have been led to Islam, the
day of judgment will commence. Regarding this promised person-
age, the Rauzat ul-Aimmah, a Persian work on the lives of the
twelve Imams, has the following passage—

Muslim, Abu Daud, Nisa'i, Baihaqi, and other collectors of the tradi-
tional sayings of the Prophet, state that the Prophet once said, "Muhammad
Mahdi shall be of my family and of the descendants of Fa'timah [the
Prophet's daughter and wife of 'Ali]." And Ahmad, Abu Daud, Tirmiziti, and
Ibn Majah state that the Prophet at some other time said, "When of
time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from among my
descendants, who shall fill the world with justice, just as before him the
world was full of oppression;" and again, "The world shall not come to

* Caihib i zamán. He is the 12th Imam. The first eleven succeeded the Prophet.
Mahdi (which in India is wrongly pronounced Mehdî, 'myrtle') means 'guided';
Hádi means 'a guide'.

† By Sayyid Izzat 'Ali, son of Sayyid Pir Ali of Rasulpur. Lithographed at
Lakhnau, 1271, A. H., 144 pp., royal 8vo.
an end till the King of the earth shall appear, who is a man of my family, and whose name is the same as mine." Further, Ahmad and other collectors assert that the Prophet once said, "Muhammad Mahdi belongs to my family, eight and nine years." Accordingly, people believe in the coming of Mahdi. But there is also a party in Islam who say that Imam Mahdi has already come into the world and exists at present: his patronymic is Abul Qásim, and his epithets are "the elect, the stabilisher, Mahdi, the expected, the Lord of the age." In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surman-raá [near Baghdad] on the 23rd Rámazn, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardábah [prop. 'a cool place,' 'a summer villa'], and disappeared whilst in his residence. In the book entitled 'Shawáhid' it is said that when he was born, he had on his right arm the words written, 'Say, the truth has come and error has vanished, surely error is vanishing' [Qorán, xvii, 83]. It is also related that when he was born into the world, he came on his knees, pointed with his fingers to heaven, sneezed, and said, "Praise be to God, the Lord of the world." Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imám Hasan 'Askari [the eleventh Imám], whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalífah and Imám after thee?" 'Askari thereupon went into his room, and after some time came back with a child on his shoulders, that had a face like the full moon and might have been three years old, and said to the man, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shewn you this child: his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic." The sect who believe Mahdi to be alive at present, say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdí movement assumed in India* a definite form through the teaching of Mír Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mír Sayyid Khán, of Jaunpúr. This man was a

* Badáóni, in his 'Najátturrahíd,' gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshán, from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshán, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Núrbakhsh, a pupil of Abú Is-háq Khatláni, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to 'Iráq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors, but defied them all. Badáóni has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Núrbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaikh Muhammad Láhújí, the commentator of the 'Gulshán i Ráž.'
descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpur was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdi," 'thou art Mahdi.' Some people indeed say that Mir Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdi; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarát, where he found an adherent in Sultán Mahmúd I. From Gujarát he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, "God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdi. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Faráh in Balochistán, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (911, A. H.; 1505, A. D.). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Sháh Ismá‘íl and Sháh Tahmásb tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdi; and even the historian Badi‘oni, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdís appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (A. D., 1549), a Mahdi of great pretensions arose in Bíañah, S.W. of Agrah, in the person of Sháikh 'Aláí. This man was a Bangáli Musalmán. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 935, with his younger brother Naqrúllah, likewise a learned man, at Bíañah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Sháikh 'Aláí had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. 'But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just,' and on the day of the 'Id, he kicked an influential Sháikh from his haudah, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Sháikh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyán 'Abdullah, a Niyázi Afghán and disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, arrived from Makkah, and settled at a retired spot near Bíañah. Like his master, he was a man of oratorical powers and was given to street preaching; and in a
short time he gained numerous followers among the woodcutters and water-carriers. Shaikh 'Aláí also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miyán 'Abdullah; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned faqir, told his wife either to follow him to the wilderness or to go, distributed his whole property, even his books, among the poor adherents of the Niyází, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qorán, 'Let not men be allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God.' Religious meetings, the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdí, were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth. They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters, and inspected the bazars and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or assisting them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Biánah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaikh 'Aláí's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miyán 'Abdullah in earnestness and successful conversions, and the latter at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah. 'Aláí marched with his band over Basáwar to Khawáçpúr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Biánah.

Shaikh 'Aláí's fame at last reached the ear of Islám Sháh, who summoned him to Agra; and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which 'Aláí behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which 'Aláí delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisasm of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to 'Aláí's men. To the amusement of the Afghán nobles and generals at court, 'Aláí on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdí, and Islám Sháh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to 'Aláí's meetings and had joined the new sect.

It was at this time that Shaikh Mubáarak also became a 'disciple,' and professed Mahdawi ideas. It is not clear whether he joined the sect
from religious or from political motives, inasmuch as one of the objects
of the brethren was to break up the party of the learned at Court, at whose
head Makhdum ul Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the
result was, that Makhdum became his inveterate enemy, deprived
him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted him for more
than twenty years, till Mubarak's sons turned the tables on him and
procured his banishment.

The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by 'Ali's
success, and Makhdum's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed
on the king to banish the Shaikh. 'Ali and his followers readily obeyed
the command, and set out for the Dakhin. Whilst at Handiah on the
Narbadas, the frontier of Islam Shah's empire, they succeeded in converting
Bahar Khan A'zam Humayun and half his army, and the king
on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaikh
'Ali.

* 'Makhdum ul-Mulk' was the title of 'Abdullah of Sultanpûr, regarding whom
the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice
from the Khazinatul Aqshâ (Lâhor, pp. 443, 464) shews the opinion of good Suunis
regarding Makhdum.

'Maulana 'Abdullah Ansari of Sultanpûr belongs to the most distinguished
learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishti in his religious opinions. From
the time of Sher Shah till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of 'Makhdum-ol-Mulk'
(prop. served by the empire). He was learned in the law and austere in practice.
He zealously persecuted heretics. When Akbar commenced his religious innovations
converted people to his 'Divine Faith' and sunworship, ordering them to substitute
for the creed the words 'There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the viceregent
of God,' Maulana 'Abdullah opposed the emperor. Driven at last from Court, he
retired to a mosque; but Akbar said that the mosque belonged to his realm, and he
should go to another country. Makhdum therefore went to Makkah. On his
return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the
Kashf ul-ghummah; the Ifsat ul-Anbiya, the Minhaj uddin, &c. He was poisoned in A. H. 1006.

His son Haji 'Abdal Karim went after the death of his father to Lâhor, where
he became a religious guide. He died in 1045, and lies buried at Lâhor, near
the Zib-unnisâ Villa, at Mauza Ko'. His sons were Shaikh Yahyâ, Ilah Nûr, 'Abdul
Haq and A'la Hazûr. Shaikh Yahyâ, like his father, wrought miracles.

In this account the date is wrong; for Makhdum ul-Mulk died in 990, and as
Badonî, Makhdum's supporter, says nothing of poison (Bad. If., 311), the statement
of the Khazinat ul Aqshâ may be rejected. Badonî also says that Makhdum's sons
were worthless men.

The titles of Makhdum ul-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; vide
p. 544.
About the same time (955), Islám Sháh left Agrah, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjáb caused by certain Niýzáí Afgháns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biánah, Makhdúm ul-Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyán 'Abdullah Niýzáí, who after Shaikh 'Aláí's departure for the Dak'hin roamed about in the hills of the Biánah district with three or four hundred armed men, and was known to possess great influence over men of his own clan, and consequently over the Niýzáí rebels in the Panjáb. Islám Sháh ordered the governor of Biánah, who had become a Mahdawi, to bring Miyán 'Abdullah to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyán 'Abdullah boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islám Sháh gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyán 'Abdullah lay apparently lifeless on the ground. But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawi principles, and got as late as 993 [A. D., 1585] from Akbar a freehold, because he, too, had been one of Makhdúm ul-Mulk's victims. He died more than ninety years old, in 1000, at Sarhind.*

Islám Sháh after quelling the Niýzáí disturbances, returned to Agrah, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjáb, and it was there that Shaikh 'Aláí joined the royal camp. When Islám Sháh saw the Shaikh, he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you." But Shaikh 'Aláí would not do so, and Islám Sháh, to keep up the appearance of authority, ordered a menial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence. Shaikh 'Aláí had then scarcely recovered from an attack of the plague, which for several years had been raging in India, and had a few badly healed wounds on his neck. Whilst he got the cuts, one of the wounds broke open, and 'Aláí fainted and died. His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once, to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed

* Bādāoni visited him in Sarhind, and it was from 'Abdullah that he heard of Mir Sayyid Muhammad's repentance before death. Among other things, 'Abdullah also told him that after the Mir's death in Faráh, a well-known man of that town seized on lands belonging to Balochis and proclaimed himself Christ; and he added that he had known no less than thirteen men of respectable parentage, who had likewise claimed to be Christ.
that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, 'Alá's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers, and an order was now forthcoming to have the corpse interred. This happened in 957 [A. D., 1550]. People prophesied the quick end of Islám Sháh and the downfall of his house.*

Makhdúm ul-Mulk was never popular after that.

The features common to all Mahdawí movements, are (1) that the preachers of the latter days were men of education and of great oratorical powers, which gave them full sway over the multitudes; and (2) that the Mahdawís assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. Islám has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the 'Ulamás about Court, from whom the Sáds of the provinces, the Mir 'Adls, Muftís, and Qázís were appointed. At Dihlí and A'grah, the body of the learned had always consisted of stanch Sunnís, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight. How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps 'Alá'uddín Khiljí, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaikh 'Aláí was a great triumph for the Court 'Ulamás, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawí disciples was the immediate result. The persecutions lasted far into Akbar's reign. They abated only for a short time when the return of Humáyún and the downfall of the Afghán power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humáyún was strongly in favour of Shi'ísm; but when Akbar was firmly established, and the court at A'grah, after the fall of Bairám Khán, who was a Shi'áh, again teemed with Hindústání Sunnís, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaikh Mubárák especially rose to such a height, that Shaikh 'Abdunnábí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubárák also belonged to the Mahdawís and was, therefore, not only himself damned, but led also others into damnation, he deserved to be killed. They even obtained an order to bring him before the

* The circumstances connected with 'Aláí's death resemble the end of Sídí Múlah during the reign of Jalál-úddín Firúz Sháh.

The place in the Panjáb, where the scene took place, is called Ban. (Bad. I., 408.)

The fact that Badríání spent his youth at Basáwar near Biánah, i. e., in the very centre of the Mahdawí movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawí principles.
emperor. Mubarak wisely fled from Agra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to wreak their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarat, he implored the good offices of Akbar’s foster-brother, the generous Khan i A’zam Mirza Kokah, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaikh and on the fact that, different from his covetous accusers, he had not cost the state anything by way of freeholds, and thus obtained at least security for him and his family. Mubarak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son Abul Faiz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only twenty years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaikh ’Abdunnabi. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawi leanings and Shi’ah tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar’s reign, when Faizi’s poems* had been noticed at court,—Akbar then lay before Chitor—
and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at Agra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubarak’s house. Faizi was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubarak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Faizi at last came, he was carried off by force to Chitor.† Nor did his fears for his father and his own life vanish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar’s good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abul Faiz had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaikh Mubarak had to suffer for his Mahdawi leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind. There is no doubt that it was in this school of misfortune that Abul Faiz learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar’s friendship for him; while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and

* Abul Faiz wrote under the nom-de-plume of Faizi.
† 20th Rabî’ I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Faizi presented will be found in the Akbarnamah.
broader sentiments the clique of the 'Ulamás, whom Akbar hated so much.

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys; he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of ḥikami and ṃaqīl, or ma'qūl and ma'nūqūl.* Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty. An incident is related to shew how extensive even at that time his reading was. A manuscript of the rare work of Iṣfahání happened to fall into his hands. Unfortunately, however, one half of each page, vertically downwards from top to bottom, was rendered illegible, or was altogether destroyed, by fire. Abul Fazl, determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page, and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded. Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up, and on comparison it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced; but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence, that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abul Fazl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

Abul Fazl was so completely taken up with study that he preferred the life of a recluse to the unstable patronage of the great and to the bondage which attendance at court in those days rendered inevitable. But from the time Faizi had been asked by Akbar to attend the court, hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abul Fazl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubarak's numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil, on his part, too, would not remain without fruit. The skill with which Faizi in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abul Fazl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of 1574, A. D.), was presented to Akbar as Faizi's brother, the reception was so favorable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abul Fazl in the Akbarnámah, "I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around

* Page 540, note.
me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the páríñas of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pārsí and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the Ayat ul-Kurāt, and presented it when the emperor was at Ágra. I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering.’’

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihār and Bengal. Faizί accompanied the expedition; but Abul Fazί naturally stayed in Ágra. But as Faizί wrote to his brother that Akbar had enquired after him, Abul Fazί attended Court immediately on the emperor’s return to Fathpūr Sīkri, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jāmī’ Mosque. Abul Fazί, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qurān, entitled ‘Súrat ul Fath,’ ‘the Chapter of Victory.’†

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnis at Court, headed by Makhdüm ul-Mulk and Shaikh ‘Abdunnabί, had every cause to feel sorry

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* Name of the 258th verse of the second chapter of the Qurān.
† The details of Abul Fazί’s introduction at Court given in Badāoni differ slightly from Abul Fazί’s own account.
at Faizi's and Abul Fazl's successes;* for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihár, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badóní has left us so vivid an account. Akbar at first was merely annoyed at the "Pharaoh-like pride" of the learned at court; stories of the endless squabbles of these pious casuits had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief-Justice on Shi'áhs and "others heretics" affected him most deeply; and he now for the first time realized the idea that the scribes and the pharisees formed a power of their own in his kingdom, at the construction of which he had for twenty years been working. Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindú subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Fathpúr Sikrí, to rule with even hand men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to 'enquire.' It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.† The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafi law, to which most Sunnis clinging, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belonging to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhdúm ul-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaikh 'Abdunnabi, the Sadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhdúm a fool and cursing him. Abul Fazl, upon whom Akbar from the beginning had fixed as the leader of his party, fanned the quarrels by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide. The promulgation of this new doctrine was the making of Abul Fazl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islam, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution

* Badóní ascribes to Makhdúm ul-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abul Fazl's character; for the first time he saw Abul Fazl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad. III, 72.
† Vide pp. 170 ff.
impossible; and though headstrong kings as 'Aláūddín Khilji had before tried to raise the law of expediency (maṣlaḥat i waqf) above the law of the Qurán, they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire independent of the Mulla. Hence when Abul Fazl four years later, in 986, brought up the question at the Thursday evening meetings, he raised a perfect storm; and while the disputation, bitter as they were, had hitherto dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, or with sectarian differences, they henceforth turned on the very principles of Islam. It was only now that the Sunnis at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islam, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.* The learned party seeing their official position endangered, now shewed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaikh Mubáarak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islam. Badóni has happily preserved a complete copy of it.† The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a 'Mujtahid', i.e. an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islam. The 'intellect of the just king' thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhduum ul-Mulk signed indeed the document against their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaikh Mubáarak added to his signature the words that he had most willingly subscribed his name, and that for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to the realization of the progressive movement. "The document," says Abul Fazl in the Akbarnámah, "brought about excellent results,—(1) The Court became a gathering place of the sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features; (2) perfect toleration (culh-i-kul, or 'peace with all') was established; and (3) the perverse and evil-minded were covered with shame on seeing the disinterested motives of

* Pages 178, 179. † Vide p. 186.
his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace.” The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaikh Mubarak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

A few weeks afterwards, Shaikh 'Abdunnabi and Makhdum ul-Mulk were sent to Makkah, and Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies. How magnanimous Abul Fazl was, may be seen from the manner in which he chronicles in the Akbarnamah the banishment of these men. Not a sentence, not a word, is added indicative of his personal grievances against either of them, though they had persecuted and all but killed his father and ruined his family; the narrative proceeds as calm and statesmanlike as in every other part of his great work, and justifies the high praise which historians have bestowed upon his character that “neither abuse nor harsh words were ever found in his household.”

The disputations had now come to an end (A. D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Faizi, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murad; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received mansabs, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Fathpur Sikri, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Faizi was appointed Sadr of Agra, Kulpé, and Kálinjar, in which capacity he had to enquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (sayyarghád), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and Abul Fazl, in the very beginning of 1585,* was promoted to the mansab of Hazari, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Dwayne of the Province of Dihli. Faizi's rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honored him in the end of 1588, that satisfaction which no political office, however high, would have given him. Though the emperor did not pay much attention to poetry, his appreciation of Faizi's genius was

* Akbarnamah, III, 463.
but just; for after Amír Khusrâu of Dihlî, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fâizi.*

In the end of 1589, Abul Fazl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbarnâmah. The emperor, in order to console him, paid him a visit, and said to him, “If the people of this world lived for ever and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation.”†

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Din i Iláhí, or 'the Divine Faith,' the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaikh Mubârâk’s document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (khâlîfâh) on earth. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Parsâs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindu. The new era (târîkh i iláhî), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Parsâ. The Muhammadan grandees at court shewed but little resistance: they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindu courtiers than on Akbar’s religious innovations, which after all affected but a few. But their feeling against Abul Fazl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dak'hnin, hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salîm [Jahângîr] also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abul Fazl, as we shall see below, became gradually so deep-rooted, that he looked upon him as the chief obstacle to the execution of his wild plans. An unexpected visit to Abul Fazl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qurán. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and shewing him the copies, he said, “What Abul Fazl teaches me is very different from what he practises in his house.” The incident is said to have produced a temporary estrangement between Akbar and Abul Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the Zakhîrat-ul Khawâdînî. He says that

* For his works, vide p. 548.
† گرجهنینی طرّاز پایندگی داشت و جزیکه را را نیستی نسیده دوستان شناسادیم را از رضا و تسلیم گزیز دنیو - هرگاه در این کاروانسرا ۱۸۶۳ دیروز اکرامی نکورشی ناشکبیایی را کچّا اندیزه ترانه گرفت.
Abul Fazl repented of his apostacy from Islam, and used at night to visit incognito the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold muhurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abul Fazl's faith," sighing at the same time and striking his knees and exclaiming, "What shall I do?" And just as writers on the history of literature have tried to save Faizi from apostacy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abul Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shah Abul Ma'ali Qadiri of Lahor, a man of saintly renown, once expressed his disapproval of Abul Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abul Fazl came to a meeting held by the Prophet in Paradise; and when the Prophet saw him enter, he asked him to sit down, and said, "This man did for some time during his life evil deeds, but one of his books commences with the words, 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their righteousness, and help the wicked for the sake of Thy love,' and these words have saved him." The last two stories flatter, in all probability, the consciences of pious Sunnis; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abul Fazl's works; and though his heart found in pure deism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullas, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islam, to continue his studies of the Qur'an, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abul Fazl, Faizi, and scholars as Badouni, Naqib Khan, Shaikh Sultan, Hajj Ibrahim, Shaikh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian. Faizi took the Lilawati, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abul Fazl translated the Kalilah Damnahn under the title of 'Ayar Danishh from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the Mahabharat and in the composition of the Tarikh i Al'fi, the 'History of the Millennium.' The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an

† Vide pp. 104, 105.
intimate connection with the Mahdawi movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaikh 'Alá’í's death the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and the movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fáthpúr Síkri and by the teachings of men of Sharíf i Amúlî’s stamp, with this important modification that Akbar himself was pointed to as the ‘Lord of the Age,’ through whom faded Islám was to come to an end. This new feature had Akbar’s full approval, and exercised the greatest influence on the progress of his religious opinions. The Taríkh i Alí, therefore, was to represent Islám as a thing of the past; it had existed thousand (الف) years and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnis, was related from a Shi’áh point of view, and worse still, the chronology had been changed, inasmuch as the death of the Prophet had been made the starting point, not the hijrah, or flight, of the Prophet from Makkah to Madinah.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of 1592, A.D.), Akbar promoted Abúl Fażl to the post of Dúhazári, or commander of two thousand horse. Abúl Fażl now belonged to the great Amírs (عماری کبایر) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fażí was sent to the Dakhín as Akbar’s ambassador to Burhán ul-Mulk and to Rájah ‘Alí Khán of Khándesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salím. Fażí returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaikh Mubárák, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Láhúr, (Sunday, 17th Zí Qa’dah, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached the age of ninety, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qurán, to which he had given the title of Manba’u Nafás ul ’Uyún. He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

Page 452. We hear the last of the Mahdawi movement in 1628, at the accession of Sháhjáhán. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahángír’s reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of sijdah, or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Sháhjáhán, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in 1000 A. H., he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.
The historian Badáoní speaks of him as follows:—

Shaikh Mubárak belonged to the most distinguished men of learning of the present age. In practical wisdom, piety, and trust in God, he stood high among the people of his time. In early life he practised rigorous asceticism; in fact, he was so strict in his views regarding what is lawful and unlawful, that if any one, for example, came to a prayermeeting with a gold ring on his finger, or dressed in silk, or with red stockings on his feet, or red or yellow coloured clothes on him, he would order the offending articles to be removed. In legal decisions he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment. If he accidentally heard music while walking on the street, he ran away, but in course of time he became, from divine zeal, so enamoured of music, that he could not exist without listening to some voice or melody. In short, he passed through rather opposite modes of thought and ways of life. At the time of the Afghan rule, he frequented Shaikh ‘Aláí’s fraternity; in the beginning of his Majesty’s reign, when the Naqshbandis had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadání school; and lastly, when the Shi’áhs monopolized the court, he talked according to their fashion. ‘Men speak according to the measure of their understanding’—to change was his way, and the rest you know. But withal he was constantly engaged in teaching the religious sciences. Prosody also, the art of composing riddles, and other branches, he understood well; and in mystic philosophy he was, unlike the learned of Hindústán, a perfect master. He knew Sháṭibí* by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qorán in the ten different modes. He did not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable companion and full of anecdote. Towards the end of his life, when his eyesight was impaired, he gave up reading and lived in seclusion. The commentary to the Qorán which he composed, resembles the Taf’sar i Kábir [the ‘Great Commentary’], and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled Mánba’u Naftí’ís ul ’Uyún. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself as the renovator of the new century.† We know what this ‘renovating’ means. About the time he finished his work, he wisely committed the Farízí Ode (in it) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Bárúdh, the Ode by Ka’b ibn Zubair, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zi Qa’dah, 1001, he left this world at Lahor for the judgment-seat of God.

* A writer on ‘Tajwíd,’ ‘the art of reading the Qorán correctly’.

† Badáoní says in his ‘Najár urrushíd’ that Jaláluddín Suyúští, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the 10th century.
I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of the dervish there was such a wicked love of worldly preferment, that he left no tittle of our religion in peace. When I was young, I studied at Agrah for several years in his company. He is indeed a man of merit; but he committed worldly and irreligious deeds, plunged into lust of possession and rank, was timeserving, practised deceit and falsehood, and went so far in twisting religious truth, that nothing of his former merit remains. "Say, either I am in the correct path or in clear error, or you" [Qurán, xxxiv, 23]. Further, it is a common saying that the son brings the curse on the head of his father; hence people have gone beyond Yazid and say, 'Curse on Yazid,* and on his father, too.'

Two years after Shaikh Mubarak's death, Abul Fazl also lost his brother Faizi, who died at the age of fifty after an illness of six months on the 10th Safar, 1004 (5th October, 1595). When in his last moments, Akbar visited him at midnight, and seeing that he could no longer speak, he gently raised his head and said to him, "Shaikh Jio, I have brought Hakim 'Ali with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and wept loud; and after trying to console Abul Fad, he went away.† How deeply Abul Fazl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbarnámah and the Ain in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which heprefaces the selections in the Ain made by him from his brother's poems.

"The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his poems. But now it is brotherly love alone, which does not travel along the road of critical nicety, that commands me to write down some of his verses."‡ Abul Fazl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Faizi's Markis ul-Adwár, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbarnámah.

* Hussain, in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazid; hence the latter is generally called Yazid i maḍ'ún, 'Yazid, the accursed.' Bódóni here calls Abul Fazl Yazid. Poor Bódóni had only the thousand big'hus which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school follow, Yazid Abul Fazl, was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.
† Bódóni, II, 405.
‡ Page 649.
It was about the same time that Abul Fazl was promoted to the post of a Commander of two thousand and five hundred horse. Under this rank he has entered his own name in the list of grandees in the Ain-i Akbari, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-97).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abul Fazl went for the first time on active service. Sultán Murád* had not managed matters well in the Dak'hin, and Akbar now despatched Abul Fazl with orders to return with the Prince, whose excessive drinking caused the emperor much anxiety, provided the officers of the imperial camp made themselves responsible to guard the conquered territory. If the officers were disinclined to guarantee a faithful conduct of the war, he was to see the Prince off, and take command with Sháhrukh Mírzá.† The wars in the Dak'hin, from their first commencement under Prince Murád and the Khán Khánán, are marked by a most astounding duplicity on the part of the imperial officers, and thousands of men and immense stores were sacrificed, especially during the reign of Jahángír, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the Khán Khánán himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abul Fazl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Burhánpúr, he received an invitation from Bahádur Khán, king of Khándesh, whose brother had married Abul Fazl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahádur Khán should vigorously assist him and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahádur was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the Dak'hin, but he sent Abul Fazl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abul Fazl, however, was not the man to be bribed. “I have made a vow,” said he in returning the presents, “not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled—(1) friendship; (2) that I should not value the gift too high; (3) that I should not have been anxious to get a present; and (4) necessity to accept it. Now supposing that the first three are applicable to the present case, the favour of the emperor has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others.”

Prince Murád had in the meantime retreated from Ahmadnagar to Ñichpúr, and as the death of his infant son Mírzá Rustam made him
melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium tremens. When informed of Abul Fazl's mission, he returned at once towards Ahmadnagar, in order to have a pretext for not going back to his father, and he had come to the banks of the Pûrná, twenty kos from Daunlatábâd, when death overtook him. Abul Fazl arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return; but Abul Fazl said that he was determined to march on: the enemy was near, the country was foreign ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abul Fazl, nothing daunted, after a delay of a few days, moved forward, humoured the officers, and supplied in a short time all wants. Carefully garrisoning the country, he managed to occupy and guard the conquered districts with the exception of Násik, which lay too far to the west. But he sent detachments against several forts, and conquered Baitálah, Taltum, and Satondâ. His headquarters were on the Godwârî. He next entered into an agreement with Chánd Bibí, that, after punishing Abhang Khán Habshí, who was at war with her, she should accept Jânír as sief and give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dak'hín operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahádur Khán to pay his respects to Prince Dânyâl, and war with Khândesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Asîr, Bahádur Khan's stronghold, and appointed Prince Dânyâl to take command at Ahmadnagar. Dânyâl sent immediate instructions to Abul Fazl to cease all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhánpúr, Abul Fazl, at Akbar's request, left Mírzá Sháhrûkh, Mír Murtazâ, and Khwájah Abul Hasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramazán, 1008 (beginning of the 44th year of Akbar's reign), he met Akbar at K'hargon, near Bijágârî. The emperor received him with the following verse—

Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

* The southern Pûrná is meant. The northern Pûrná flows into the Taptí in Khândesh; whilst the southern Pûrná, with the Dûndâ, flows into the Godwârî. Prince Mirâd had gone from Ilichpúr to Narnâlah, and from there to Shâhpúr, which he had built about eight miles south of Bâlpúr. It is now in ruins.
and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand. The imperial army now marched on Asir and commenced the siege.* One day, Abul Fazl inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to shew him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Malai Fort, an important fortification below Asirgarh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Malai and Antar Malai, which had to be conquered before Asir itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chunah Malai. A portion of its wall was not finished. From east to south-west there were hills, and in the south was a high mountain called Korhiah. A hill in the south-west, called Sapan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abul Fazl determined on availing himself of the information given by the deserter, and selected a detachment to follow him. Giving orders to the officer commanding the trench to watch for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sapan, and sent a few of his men under Qara Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Malai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to...

* "Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerebada [Narbad], when Radzia Bador-za [Raja Bahadur Shali], who had possession of the fortress of Hasser [Asir], fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave this fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles, of which the first is called Cho-Tzanin, the second Commerghar: and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador-za however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as suppliant to the king and surrendered himself. Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazl [Abul Fazl] came to him, and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan." From Prof. Lethbridge's 'Fragment of Indian History,' translated from De Laët's 'India Vera,' and published in the Calcutta Review for 1873.

De Laët is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Tzanin. 'Commerghar' is the Persian 'Kamargah,' 'the middle of a mountain.' The names of Fort Chunah Malai and of Mount Korhiah are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwajah Malai and Korthah, Kortha, Koqhiolah, and similar variations.

Vide also Gazetteer, Central Provinces, p. 8.
oppose them, and Abul Fazl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Asir. On the same day, other detachments of the army occupied Chúnah Málai and Mount Korhiah, and Bahádur Khán, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dányál, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar,* now joined his father at Asir.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dak’hin, caused by Ráju Manñák, and a party set up the son of 'Ali Sháh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khán Khánán was ordered to march against him, and Abul Fazl was sent to Násik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khán Khánán. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Agrah, leaving Prince Dányál in Burhánpur. Abul Fazl had no easy life in the Dak’hin. The Khán Khánán stood idle at Ahmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abul Fazl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abul Fazl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son ʿAbdurrahmán. After coming to terms with the son of ‘Ali Sháh, he attacked Ráju Manñák, recovered Jálnahpúr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Manñák found a temporary asylum in Daulatábád, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Asir, Prince Salím, who had been sent against the Ráná of Udaipur, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Iláhábád, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar’s return from Burhánpur a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, shewed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar’s best officers appeared to favour Salím, the emperor recalled Abul Fazl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dak’hin. Putting his son ʿAbdurrahmán in charge of his corps, Abul Fazl set out for Agrah, only accompanied by a few men. Salím, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abul Fazl’s journey, unprotected as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rájah Bir Singh, a Bundelá chief of Urchah (Uḍchhá),† through whose territory Abul Fazl was likely to pass, to lay in wait for him and kill

* Among the plunder taken at Ahmadnagar was a splendid library. Faizí’s library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.
† Vide p. 488.
him. Bir Singh, who was in disgrace at Court, eagerly seized the opportunity of pleasing the Prince, who no doubt would substantially reward him on his accession, and posted a large body of horse and foot near Narwar. When arrived at Ujjain, Abul Fazl was warned of Salim's intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Gháti Chándá; but Abul Fazl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabi' I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a kos from Sarái Bar, which lies six kos from Narwar, Bir Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abul Fazl had with him, strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gádá Khán Afgán, told him quickly to retreat to Antri, which was three kos distant, as Ráí Ráyán and Súraj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abul Fazl thought it a disgrace to fly. He defended himself bravely; but in a short time he was surrounded, and, pierced by the lance of a trooper, he fell dead to the ground. Bir Singh cut off Abul Fazl's head, and sent it to Salim in Itáhábád, who, it is said, had it thrown "into an unworthy place," where it lay for a long time.

The Dutch traveller De Laët gives the following account of Abul Fazl's death.*

Salim returned to Halebassa [Iláhbás, the old form of Iláhábád], and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened to Abul Fazl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul.* Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa [Dányál Sháh], he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selim, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Fazl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzingh Bondela, who lived in his

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* From Prof. E. Lethbridge's 'Fragment of Indian History', Calcutta Review, 1873.

The place near which Abul Fazl was killed, is called in the MSS. Sardáí Bar. De Laët's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.
province of Osseen [Ujjain], to lie in wait for Fazl near Soor [Narwar?] and Gualer [Gwáliá], and to send his head to him, promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fazl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga [Kálábágh], and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Fazl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fazl himself, having received twelve wounds in the fight, was pointed out by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree, and was taken and beheaded. His head was sent to the prince, who was greatly pleased."

Prince Salim, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his 'Memoirs' that he brought about Abul Fazl's murder, because he was his enemy, and, with a naïveté exclusively his own, represents himself as a dutiful son who through the wickedness of others had been deprived of his father's love. He says—

"On my accession, I promoted Rájah Bir Singh, a Bundelá Rajpút, to a command of three thousand. He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character, and straightforwardness. My reason for promoting him was this. Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaikh Abul Fazl, a Hindústáni Shaikh by birth, who was well known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Da'q'h'in. He was no friend of mine, and damaged openly and secretly my reputation. Now about that time, evil-minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that, if Abul Fazl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation. As he had to pass on his way through the territory of BirSingh Bundelá, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abul Fazl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abul Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Ilahábád. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abul Fazl's death produced one good result: I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away."
At another place in his 'Memoirs', when alluding to the murder, he says, as if an afterthought had occurred to him, that he ordered Bir Singh to kill Abul Fazl, because 'he had been the enemy of the Prophet.'

When the news of Abul Fazl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Timur's descendants, the death of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to the reigning emperor, but the prince's vakil presented himself before the throne with a blue handkerchief round his wrist; and as no one else would come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his friend, Abul Fazl's vakil presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abul Fazl's death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after enquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salim wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abul Fazl," and then recited the following verse—

My Shaikh in his zeal hastened to meet me,
He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life.

Akbar, in order to punish Bir Singh, sent a detachment under Patr Dás and Ráj Singh to Úndchá. They defeated the Bundelá chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhánder and shut him up in Irich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Ráj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dás. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dás to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about Úndchá to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rájah Ráj Singh, who cut down a good number of his followers. Bir Singh himself was wounded and had a narrow escape. But the emperor's death, which not long afterwards took place, relieved Bir Singh of all fears. He boldly presented himself at Jahángír's Court, and received Úndchá and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the _Maásir ul-Umará_, "that Abul Fazl was an infidel. Some say, he was a Hindú, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and

* Pages 469 and 458.
call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he
was a pantheist, and that, like other Sūfis, he claimed for himself
a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he
was a man of lofty character,* and desired to live at peace with all men.
He never said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines,
absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If
he appointed a man, whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not
remove him, but kept him on as long as he could; for he used to say
that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetra-
tion in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the
sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock,
keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year’s books. He
also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his
trowsers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said that, exclusive of
water and fuel, he consumed daily twenty-two sers of food. His son
‘Abdurrahmān used to sit at table as safarchē (head butler); the super-
intendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in at-
tendance, and both watched to see whether Abul Fazl would eat twice
of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the
next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abul Fazl gave it to his son
to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it.
When Abul Fazl was in the Dak’hin, his table luxury exceeded all belief.
In an immense tent (chihilravatī) one thousand rich dishes were daily
served up and distributed among the Amirs; and near it another large
tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and khichri
was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is
free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munṣūs;† and
the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of
his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be
difficult for any one to imitate them."

It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abul
Fazl’s style. ’Abdullah, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid
of Abul Fazl’s pen than of Akbar’s arrow. Everywhere in India he is
known as ‘the great Munshi.’ His letters are studied in all Madrasahs,

* I may remark here that Abul Fazl never accepted a title.
† This is also the opinion of the author of the Haft Iqlim (vide p. 508).
and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abul Fazl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated. The writers after him write in the style of the Pádisháhnámáh, the 'Alamáráí Sikandarí, or in the still more turgid manner of the 'Álamgírnámáh, the Ruqát Bedil, and other standard works on Inshá.

A praiseworthy feature of Abul Fazl's works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of, or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments I have spoken in the Preface.

Abul Fazl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Faizi led Akbar's mind away from Islám and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abul Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islám in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abul Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khán Khánáns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islám is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intolerance, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Aurangzib with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a rahimahu-láhu (May God have mercy on him!) when his name is mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking up of the empire.

Having elsewhere given numerous extracts from Badiiioní to shew that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islám to Faizí and Abul Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by 'Urfit from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—


† For 'Urfit vide p. 569. The metre of the couplet is Long Ramal.
O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (i. e. my soul) from the harm of the brothers; for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil sprites and lead me wolf-like to the well (of unbelief).

The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Faizi and Abul Fazl. I may also cite the Tarikh of Abul Fazl's death, which the Khan-i'Azam Mirza Kokah is said to have made—

The wonderful sword of God's Prophet cut off the head of the rebel.*

But Abul Fazl appeared to him in a dream and said, 'The date of my death lies in the words بن نهى إله سرباغي برید."

Abul Fazl's works are the following—

(1) The Akbar Namah with the A'in-i Akbari, its third volume. The A'in-i Akbari was completed in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign; only a slight addition to it was made in the 43rd year on account of the conquest of Barar (1596-97, A. D.). The contents of the Akbar Namah have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar's reign.† There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by 'Inayatullah Muhibb 'Ali. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muhammad Salia, which seems to be a corruption of Muhammad Silih.

(2) The Maktubat-i 'Allami, also called Insahi Abul Fazl. This book contains letters written by Abul Fazl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to 'Abdullah of Buhkara, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islam. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the A'in, &c. The collection was made after Abul

* The word بن نهى، a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head (of the word, the letter ب) is cut off; hence 1013—2 = 1011, the year of the Hijrah in which Abul Fazl was murdered. The metre of the hemistich is Long Ramal.

† The 46th year lasted from the 15th Ramazan, 1009, to 26th Ramazan, 1010, i. e. to about five months before Abul Fazl's death.
Fazl’s death by ‘Abduyağmad, son of Afzal Muhammad, who says that he was a son of Abul Fazl’s sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasahs, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books; but Amir Haidar Husaini of Bilgrām says in the preface to his ‘Sawāniḥ i Akbarī’ that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amir Haidar’s copy was unique.

(3) The Ayār Dānīsh,† which is mentioned on p. 106.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abul Fazl also wrote a Risālah i Munājāt, or ‘Treatise on Prayers’; a Jami’ullughāt, a lexicographical work; and a Kashkai. The last word means a ‘beggar’s cup,’ or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, &c., given as alms, and hence the term is often applied to collections of anecdotes or short stories. But I have seen no copies of these works. It was also mentioned above that Abul Fazl presented, on his introduction at Court, two commentaries, of which no MSS. seem to exist at present. Nor need I again refer to the part which he took in the translations from Sanskrit and the compilation of the Tarikh i Alfi.

The ‘Durar ul Manshūr,’ a modern Tazkirah by Muhammad ‘Askari Husaini of Bilgrām, selects the following inscription written by ‘Abul Fazl for a temple in Kashmir‡ as a specimen both of Abul Fazl’s writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abul Fazl’s composition.

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* Regarding this valuable work, vide p. 316, note.
† As the word is pronounced in India, instead of ‘Iyār i Dānīsh,’ ‘the test of wisdom.’ The author of the Haft Iqlim seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abul Fazl, when he saw him in 1000 A. H., was engaged in re-writing the Nawādir i Hikayāt.
‡ Abul Fazl says in the fourth book of the Aín—‘The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow-creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir.’

Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmiri Bisbis as model men.
God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every
place I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,
Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a
Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the
mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither
of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rosepetal* belongs to the heart of the perfume-
seller.

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* This line is Sufistic. The longing of the heart after God is compared to the
perfume which rises from the rose petals. The perfume-seller, i.e. the Unitarian, is
truly religious, and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy.
This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindústán, and especially those of His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation, Sháh Akbár,

In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.*

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive;

Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have.

I have a few notes on Abul Fazl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical notice. The Aín gives the following list of Shaikh Mubárak's sons.

1. Shaikh Abul Fazl, better known under his poetical name of Faízí. He was born in A. H. 954 (A. D. 1547), and seems to have died childless.
2. Shaikh Abul Fazl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602.
3. Shaikh Abul Barakát, born 17th Shawwál, 960 (1552). "Though he has not reached a high degree of learning, he knows much, is a practical man, and well versed in fencing. He is good-natured and fond of dervishes." He served under Abul Fazl in Khánedsh.
4. Shaikh Abul Khair, born 22nd Jumáda I, 967. "He is a well informed young man, of a regulated mind." He, too, must have entered the Imperial service; for he is mentioned in the Akbar-námah as having been sent by the emperor to the Dakhín to fetch Prince Dányál.
5. Shaikh Abul Makárim, born 23rd Shawwál, 976. He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Sháh Abul Fath Shirázi.

The above five sons were all by the same mother, who, as remarked above, died in 998.

* I. e. Akbar is the insán i kámil, or perfect man.
his mother is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-improvement."

Besides the above, Abul Fazl mentions two posthumous sons by *gummá*, or concubines, *viz.* Sháikh Ábul Hámid, born 3rd Rábí’ II, 1002, and Sháikh Abú Rásíd, born 1st Junádá I, 1002. "They resemble their father."

Of Mubárák’s daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories—

1. One married to Khudáwand Khán Dákhání; *vide* p. 442. Badáóní calls her husband a Ráfsí, *i. e.*, a Shí‘áh, and says he died in Kári in Gújárát.

2. One married to Husámuddín; *vide* p. 441.

3. One married to a son of Rájah 'Alí Khán of Khánádesh. Their son Safdár Khán* was made, in the 45th year of Akbar’s reign, a commander of one thousand.

4. Ládli Begum, married to Islám Khán; *vide* p. 493, note 1. Mr. T. W. Beale of Ágráh, the learned author of the *Míj mát ut-tawárikh*, informs me that Ládli Begum died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the ‘Rauzah i Ládli Begum,’ is about two miles to the east of Akbar’s mausoleum at Síkandrárah, near Ágráh. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fáthpúr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rauzah several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindú. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rauzah nothing exists now-a-days but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaikh Mubárák, Fáizi, and Abul Fazl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Ṭughrá characters may still be seen—

*Bismilláh r-r-r-rahiminnawi Thafrî* • هذه الرَّجَحَة لِلْعَالَمِ الرَّبِّيِّ وَالْحَفِيِّ

**The Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnámah (III, 830) calls him Sundar Khán.**
eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaikh Mubarakullah (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaikh Abul Fazl—may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalaluddinweddin Akbar Padishah i Ghazi,—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abul Barakat, in 1004 [A. D. 1595-96].

Thus it will appear that the Rauzah was built in the year in which Faizi died. Shaikh Mubarak, as was mentioned above, died in 1593 A. D. It seems, however, as if Shaikh Mubarak and Faizi had been buried at a place opposite to Agra, on the left bank of the Jamuná, where he first settled in 1551; for Abul Fazl says in his description of Agra in the Ain*—“On the other side of the river is the Chár Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaus Makání [the emperor Bābar]. There the author was born, and there are the resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaikh 'Aláuddín Majzúb and Mir Rafiuddin Safawí and other worthies are also buried there.” We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamuná, though Abul Fazl’s inscription no doubt shews that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rauzah was sold and destroyed.

Ablu Fazl’s son is the well-known Shaikh 'Abdurrahmán Afzal Khán.

He was born on the 12th Sha'bán, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunni name of 'Abdurrahmán. In the 35th year of Akbar’s reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Sa'ádat Yár Kokáh’s brother. By her ‘Abdurrahmán had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.†

When Ablu Fazl was in command of the army in the Dakhín, ‘Abdurrahmán was, what the Persians call, the tîr i rúí tarkash i ú, ‘the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver’, ever ready to perform duties from which others shrank, and wisely and courageously settling matters of importance. He especially distinguished himself in Talingánah. When Malik 'Ambar, in the 46th year, had caught ‘Ali Mardin and had taken possession of the country, Abul Fazl despatched ‘Abdurrahmán and Sher Khwâjah (p. 459) to oppose the enemy. They

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† Which name was borne by the brother of Isandiyár, who is so often mentioned in Firdausi’s Sháhnámah.
crossed the Godáwarí near Nánder, and defeated 'Amber at the Mánjará.

Jahángír did not transfer to the son the hatred which he had felt for the father, made him a commander of two thousand horse, gave him the title of Afzal Khán, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihár, vice Islám Khán (the husband of Abul Fazl’s sister), who was sent to Bengal. 'Abdurrahmán also received Gorákh’hpúr as jágír. As governor of Bihár, he had his head-quarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Qutbuddín appeared in the district of Bhojpúr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiyah Rájahs (p. 513, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusrau, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahángír had made the favorite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaikh Banárasí and Ghiyás, 'Abdurrahmán’s officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzal Khán’s property and the Imperial treasury. 'Abdurrahmán returned from Gorákh’hpúr as soon as he heard of the rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. 'Abdurrahmán charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Qutb now retreated to the fort, followed by 'Abdurrahmán, who succeeded in capturing him. He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers. Jahángír, who was always minute in his punishments, had their heads shaved and women’s veils put over the faces; they were then tied to donkeys, with their heads to the tails, and paraded through the towns (tashhír) as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, 'Abdurrahmán took ill, and went to Court, where he was well received. He lingered for a time, and died of an abscess, in the 8th year of Jahángír’s reign (A. H. 1022), or eleven years after his father’s murder.

Bishotan, son of 'Abdurrahmán, son of Shaikh Abul Fazl.

He was born on the 3rd Zi Qa’dah, 999. In the 14th year of Jahángír’s reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse. In the 10th year of Sháh Jahán’s reign, he is mentioned as a commander of five hundred horse, which rank he held when he died in the 15th year of the same reign.
O Lord, whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning,
End and beginning, both are lost in Thee,
No trace of them is found in Thy eternal realm.
My words are lame; my tongue, a stony tract;
Slow wings my foot, and wide is the expanse.
Confused are my thoughts; but this is Thy best praise,
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

It is proper for a man of true knowledge to praise God not only in words, but also in deeds, and to endeavour to obtain everlasting happiness, by putting the window of his heart opposite the slit of his pen, and describing some of the wondrous works of the Creator. Perhaps the lustre of royalty may shine upon him, and its light enable him to gather a few drops from the ocean, and a few atoms from the endless field of God's works. He will thus obtain everlasting felicity, and render fertile the dreary expanse of words and deeds.

I, Abulfazl, son of Mubárik, return thanksgiving to God by singing the praises of royalty, and by stringing its kingly pearls upon the thread of description; but it is not my intention to make mankind, for the first time, acquainted with the glorious deeds and excellent virtues of that remarkable man, who clothes our wonderful world in new colours, and is an ornament to God's noble creation. It would be absurd on my part to speak about that which is known; I should make myself the butt of the learned. It is only my personal knowledge of

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1 Akbar.
him, a priceless jewel, which I send to the market place of the world, and my heart feels proud of being engaged in such an undertaking. But it could not have been from self-laudation that I have taken upon myself to carry out so great a task—a work which even heavenly beings would find beset with difficulties; for such a motive would expose my inability and shortsightedness. My sole object in writing this work was, first, to impart to all that take an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge; and, secondly, to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life, and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great king, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word Pádisháh shews this; for pud signifies stability and possession, and sháh means origin, lord. A king is therefore the origin of stability and possession. If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction; the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude. Sháh is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like sháh-nwár, sháh-ráh; it is also a term applied to a bridegroom—the world, as the bride, betrothes herself to the king, and becomes his worshipper.
Silly and shortsighted men cannot distinguish a true king from a selfish ruler. Nor is this remarkable, as both have in common a large treasury, a numerous army, clever servants, obedient subjects, an abundance of wise men, a multitude of skilful workmen, and a superfluity of means of enjoyment. But men of deeper insight remark a difference. In the case of the former, the things just now enumerated, are lasting; but in that of the latter, of short duration. The former does not attach himself to these things, as his object is to remove oppression, and provide for every thing which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, &c., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe; the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light 

fiiirr i izidi (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it kiiyan khwarah (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission. Again, many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light. 1. A paternal love towards the subjects. Thousands find rest in the love of the king; and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly. 2. A large heart. The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him; nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it. The wishes of great and small are attended to, and their claims meet with no delay at his hands. 3. A daily increasing trust in God. When he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it, (and himself as the medium,) so that a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. 4. Prayer and devotion. The success of his plans will not lead him to neglect; nor will adversity cause him to forget God, and madly trust in man. He puts the reins of desire

1 Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate source of life. Regarding his form of worship, vide below.
into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be troubled down by restlessness, nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. He makes wrath, the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand, and inconsiderateness overstep the proper limits. He sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return, without exposing their bad deeds to the public gaze. When he sits in judgment, the petitioner seems to be the judge, and he himself, on account of his mildness, the suitor for justice. He does not permit petitioners to be delayed on the path of hope; he endeavours to promote the happiness of the creatures in obedience to the will of the Creator, and never seeks to please the people in contradiction to reason. He is for ever searching after those who speak the truth, and is not displeased with words that seem bitter, but are in reality sweet. He considers the nature of the words and the rank of the speaker. He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm.

He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. And in the same manner that the equilibrium of the animal constitution depends upon an equal mixture of the elements, so also does the political constitution become well tempered by a proper division of ranks; and by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body.

The people of the world may be divided into four classes.  

1. **Warriors**, who in the political body have the nature of fire. Their flames, directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances.  

2. **Artificers and merchants**, who hold the place of air. From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose-tree of life.  

3. **The learned**, such as the philosopher, the physician, the mathematician, the geometrician, the

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1 Thus, according to the medical theories of the middle ages.

2 This passage resembles one in Firdausi's Shâhnâmah, in the chapter entitled *dar dodtan i Jamschid*; vide also Vallers' Persian Dictionary, II., 756, s. kâltâzi. It is also found in the Akhlâq i Muhsînî, chapter XV., *dar 'adîl*, in the Akhlâq i Julâlî, and the Akhlâq i Nâqîrî, the oldest of the three Akhlâqs mentioned.
astronomer, who resemble water. From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness. 4. Husbandmen and labourers, who may be compared to earth. By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection, and strength and happiness flow from their work.

It is therefore obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with a due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish.

And as the grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men, so does royalty receive its final tint from a similar fourfold division.

1. The nobles of the state, who in reliance on their position lead everything to a happy issue. Illuminating the battle-field with the halo of devotedness, they make no account of their lives. These fortunate courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes. At the head of this class is the Vakil, who from his having attained by his wisdom the four degrees of perfection, is the emperor’s lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm. Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight. It requires therefore an experienced man, who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single-minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well-bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties. He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect, from the desire of attaching to

1 Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things,—ján (life), māl (property), dīn (religion), nāmūs (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (pīr)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to shew this devotedness, and then belonged to the dīn i ištāhī, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.
himself the hearts of all. He takes care not to commit improprieties in conversation, and guards himself from bad actions. Although the financial offices are not under his immediate superintendence, yet he receives the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The Mír-mál,' the Keeper of the seal, the Mír-bakhshí, the Bár-bégí, the Qurbégí, the Mír-tózak, the Mír-bahri, the Mír-barr, the Mír-Manzil, the Khwánsálár, the Munshí, the Qush-bégí, the Akhtah-bégí, belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

2. The assistants of victory, the collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure, who in the administration resemble wind, at times a heart-rejoicing breeze, at other times a hot, pestilential blast. The head of this division is the Vizier, also called Díwán. He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world. He must be a member of the Divine Faith, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, circumspect, warm-hearted, abstinent, active in business, pleasing in his style, clear in his writings, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work. He is in reality a book-keeper. He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the Mustaufí;' and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the Vakil. The Mustaufí, the Sáhib i Táujih, the Awárjah Nawis, the Mír-Sámán, the Názir i Buyútát, the Díwán i Buyútát, the Mushrif of the Treasury, the Wáqí’ah

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1 Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's Private purse.
2 Paymaster of the Court.
3 An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, &c. He is also called Mír 'Arz.
4 Bearer of the Imperial insignia.
5 Master of Ceremonies.
6 Harbour Master General and Admiral.
7 Superintendent of the Imperial Forests.
8 Quarter Master General of the Court. Akbar's court was frequently travelling.
9 Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen.
10 Private Secretary.
11 Superintendent of the aviaries (falcons, pigeons).
12 Superintendent of the Stud.
13 Deputy Díwán.
14 The Accountant of the Army.
15 The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.
16 The officer in charge of the Court-furniture, stores, &c.
17 Superintendent of the Imperial workshops.
18 The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.
19 Clerk.
Nawis,' the 'Amil' of the domains, are under his orders, and act by the force of his wisdom.

Some princes consider the office of the Vizier as a part of that of the Vakil, and are anxious to find in their realm a man who possesses the excellent qualities of these two pillars of the edifice of the State. But as they are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a Vakil, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as Mushrif i Dircân, which office is higher in rank than that of the Diwân, but lower than that of the Vakil.

3. The companions of the king, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharp-sightedness, their knowledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address. Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue. Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their wisdom; whence they resemble water in the affairs of the body political. When they are of a mild temperament, they remove the dust of affliction from the hearts of men, and bestow freshness upon the meadow of the nation; but if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamity, so that numbers are driven by the flood of misfortunes into the current of utter extinction.

At the head of this class stands the philosopher, who with the assistance of his wisdom and example purifies the morals of the nation, and girds himself with the noble aim of putting the welfare of mankind upon a sound basis. The Sadr, the Mir-'Adl, the Qâzi, the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

4. The servants who at court perform the duties about the king. They occupy in the system of the State the position of earth. As such, they lie on the high road of submission, and in dust before the majesty of the king. If free from chaff and dross, they are like an elixir for the body; otherwise they are dust and dirt upon the face of success. The table servant, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of the sharbat and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class.

* The Recorder.  ** Collector.  
* Also called Sadr i Juhân, the Chief-Judge and Administrator General of the empire.  ** The Qâzi hears the case; the Mir-'Adl passes the sentence.
If the king be waited on by servants to whom good fortune has given excellent qualities, there arises sometimes a harmony, which is like a nosegay from the flower-bed of auspiciousness.

Just as the welfare of the whole world depends upon the successful working of the above mentioned four classes, as settled by kings, so does the body politic depend upon the proper formation of the latter four divisions.

The sages of antiquity mention the following four persons as the chief supports of the State—
1. An upright collector; who protects the husbandman, watches over the subjects, develops the country, and improves the revenues.
2. A conscientious commander of the army, active and strict.
3. A chief justice, free from avarice and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his ends by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths.
4. An intelligencer, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration.

It is moreover incumbent on a just king to make himself acquainted with the characters of the following five kinds of men of whom the world is composed, and act accordingly. 1. The most commendable person is the sagacious man who prudently does that which is proper and absolutely necessary. The fountain of his virtues does not only run along his channel, but renders verdant the fields of other men. Such a one is the fittest person for a king to consult in State affairs. After him comes, secondly, the man of good intentions. The river of his virtues does not flow over its bed, and does not therefore become an irrigating source for others. Although it may be proper to shew him kindness and respect, yet he does not merit so high a degree of confidence. Inferior to him is, thirdly, the simple man, who does not wear the badge of excellence upon the sleeve of his action, yet keeps the hem of his garment free from the dust of wicked deeds. He does not deserve any distinction; but ought to be allowed to live at his ease. Worse than he is, fourthly, the inconsiderate man, who fills his house with furniture for his own mischief, without, however, doing harm to others. Him the king should keep in the hot place of disappointment, and bring him into the road of virtue by good advice and severe reprehension. The last of all is the

1 The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the Akhláq i Muhsíni, Chapter XXXII., entitled dar sýdsát.
riicious man, whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief. If the remedies employed in the case of men of the preceding class, do not amend him, the king should consider him as a leper, and confine him separate from mankind; and provided this harsh treatment does not awaken him from his sleep of error, he should feel the torture of grief, and be banished from his dwelling; and if this remedy produce no effect either, he should be driven out of the kingdom, to wander in the wilderness of disappointment; and if even this should not improve his vicious nature, he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose his sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence; for enquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction.

It is therefore necessary for just kings, to make themselves first acquainted with the rank and character of men, by the light of insight and penetration, and then to regulate business accordingly. And hence it is that the sages of ancient times have said that princes who wear the jewel of wisdom, do not appoint every low man to their service; that they do not consider every one who has been appointed, to be deserving of daily admittance; that those who are thus favoured, are not therefore deemed worthy to sit with them on the carpet of intercourse; that those who are worthy of this station, are not necessarily admitted to the pavilion of familiar address; that those who have this privilege, are not therefore allowed to sit in the august assembly; that those upon whom this ray of good fortune falls, are not therefore let into their secrets; and that those who enjoy the happiness of this station, are not therefore fit for admission into the Cabinet Council.

Praise be to God, the Giver of every good gift! The exalted monarch of our time is so endowed with these laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to call him their exordium. From the light of his wisdom, he discerns the worth of men, and kindles the lamp of their energy; whilst ever clear to himself, and without an effort, he adorns his wisdom with the beauty of practice. Who can measure, by the rules of speech, his power as a spiritual leader, and his works in the wide field of holiness;1 and even if it were possible to give a description of it,

1 Akbar as the spiritual leader of the members belonging to the Divine Faith, wrought many miracles, of which some are related in the seventy-seventh Ain of this book.
who would be able to hear and comprehend it? The best thing I can
do is to abstain from such an attempt, and to confine myself to the
description of such of his wonderful doings as illustrate the worldly side
of his nature, and his greatness as a king. I shall speak——

First, of his regulations concerning the household; secondly, of the
regulations concerning the army; thirdly, of the regulations concerning
the empire, as these three contain the whole duty of a king. In doing
so, I shall leave practical enquirers a present, which may seem difficult
to understand, but which is easy; or rather, which may seem easy, but
is in reality difficult.

Experienced men who are acquainted with the art of governing,
and versed in the history of the past, cannot comprehend, how monarchs
have hitherto governed without these wise regulations, and how the
garden of royalty could have been fresh and verdant, without being
irrigated by this fountain of wisdom.

This sublime volume then, is arranged under three heads: it enables
me, in some measure, to express my feelings of gratitude for favours
received.

Remark by the Author. As I had sometimes to use Hindi words, I have carefully
described the consonants and vowels. Enquirers will therefore have no difficulty in
reading; nor will any confusion arise from mistakes in copying. Letters like alif, lām,
and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished
as manqāṣah, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are
purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the p in padīd, the chē in chaman,
the gāf in nigār, the zh in muzhdah. Sometimes I have added to the names of these
letters, the phrase having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindi language I have
distinguished as Hindi. The letter yā, as in rāy, I have called taktāni, and the tē, as
in dast, fāngāni. The b in adab, I have merely called bē. Similarly, the letters nūn,
waw, yā, and bē, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as nūn, wāw, &c.
The nasal nūn I have called nūn i khaft, or nūn i pīnkān. The final and silent h,
as in farkhandah, I have called maktāb, i. e., written, but not pronounced. The ā and
a, when modified to ē or ō, I have called mākhūl. As consonants followed by an alif
have the vowel a, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

AXN 1.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

He is a man of high understanding and noble aspirations who, without the help of others, recognizes a ray of the Divine power in the smallest things of the world; who shapes his inward and outward character accordingly, and shews due respect to himself and to others. He who does not possess these qualifications, ought not to engage in the struggle of the world, but observe a peaceable conduct. If the former be given to retirement, he will cultivate noble virtues; and if his position be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distressing cares.

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiae of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship.¹

If he cannot perform every thing himself, he ought to select, guided by insight and practical wisdom, one or two men of sagacity and understanding, of liberal views in religious matters, possessing diligence and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by their advice.

The wise esteem him not a king who confines his attention to great matters only, although some impartial judges excuse a king that does so, because avaricious sycophants who endeavour by cunning to obtain the position of the virtuous, often remind him of the difference of ranks, and succeed in lulling asleep such kings as are fond of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the revenues of the country, and to promote their own interests. But good princes make no difference between great and small matters; they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to come on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of

¹ A phrase which Akbar often used.
our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs have thought it derogatory to their greatness, is yet the first step towards the establishment of a good government. For every branch he has made proper regulations, and he sees in the performance of his duty a means of obtaining God's favour.

The success of this vast undertaking depends upon two things: first, wisdom and insight, to call into existence suitable regulations; secondly, a watchful eye, to see them carried out by men of integrity and diligence.

Although many servants of the household receive their salaries on the list of the army, there was paid for the household in the thirty-ninth year of the Divine era, the sum of 309,186,795 dâms.¹ The expenses on this account, as also the revenues, are daily increasing. There are more than one hundred offices and workshops, each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom; and by the unremitting attention of his Majesty, they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing, their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.

Some of the regulations I shall transmit, as a present, to future enquirers, and thus kindle in others the lamp of wisdom and energy.

As regards those regulations which are of a general nature, and which from their subject matter, belong to each of the three divisions of the work, I have put them among the regulations of the Household.

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ATN 2.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURIES.

Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this again is connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns, and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men. If some say that to collect

¹ Or, 7,729,669½ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 dâms. The Divine era, or Târikh-i Ilâhi, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1695.
wealth, and to ask for more than is absolutely necessary, is looked upon as contemptible by people given to retirement and seclusion, whilst the opposite is the case with the inhabitants of the towns, who live in a dependent position, I would answer that it is after all only shortsighted men who make this assertion; for in reality both classes of men try to obtain that which they think necessary. Poor, but abstemious people take a sufficient quantity of food and raiment, so as to keep up the strength necessary for the pursuit of their enquiries, and to protect them against the influence of the weather; whilst the other class think to have just sufficient, when they fill their treasuries, gather armies, and reflect on other means of increasing their power.

It was from such views, when lifting the veil and beginning to pay attention to these weighty concerns, that his Majesty entrusted his inmost secrets to the Khájah saráí Itimád Khán, a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the Khájah, the reflections of his Majesty took a practical turn, widened by degrees, and shone at last forth in excellent regulations. An enquiry regarding the income of the different kinds of land was set on foot, and successfully concluded by the wisdom of upright and experienced men. With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between friends and strangers, the lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer were separated from the Jágir lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krór of dáms. Incorruptible bitakhtán were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each. And from kindness and care for the agricultural classes, it was commanded that the collectors should not insist upon the husbandman paying coin of full weight, but to give him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This

1 Itimád means trustworthiness. Khájah saráí is the title of the chief eunuch. His real name was Phul Malik. After serving Salim Sháh (1545 to 1553), who bestowed upon him the title of Muhammad Khán, he entered Akbar's service. Akbar, after the death of Shamsuddín Muhammad Atgah Khán, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed Itimád Khán, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (vide Abu'l-Fazl's list of Akbar's grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of Itimád Khán. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar's satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mirán Mubárik, king of Khán dés (1535 to 1566), to Akbar's harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1576, appointed governor of Bhakkar. When in 1578 Akbar's presence was required in the Panjáb, Itimád Khán desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness. This led to a conspiracy against his life. In the same year he was murdered by a man named Maqúd 'All. Madsir ni umard.

2 Writers.
laudable regulation removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and relieved the subjects from a variety of oppressions, whilst the income became larger, and the state flourished. The fountain of the revenues having thus been purified, a zealous and honest man was selected for the general treasurership, and a dárógah and a clerk were appointed to assist him. Vigilance was established, and a standard laid down for this department.

Whenever a (provincial) treasurer had collected the sum of two lakhs of dáms, he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum.

A separate treasurer was appointed for the píshkáshı̀ receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for nazar receipts, and another for the monies expended in weighing the royal person, and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, dárógahs and clerks were appointed. The sums required for the annual expenditure, are paid at the General Treasury to each cashkeeper of the disbursements, and correct receipts granted for them.

A proper system of accounts having thus been inaugurated, the empire began to flourish. In a short time the treasuries were full, the army was augmented, and refractory rebels led to the path of obedience.

In Irán and Túrán, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state; but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasuries are necessary for storing the money, nine for the different kinds of cash-payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery. The extent of the treasuries is too great to admit of my giving a proper description with other matters before me. From his knowledge of the work, and as a reward for labour, his Majesty very often expresses his satisfaction, or conveys reprimands; hence everything is in a flourishing condition.

Separate treasurers were also appointed for each of the Imperial workshops, the number of which is nearly one hundred. Daily, monthly, quarterly, and yearly accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements, so that in this branch also the market-place of the world is in a flourishing condition.

Again, by the order of his Majesty, a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover a kró́r of dáms is kept in readiness within the palace, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called in Hindi saksáh, and many of

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1 Tributes.  
2 Presents, vows, &c.  
* Vide the eighteenth Afn of the second book.
them put up in a heap, ganj. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a purse. This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country kharj i bahlah.

All these benefits flow from the wonderful liberality of his Majesty, and from his unremitting care for the subjects of the empire. Would to God that he might live a thousand years!

THE TREASURY FOR PRECIOUS STONES.

If I were to speak about the quantity and quality of the stones, it would take me an age. I shall therefore give a few particulars, “gathering an ear from every sheaf.”

His Majesty appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous darogah, and also skilful jewellers. The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion.

Rubies.—1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhurs in value; 2nd class, from 999 to 500 muhurs; 3rd class, from 499 to 300; 4th class, from 299 to 200; 5th class, from 199 to 100; 6th class, from 99 to 60; 7th class, from 59 to 40; 8th class, from 39 to 30; 9th class, from 29 to 10; 10th class, from $9 \frac{1}{2}$ to 5; 11th class, from $4 \frac{1}{2}$ to 1 muhur; 12th class, from $\frac{1}{2}$ muhur to 1 rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

Diamonds, emeralds, and the red and blue yakut, were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhurs upwards; 2nd class, from 29$\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from $14 \frac{1}{2}$ to 12; 4th class, from $11 \frac{1}{2}$ to 10; 5th class, from $9 \frac{1}{2}$ to 7; 6th class, from $6 \frac{1}{2}$ to 5; 7th class, from $4 \frac{1}{2}$ to 3; 8th class, from $2 \frac{1}{2}$ to 2; 9th class, from $1 \frac{1}{2}$ to 1 muhur; 10th class, from $8 \frac{1}{2}$ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from $4 \frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from $1 \frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee.

The Pearls were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhurs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29$\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from $14 \frac{1}{2}$ to 12; 4th class, from $11 \frac{1}{2}$ to 10; 5th class, from $9 \frac{1}{2}$ to 7; 6th class, from $6 \frac{1}{2}$ to 5; 7th class, from $4 \frac{1}{2}$ to 3; 8th class, from $2 \frac{1}{2}$ to 2; 9th class, from $1 \frac{1}{2}$ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhur, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5, to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to $1 \frac{1}{2}$ rupees; 13th class, less than $1 \frac{1}{2}$

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A purse in Hindi is called bahlah.
rupees, to 30 dâms; 14th class, less than 30 dâms, to 20 dâms; 15th class, less than 20 dâms, to 10 dâms; 16th class, less than 10 dâms, to 5 dâms. The pearls are strung upon a number of strings indicating their class, so that those of the 16th class are strung upon 16 strings. At the end of each bundle of strings the imperial seal is affixed, to avoid losses arising from unsorting, whilst a description is attached to each pearl, to prevent disorder.

The following are the charges for boring pearls, independent of the daily and monthly wages of the workmen. For a pearl of the 1st class, $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee; 2nd class, $\frac{1}{8}$; 3rd class, $\frac{1}{16}$ rupee; 4th class, 3 dâms; 5th class, 1 súkí; 6th class, 1 dám; 7th class, $\frac{1}{2}$ dâms; 8th class, $\frac{1}{4}$ dám; 9th class, $\frac{1}{8}$ dám; 10th class, $\frac{1}{16}$; 11th class, $\frac{1}{32}$; 12th class, $\frac{1}{64}$; 13th class, $\frac{1}{128}$; 14th class, $\frac{1}{256}$; 15th class, $\frac{1}{512}$; 16th class, $\frac{1}{1024}$ dám, and less.

The value of jewels is so well known that it is useless to say anything about it; but those which are at present in the treasury of His Majesty may be detailed as follows:

Ruby's weighing 11 tânks, 20 surkhs, and diamonds of 5$\frac{1}{2}$ tânks, 4 surkhs, each one lakh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17$\frac{1}{2}$ tânks, 3 surkh, 52,000 rupees; yâqûts of 4 tânks, 7\frac{1}{2} surkh, and pearls of 5 tânks, each 50,000 rupees.

AI'N 4.

THE IMPERIAL MINT.

As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details.

The inhabitants of the towns and the country perform their transactions by means of money. Every man uses it according to the extent of his necessities; the man whose heart is free from worldly desires sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation, from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, rearing, reaping, cleaning, kneading,
cooking; twisting, spinning, wearing, &c.; but these actions cannot well be performed without several helpers; for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to do so day after day would be difficult, if not impossible. Again, man requires a dwelling, for keeping his provisions. This he calls his home, whether it be a tent, or a cave. Man's existence, and the continuance of his life, depend on five things—a father, a mother, children, servants, food, the last of which is required by all. Moreover, money is required, as our furniture and utensils break; they last in no case very long. But money does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and even a little of it may produce much. It also enables men to travel. How difficult would it be to carry provisions for several days, let alone for several months or years!

By the help of God's goodness this excellent precious metal (gold) has come to the shore of existence, and filled the store of life without much labour on the part of man. By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs Divine worship in a proper manner. Gold has many valuable qualities: it possesses softness, a good taste, and smell. Its component parts are nearly equal in weight; and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground, whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man's intellect is termed the greater principle, gold is called the lesser principle,2 as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention 'the guardian of justice,' 'the universal adjuster;' and indeed the adjustment of things depends on gold, and the basis of justice rests upon it. To render it service, God has allowed silver and brass to come into use, thus creating additional means for the welfare of man. Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals, and erected mints, where their properties may be thoroughly studied. The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness.

1 According to the chemists of the middle ages, gold consists of quicksilver and sulphur taken in equal proportions; the latter must, however, possess colouring properties. Vide the thirteenth Ayn. 2 "Were it not for pity, I would bow down to gold and say, 'Hallowed be thy name?" Habiri.
1. **The Dárógah.** He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the cumbersome burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep every one to his work, and shew zeal and integrity.

2. **The Sairafs.** The success of this important department depends upon his experience, as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins. On account of the prosperity of the present age, there are now numbers of skilful sarráfs; and by the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia dákhdáki, but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called bárubánd, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old hun, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold dinár of 'Aláuddin, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time, and referred it to witchcraft and alchemy; for they maintain, that gold ore does not come up to this fineness. But by the attention of his Majesty, it has come up to this degree; hence the astonishment of people acquainted with this branch. It is, however, certain, that gold cannot be made finer, and of a higher degree. Honest describers and truthful travellers have indeed never mentioned this degree; but, when gold is put into fusion, small particles separate from it, and mix with the ashes, which ignorant men look upon as useless dross, whilst the skilful recover the metal from it. Although malleable gold ore be calcined and reduced to ashes, yet by a certain operation, it is brought back to its original state; but a part of it is lost. Through the wisdom of his Majesty, the real circumstances connected with this loss, were brought to light, and the fraudulent practices of the workmen thus put to the test.

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**ATN 6.**

**BANWARI.**

An abbreviation for bánwári. Although in this country clever Sairafs are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the

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¹ The same as Sairafi; hence a shroff, a money lender.

² This Hind. word which is not given in the dictionaries, means the testing of gold.
brightness of the metal, the following admirable rule has been introduced, for
the satisfaction of others.

To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small
pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written
on them. When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first
draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the
needles. By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of
fineness of the gold. It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the
same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception.

To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of
fineness. This is obtained as follows. They melt together one máshah of
pure silver with the same quantity of the best copper; and let it get solid.
This mixture they again melt with 6 máshahs of pure gold of 10½ degrees of
fineness. Of this composition one máshah is taken, and divided into sixteen
parts of half a surkh each. If now 7½ surkh of pure gold (of 10½
degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the
touch of the new mixture will only be 10½ bān. Similarly, 7 surkh pure
gold and 2 parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 bān;
6½ s. pure gold and 3 parts composition, 9½ bān; 6 s. gold and 4 parts
composition, 9¾ bān; 5½ s. gold and 5 parts composition, 9¾ bān; 5 s. gold
and 6 parts composition, 9 bān; 4½ s. gold and 7 parts composition, 8¾ bān;
4 s. gold and 8 parts composition, 8¾ bān; 3½ s. gold and 9 parts composition,
8½ bān; 3 s. gold and 10 parts composition, 8 bān; 2½ s. gold and 11 parts
composition, 7½ bān; 2 s. gold and 12 parts composition, 7½ bān; 1½ s. gold
and 13 parts composition, 7½ bān; 1 s. gold and 14 parts composition, 7 bān;
and lastly, ½ s. gold and 15 parts composition, 6½ bān. Or generally, every
additional half surkh (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness
of the gold by a quarter bān, the touch of the composition itself being 6½ bān.

If it be required to have a degree less than 6½ bān, they mix together ½
surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper,
with 7½ surkh of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper
and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6½ bān; and if 1
surkh of the first mixture be melted together with 7 surkh of the second
composition, the result will be 6 bān; and if they require still baser composi-
tions, they increase the mixtures by half surkh. But in the Banwári, they
reckon to 6 bāns only, rejecting all baser compositions.

All this is performed by a man who understands the tests.

3. The Amin. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that

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* This máshah contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i. e., 10½ degrees.

* The Hind. term bān means temper, 1¼ alloy.
friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the dervish; and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

4. The Mustafiz. He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright and practical manner, and keeps a systematic day-book.

5. The Merchant. He buys up gold, silver and copper, by which he gains a profit for himself, assists the department, and benefits the revenues of the State. Trade will flourish, when justice is everywhere to be had, and when rulers are not avaricious.

6. The Treasurer who watches over the profits, and is upright in all his dealings.

The salaries of the first four and the sixth officers differ from each other, the lowest of them holding the rank of an *Ahadis. 1

7. The Weighman, who weighs the coins. For weighing 100 jalali gold-muhurs, he gets 1 ½ dáms; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6½ dáms; and for weighing 1000 copper dáms, ⅓ of a dáma; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. The Miller of the ore. He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots. In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes. For the above-mentioned quantity of gold, he gets 2¾ dáms; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dáms and 13½ jétals; 3 for the same quantity of copper, 4 dáms and 21½ jétals.

9. The Plainer. He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven miskshahs each, six fingers in length and breadth; these he carries to the assay master, who measures them in a mould made of copper, and stamps such as are suitable, in order to prevent alterations, and to shew the work done. He receives as wages for the above-mentioned quantity of gold, 42½ dáms.

MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the abovementioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 jalali gold-muhurs, must furnish 4 sers of

1 The *Ahadis correspond to our *Warranted officers. Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar’s workshops, &c., belonged to this corps. They were called *Ahadis, or single men, because they stood under Akbar’s immediate orders. The word *Ahadi, the h of which is the Arabic c, was spelt in official returns with the Persian â. So deep-rooted, says Badaoui, was Akbar’s hatred for every thing which was Arabic.

2 Twenty-five jétals make one dáma. Vide the 10th Ain.
saltpetre, and 4 sôrs of brickdust of raw bricks. The plates after having been washed in clean water, are stratified with the above mixture (of the saltpetre and brickdust), and put one above the other, the whole being covered with cowdung, which in Hindi is called uplah. It is the dry dung of the Wild Cow. Then they set fire to it, and let it gently burn, till the dung is reduced to ashes, when they leave it to cool; then these ashes being removed from the sides, are preserved. They are called in Persian khâk-i khâlaq, and in Hindi talôni. By a process to be mentioned hereafter, they recover silver from it. The plates, and the ashes below them, are left as they are. This process of setting fire to the dung, and removing the ashes at the sides, is twice repeated. When three fires have been applied, they call the plates sitâi. They are then again washed in clean water, and stratified three times with the above mixture, the ashes of the sides being removed.

This operation must be repeated, till six mixtures and eighteen fires have been applied, when the plates are again washed. Then the assay master breaks one of them; and if there comes out a soft and mild sound, it is a sign of its being sufficiently pure; but if the sound is harsh, the plates must undergo three more fires. Then from each of the plates one máshah is taken away, of which aggregate a plate is made. This is tried on the touchstone; if it is not sufficiently fine, the gold has again to pass through one or two fires. In most cases, however, the desired effect is obtained by three or four fires.

The following method of assaying is also used. They take two tólaus of pure gold, and two tólaus of the gold which passed through the fire, and make twenty plates of each, of equal weight. They then spread the above mixture, apply the fire, wash them, and weigh them with an exact balance. If both kinds are found to be equal in weight, it is a proof of pureness.

10. The Melter of the refined metal. He melts the refined plates of gold, and casts them, as described above, into ingots. His fee for 100 gold muhurs is three dáms.

11. The Zarrâb. He cuts off the gold, silver and copper ingots, as exactly as he can, round pieces of the size of coined money. His fees are, for 100 gold muhurs, 21 dáms, 1½ jéttals; for the weight of 1000 rupees 53 dáms, 8½ jéttals, if he cuts rupees; and 28 dáms in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper dáms his fee is 20 dáms; for the same weight of half and quarter dáms, 25 dáms; and for half quarter dáms, which are called dumris, 69 dáms.

In Irán and Tûrán they cannot cut these pieces without a proper avnil; but Hindustani workmen cut them without such an instrument, so exactly, that there is not the difference of a single hair, which is remarkable enough.

12. The Engraver. He engraves the dies of the coins on steel, and such like metals. Coins are then stamped with these dies. At this day, Maulanâ
'Ali Ahmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as equals the copy slips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a yūzbāshī; and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 dāms.

13. The Sikkachi. He places the round pieces of metal between two dies; and by the strength of the hammeror (pukchī) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 goldmuhurs, 1½ dāms; for 1000 rupees, 5 dāms, 9½ jētals; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 dām, 3 jētals in addition; for 1000 copper dāms, 3 dāms; for 2000 half dāms, and 4000 quarter dāms, 3 dāms, 18¾ jētals; and for 8000 half-quarter dāms, 10½ dāms. Out of these fees the sikkachi has to give one-sixth to the hammeror, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The Sūbbak makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 54 dāms.

The discovery of alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Irān and Tūrān, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver dāhādī; in Hindustān, the saīrafas use for it the term bist biswah. According to the quantity of the alloy, it descends in degree; but it is not made less than five, and no one would care for silver baser than ten degrees. Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound, which of the alloys is prevailing, whilst by filing and boring it, the quality of the inside is ascertained. They also try it by beating it when hot, and then throwing it into water, when blackness denotes lead, redness copper, a white greyish colour tin, and whiteness a large proportion of silver.

THE METHOD OF REFINING SILVER.

They dig a hole, and having sprinkled into it a small quantity of wild cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of Mughilān wood; then they moisten it, and work it up into the shape of a dish; into this they put the adulterated silver, together with a proportionate quantity of lead. First, they put a fourth part of the lead on the top of the silver, and having surrounded the whole with coals, blow the fire with a pair of bellows, till the metals are melted, which operation is generally repeated four times. The proofs of the metal being pure are, a lightning-like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides. As soon as it is hardened in

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1 This Turkish word signifies a commander of one hundred men, a captain. Akādis of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a Yūzbāshī varied from five to seven hundred rupees per mensem; vide the third Aīn of the second book.
2 Called in Hind. babīl, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning.
the middle, they sprinkle it with water, when flames resembling in shape the horns of wild goats, issue from it. It then forms itself into a dish, and is perfectly refined. If this dish be melted again, half a surkh in every tólah will burn away, i. e., 6 máshahs and 2 surkh in 100 tólahs. The ashes of the dish, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindí k'haral, and in Persian kuhnah; 1 the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarráb, 5 máshahs and 5 surkh are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred tólahs of it; after which the assay master marks the mass with the usual stamp, that it may not be altered or exchanged.

In former times silver also was assayed by the banwári system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 tólahs, of shábi silver, which is current in 'Iráq and Khurásán, and of the tárí and misgáti, which are current in Túrán, there are lost three tólahs and one surkh; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish nárjí, and the mahmidá and muzaffári of Gujrát and Málwah, 13 tólahs and 6½ máshahs are lost, they become of the imperial standard.

15. The Qurğáb having heated the refined silver, hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead. His fee for the weight of 1000 rupees, is 4½ dásms.

16. The Chásñígír examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows:—Having made two tólahs of the refined gold into eight plates, he applies layers of the mixture as above described, and sets fire to it, keeping out, however, all draught; he then washes the plates, and melts them. If they have not lost anything by this process, the gold is pure. The assay-master then tries it upon the touchstone, to satisfy himself and others. For assaying that quantity, he gets 1½ dásms. In the case of silver, he takes one tólah with a like quantity of lead, which he puts together into a bone crucible, and keeps it on the fire till the lead is all burnt. Having then sprinkled the silver with water, he hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead; and having melted it in a new crucible, he weighs it; and if it has lost in weight three* birínj (rice grains), it is sufficiently pure; otherwise he melts it again, till it comes to that degree. For assaying that quantity, his fee is 3 dásms, 4½ jótals.

17. The Niáriyah collects the khák i kháláź, and washes it, taking two sérés at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it, will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The khák, when thus washed, is called in Hindí kukrah, and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The abovementioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six máshahs per sér. The

1 Some MSS. have katakh.  
2 One MS. has six.
quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of khâk, the Niyâriyah receives 20 dáms, 2 jéitals.

The process of Kukrah.

They mix with the kukrah an equal quantity of punbar, and form a paste of râši (aqua fortis), and wild cowdung. They then pound the first composition, and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two séré weight, which they dry on a cloth.

Punbar is obtained as follows:—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of Babîl-wood, at the rate of six fingers of ashes for every maund of lead. The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed; then they cover it with charcoals, and melt the lead. After that, having removed the coals, they place over it two plates of clay, fixed by means of thorns, and close up the bellows hole, but not the vent. This they keep covered with bricks, till the ashes have thoroughly soaked up the lead. The bricks they frequently remove, to learn the state of the lead. For the abovementioned quantity of lead, there are 4 mishals of silver mixed up with the ashes. These ashes they cool in water, when they are called punbar. Out of every man of lead two séré are burnt; but the mass is increased by four séré of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one man and two séré.

Râši is a kind of acid, made of aabkhâr and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what punbar and râši are, I return to the description of the process of Kukrah. They make an oven-like vessel, narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle, one and a half yards in height, with a hole at the bottom. Then having filled the vessel with coals within four fingers of the top, they place it over a pit dug in the earth, and blow the fire with two bellows. After that, the aforementioned balls being broken into pieces, they throw them into the fire and melt them, when the gold, silver, copper and lead, fall through the hole in the bottom of the vessel into the pit below. Whatever remains in the vessel, is softened and washed, and the lead separated from it. They likewise collect the ashes, from whence also by a certain process profit may be derived. The metal is then taken out of the pit, and melted according to the punbar system. The lead will mix with the ashes,
from which thirty sérs will be recovered, and ten sérs will be burnt. The gold, silver and copper, remain together in a mass, and this they call bugráwati, or according to some, gubrdwati.

The process of Bugráwati.

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of babul-wood, half a sér for every 100 tólahs of bugráwati. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the bugráwati, adding one tólah of copper, and twenty-five tólahs of lead. They now fill the dish with coals, and cover it with bricks. When the whole has melted, they remove the coals and the bricks, and make a fire of babul-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called k’haral, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

THE METHOD OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD.

They melt this composition six times; three times with copper, and three times with sulphur, called in Hind. chhachhiya. For every tólah of the alloy, they take a máshah of copper, and two máshahs, two surkhá of sulphur. First, they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 tólahs weight, the 100 máshahs of copper are employed as follows:—they first melt fifty máshahs with it, and then twice again, twenty-five máshahs. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty máshahs of copper, and melt it in a crucible. They have near at hand a vessel full of cold water, on the surface of which is laid a broomlike bundle of hay. Upon it they pour the melted metal, and prevent it, by stirring it with a stick, from forming into a mass. Then having again melted these bits, after mixing them with the remaining copper in a crucible, they set it to cool in the shade: and for every tólah of this mixture, two máshahs and two surkhá of sulphur are used, i. e., at the rate of one and one half quarter sér (1½ sér) per 100 tólahs. When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ashes, which is silver. This is taken off, and kept separate; and its process shall hereafter be explained. When the mixture of gold and silver has thus been subjected to three fires for the copper, and three for the sulphur, the solid part left is the gold. In the language of the Panjáb, this gold is called kail, whilst about Dihlí, it is termed pinjar. If
the mixture contained much gold, it generally turns out to be of \( 6\frac{1}{2} \text{ bān} \), but it is often only five, and even four.

In order to refine this gold, one of the following methods must be used:

Either they mix fifty tólahs of this with 400 tólahs of purer gold, and refine it by the *Salōni* process; or else they use the *Alóni* process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild cowdung, and one part of saltpetre. Having then cast the aforesaid *pinjar* into ingots, they make it into plates, none of which ought to be lighter than 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) tólahs, but a little broader than those which they make in the *saloni* process. Then having besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires. This operation they repeat three or four times; and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine bān. The ashes are also collected, being a kind of *k'haral*.

**AIN 9.**

**THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM THESE ASHES.**

Whatever ashes and dross have been collected, both before and after the process of *alóni*, they mix with double the quantity of pure lead, put them into a crucible, and keep them for one watch over the fire. When the metal is cold, they refine it as described under the article *Sabbāk*, p. 22. The ashes of it are also *k'haral*. The *saloni* process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The *Panikār* having melted the *k'haral*, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tólah of silver is 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) dāms. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 dāms to the diwān. Having reduced the *k'haral* to small bits, he adds to every man of it 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) sér of *tangār* (borax), and three sér of pounded natrum, and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, sér by sér, into the vessel above described, and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit. This is afterwards refined by the process of the *sabbāk*, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns punhar.

19. The *Paikār* buys the *salóni* and *k'haral* from the goldsmiths of the city, and carries them to the mint to be melted, and makes a profit on the gold and silver. For every man of *salóni*, he gives 17 dāms, and for the same quantity of *k'haral* 14 dāms, to the exchequer.

20. The *Nichówūdāh* brings old copper-coins which are mixed with silver, to be melted; and from 100 tólahs of silver, 3\( \frac{1}{2} \) rupees go to the
diwan; and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty.

21. The Khakhhee. When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described, the Khakhhee sweeps the mint, takes the sweepings to his own house, washes them, and gains a profit. Some of the sweepers carry on a very flourishing trade. The state receives from this man a monthly gift of 12½ rupees.

And in like manner all the officers of the mint pay a monthly duty to the state, at the rate of three dâms for every 100 dâms.

ATN 10.

THE COINS OF THIS GLORIOUS EMPIRE.

As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars.

A. Gold Coins.

1. The S'hansa is a round coin weighing 101 tâlahs, 9 máshahs, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 la'í i jâdâlî-muhurs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, al-saltânî al-a'zâm al-khâqân al-mun'azza al-khâlî al-mulk al-wa-sultân al-sâlih. In the border, "The great sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Agra." On the field of the reverse is the beautiful formula, and the following verse of the Qurán:—

"God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure!"—and roundabout are the names of the first four califs. This is what was first cut by Maulá Maqṣúd, the engraver; after which Mullá 'Ali Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side, Afsâlu dinârin yanzuqhu alrajulu, dinârâk yanzuqhu 'ala aṣhâbihi fi sabîlli, "The best coin which a man expends, is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

And on the other side he wrote,

A'saltânî al-fâdi al-khâlîfatu alnûba'dâli khullada allâhu ta'âla al-mulk al-wa-sultân al-wa-abbâda 'adâla al-wa-ihstânâhu, "The sublime sultan, the exalted

1 Also called Kailmah, or the Confession of Faith, la ilâha ill-âllâh, Muhamma-

calif, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and give eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two Rubá’ís of the court-poet and philosopher Shaikh Faizi were engraved by him. On one side,

Khurshd kih haft bahr azu gauhar yást
Sang ́e siyah az partaw i án jauhar yást
Kán az nazor ́e tarbiyát ́e ú zar yást
Wán zar sharaf az sikkah i Sháh Akbar yást.

"It is the Sun' from which the seven oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre,
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar’s stamp.”

and, Alláhu akbar, jalla jáláluhu,—“God is great, may his His glory shine forth !” in the middle. And on the other side,

Ýn sikkah kih píráyah i umméd bucád
Bá nágáh i dáwám u nám i jávíd bucád
Sívá i sa’ádataah hamíy bas kih badáhr
Yak zarráh nazár-kár dáh Í khurshéd bucád.

“This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name.
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That once for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it.”

and the date, according to the Divine era, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tólahs and 8 másháhs, in value equal to 100 round muhurs, at 11 másháhs each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The Rahás is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square. On one side it has the same impression as the s’hamúrah, and on the other side the following Rubái by Faizi :—

Ýn nágí i rawán i goń i sháhinsháhí
Bá kaukab i iqbal kunad hámráhí
Khurshéd bipartvarah azánrú kih badáhr
Yábad sharaf az sikkah i Akbarsháhí.

“This current coin of the imperial treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O sun, foster it, because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar’s stamp!”

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2 According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls and precious stones into existence; vide the thirteenth Aín. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.
4. The *Atmah* is the fourth part of the *s'hanah*, round and square. Some have the same impression as the *s'hanah*; and some have on one side the following Rubā’ī by Faizī—

*Iṣn sikkah kih daast i baht rá zévar bás*  
Pirāyah i nih sipīhr u haft akhtar bás  
Zarrīn naqdēst kár azú chún zar bás  
Dar dahr raúāns ānām i sháh akbar bás.

“This coin—May it adorn the hand of the fortunate,  
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars!—  
Is a gold coin,—May golden be its work!  
Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Sháh Akbar.”

And on the other side the preceding Rubā’ī.

5. The *Binant*, of the same two forms as the *citjtzah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the *e'hanah*.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one twenty-fifth, of the *s'hanah*.

6. The *Chugul*, of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *a'hanah*, in value equal to two *muhurs*.

7. The round *La’l i Jaldī*,* in weight and value equal to two round *muhurs*, having on one side “Allāhu akbar,” and on the other *Yā mu’innu*—“O helper.”

8. The *Aftābī* is round, weighs 1 tólah, 2 máshahs and 4½ surkhs, in

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1 Or *Jugul*. Abulfazl’s spelling in the text is ambiguous.

2 The MSs. differ. Most of them place the *Chugul* as the sixth coin, after the *Binant*, and read:—

“The *Chugul*, of a square form, weighing 3 tólahs, 5½ surkhs; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a *round* form, weighing 2 tólahs, 9 máshahs, having a value of *three round muhurs*, of 11 máshahs each, (i.e., 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the *fiftieth* part of the *S'hanah*.”

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the *S'hanah*; for the two Chuguls, as given by Abulfazl, would each be the 129th part of the two kinds of *S'hanah*, not the fiftieth part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep’s Useful tables, pp. 5 and 6, gives an extract from a MS. of the *Ain* in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the *square* form of the *Chugul*, weighing 3 tólahs, 5½ surkhs, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the *eighth* coin, the *Aftābī*.

Two other MSs.—among them Col. Hamilton’s—read after the *Binant* (i.e., after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

“6. The *Chakhrádpahah* (or square), weighing 3 tólahs, 5½ surkhs, worth 30 rupees.”

“7. The *Gird* (or *round*); weighing 2 tólahs, 9 máshahs, in value equal to the 3 *round muhurs* of 11 máshahs each.”

“Both have the same impression.”

8. The *Chugul*, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a *S'hanah*, in value equal to two *La’l i Jaldī muhurs*.”

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the *Chakhrádpahah*, the *Gird*, and the *Chugul* are three distinct coins.

For the round *La’l i Jaldī*, some MSs. only read, “The Gird,” i.e., round, taking the words *La’l i Jaldī* to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.
value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "Alláhu akbar, jalla jalláluhu," and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck.

9. The Iláhí is round, weighs 12 máshahs, 1½ surkhs, bears the same stamp as the Aftábi, and has a value of 10 rupees.

10. The square La'í Jaláli is of the same weight and value; on one side "Alláhu akbar," and on the other "jalla jalláluhu."

11. The 'Adlgutkah is round, weighs 11 máshahs, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "Alláhu akbar," and on the other, "Yá mu'ínu."

12. The Round muhur, in weight and value equal to the 'Adlgutkah, but of a different stamp.

13. Mihrábi is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round muhur.

14. The Mu'ton is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the La'í Jaláli, and the round muhur. It bears the stamp "yá mu'ínu."

15. The Chahárgosahah, in stamp and weight the same as the Aftábi.

16. The Gird is the half of the Iláhí, and has the same stamp.

17. The D'han is half a La'í Jaláli.

18. The Salimi is the half of the 'Adlgutkah.

19. The Rábi is a quarter of the Aftábi.

20. The Men, is a quarter of the Iláhí, and Jaláli.

21. The Half Salimi is a quarter of the 'Adlgutkah.

22. The Panj is the fifth part of the Iláhí.

23. The Pandau is the fifth part of the La'í Jaláli; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The Sumni, or Ashtriddh, is one-eighth of the Iláhí; on one side "Alláhu akbar," and on the other "jalla jalláluhu."

25. The Kald is the sixteenth part of the Iláhí. It has on both sides a wild rose.

26. The Zarah is the 32nd part of an Iláhí, and has the same stamp as the kálad.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin La'í Jaláli, D'hans, and Mens, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

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¹ It has the Kalimah. (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Ain).

² The figure called mihrábi, is.

³ In Forbes's Dictionary, dahan.

* Several MSS. read—"Half a quarter Iláhí and La'í Jaláli." Forbes gives six rupees (?).

* Several MSS. have Rábi. Perhaps we should write Rabí.
B. Silver Coins.

1. The *Ruppee* is round, and weighs eleven and one half māshahs. It was first introduced in the time of *Shhr Khān*. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "Allāhu akbar, jalla jalāluhu," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty dāms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Jalālah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a Jalālah.

4. The *Charn* is a quarter Jalālah.

5. The *Pandau* is a fifth of the Jalālah.

6. The *Asht* is the eighth part of the Jalālah.

7. The *Daud* is one-tenth of the Jalālah.

8. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the Jalālah.

9. The *Sūkt* is one-twentieth of the Jalālah.

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] Rupee, which are however different in form.

C. Copper Coins.

1. The *Dām* weighs 5 tānks, i.e., 1 tólah, 8 māshahs, and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisah*, and also *Bahlolī*; now it is known under this name (dām). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the dām is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a *jītal*.1 This imaginary division is only used by accountants.

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a dām.

3. The *Pāulah* is a quarter dām.

4. The *Damrī* is one-eighth of a dām.

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz., at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmadābād (Gujrāt), and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in those four places, and besides in the following ten places,—Ilāhabās, *Agrah*, Ujain, Sūrat, Dīhlī, Patana, Kashmīr, Lāhōr, Multān, Tāndah. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmīr, Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badān, Banāras, Bhakkār, Bahārī, Patan, Jaumpūr, Jālandhar, Hardwār, Hisār Firūzah,

Often misspelt *chétal*. The text gives the correct spelling.
Kālpī, Gwalīr, Gōrak'hpūr, Kalānwar, Lak'hnau, Mandū, Nāgōr, Sarhind, Siyālkīt, Sarōnjī, Sahāranpūr, Sārangpūr, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantanbhūr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round mohurs, rupees, and dāms.

Unprincipled men cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coins, or by employing similar methods; and in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, his Majesty continually consults experienced men, and from his knowledge of the spirit of the age, issues new regulations, in order to prevent such detrimental practices.

The currency underwent several changes. First, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rājah Tōdārmal, four kinds of mohurs were allowed to be current: A. There was a La'lī Jalālī, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tōlah, 1½ surkhs. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 dāms. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a mohur with the imperial stamp, of which three degrees passed as current, viz., B. This mohur, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 mashahs. Its value was 360 dāms. If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice, it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made. C. The same mohur, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 dāms. D. The same

1 Rājah Tōdārmal, a K'hetri by caste, was born at Lāhōr. He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the eighteenth year of the emperor's reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrāt. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with Muntim Khān; and three years later, again in Gujrāt. In the 27th year, he was appointed Dīwan of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a K'hetri in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yūsufzāis, to avenge the death of Bīr Bār. In the 34th year, old age and sickness obliged him to send in his resignation, which Akbar unwillingly accepted. Retiring to the banks of the Ganges he died—or, went to hell, as Bādōnī expresses himself in the case of Hinduism—on the eleventh day A. H. 998, or 10th November 1598, the same year in which Rājah Bhagawān Dās died. Tōdārmal had reached the rank of a Chahārkadārī, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son D'hārī, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with That-haḥ. Abulfazl did not like Tōdārmal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Aurangzēb said, he had heard from his father, that Akbar complained of the rājah's independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Abulfazl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Tōdārmal may be contrasted with Bīr Bār, who a short time before his death had become a member of the Divine Faith. Once when accompanying Akbar to the Panjāb, in the hurry of the departure, Tōdārmal's idols were lost; and as he transacted no business before his daily worship, he remained for several days without food and drink, and was at last with difficulty cheered up by the emperor.
muhur when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 dāms.

Muhurs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of Rupees, three kinds were then current, viz., A. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ māshahs; it went under the name of Jalālah, and had a value of 40 dāms. B. The round, old Akbarshahī Rupee, which, when of full weight, or even at a surkh less, was valued at 39 dāms. C. The same rupees, when in weight two surkhs less, at 38 dāms.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mīr of the 29th year of the Divine era, 'Azaduddaulah Amīr Fathullah of Shīrāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the muhurs, as far as three grains; and on the rupees, as far as six grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhurs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered, that only muhurs down to nine grains less, should be regarded as muhurs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhur that was one surkh deficient, was put down as 355 dāms and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one twenty-fourth Afn, which caused his death.

Next to Abulfażl, Faizī, and Bīr Bar, the Amīr was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abulfażl to Akbar himself (!). The Amīr was, however, on the best terms with Abulfażl, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the Mir’dul ul ‘Alam, he was “a worldly man, often accompanying the emperor on hunting parties, with a rifle on his shoulder, and a powder-bag in his waistband, treading down science, and performing feats of strength, which Rustam could not have performed.”

It is stated by the author of the Maddir ul umard that according to some, the Amīr was a Sik-hazārī, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar’s grandees given in the Tahqīqī i Akbarī, and the last Afn of the second book of this work. Instead of Amīr Fathullah, we also find, especially in Badonī, Shah Fathullah. He lies buried on the Tikht i Sulaimān. Faizī’s ode on his death is very fine.
surkh of coined gold at the low rate of four dāms and a fraction. According to Tódarmál's regulation, a deduction of five dāms was made for a deficiency of one surkh; and if the muhur had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ surkh, full five dāms were subtracted; and for a deficiency of 1½ surkhs, he deducted ten dāms, even if the deficiency should not be quite 1½ surkhs. By the new law of 'Azaduddaulah, the value of a muhur was lessened by six dāms and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 dāms and a fraction only.  

'Azaduddaulah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round rupee had been fixed at one dām less than the square one, notwithstanding its perfection in weight and purity, and fixed the value of the round rupee, when of full weight or not less than one surkh, at forty dāms; and whilst formerly a deduction of two dāms was made for a deficiency of two surkhs, they now deduct for the same deficiency only one dām and a fraction.  

Thirdly, when 'Azaduddaulah went to Khándésh, the Rájah estimated the value of the muhurs that had been expressed in Jalálah rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhurs and rupees according to the old rates.  

Fourthly, when Qulij Khán received the charge of the government, he adopted the Rájah's manner of estimating the muhurs; but he deducted

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1 For 'Azaduddaulah having fixed the value of 1 surkh of coined gold at 4 dāms and a small fraction, the value of a muhur of full weight (11 māshahs = 11 × 8 surkhs) was only 11 × 8 × (4 + a small fraction) dāms, i. e., according to Abulfazl, 353 dāms and a fraction, instead of 360 dāms.  

2 Qulij Khán is first mentioned during the seventeenth year of Akbar's reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Súrat, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrát; and after the death of Sháh Mançu, he was, two years later, appointed as Díwán. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrát. In the 34th year, he received Sambhál as jagir. After the death of Tódarmál, he was again appointed as Díwán. This is the time to which Abulfazl refers. In 1002 he was made governor of Kábul, where he was not successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1005, his son-in-law Prince Danyál as Atdíq, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1007, of the emperor in Khán-
ten dāms for a deficiency in the weight of a muhur, for which the Rajah had deducted five dāms; and twenty dāms, for the former deduction of ten dāms; whilst he considered every muhur as bullion, if the deficiency was 1¼ surkhs. Similarly, every rupee, the deficiency of which was one surkh, was considered as bullion.

Lastly, his Majesty trusting to his advisors, and being occupied by various important affairs, paid at first but little attention to this subject, till after having received some intimation of the unsatisfactory state of this matter, he issued another regulation, which saved the nation further losses, and was approved of by every one, far and near. On the 26th of Bahman, of the year 36, according to the Divine era (A. D. 1592,) he adopted the second [i.e., 'Azaduddaulah's] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhur the deficiency of which did not exceed three, and a rupee, the deficiency of which did not exceed six, surkhs, should still be regarded as of full weight. And this regulation was the only effectual method for preventing the fraudulent practices of unprincipled men; for the former regulations contained no remedy in cases when the officers of the mint coined money of the above deficiency in weight, or when treasurers reduced full coins to the same deficiency. Besides shameless, thievish people made light grain weights, and used to reduce muhurs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhurs six grains deficient as muhurs deficient by nine grains. This reduction of coins being continued, large quantities of gold were stolen, and the losses seemed never to end. By the command of his Majesty grain weights of bābāghūrī were made, which were to be used in weighing. On the same date other stringent regulations were issued, that the treasurers and revenue collectors should not demand from the tax-payers any particular species of coins, and that the exact deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be, should be taken according to the present rate and no more. This order of his Majesty disappointed the wicked, taught covetous men moderation, and freed the nation from the cruelty of oppressors.

ATN 11.

THE DIRHAM AND THE DINAR.

Having given some account of the currency of the empire, I shall add a few particulars regarding these two ancient coins, and remark on the value of ancient coinage.

The Dirham, or Dirhām, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date stone. During the caliphate of
'Omar, it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of Zubair, it was impressed with the words Alldhu (God), barakat (blessing). Hajjaj stamped upon it the chapter of the Qorán called Ikhlaº; and others say that he imprinted it with his own name. Others assert, that 'Omar was the first who stamped an impression on dirhams; whilst, according to some, Greek, Khusravite, and Himyarite dirhams were in circulation at the time of Abdulmalik, the son Marwan, by whose order Hajjaj, the son of Yúsuf, had struck dirhams. Some say that Hajjaj refined the base dirhams, and coined them with the words Alláhu ahad (God is one), and Alláhu ñamad (God is eternal); and these dirhams were called makrûhah (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured; unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Hajjaj, at the time of the reign of Yazid ibn i Abdulmalik, 'Omar ibn Hubairah coined in the kingdom of 'Iráq better dirhams than Hajjaj had made; and afterwards Khálid ibn Abdullah_Qaari, when governor of 'Iráq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yúsuf ibn 'Omar. Again, it has been said that Muq'ab ibn Zubair was the first who struck dirhams. Various accounts are given of their weights; some saying that they were of ten or nine, or six or five misqáls; whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve and ten qiráts, asserting at the same time that 'Omar had taken a dirham of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen qiráts, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of 'Omar there were current several kinds of dirhams: first, some of eight dángrs, which were called baghli, after Ris baghli who was an assay-master, and who struck dirhams by the command of 'Omar; but others call them baghali, from baghal, which is the name of a village; secondly, some of four dángrs, which were called tabrí; thirdly, some of three dángrs, which were known as maghríbí; and lastly, some of one dán, named yamaní, the half of which four kinds 'Omar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fázil of Khujand says that in former days dirhams had been of two kinds, first:—full ones of eight and six dángrs (1 dángr of his = 2 qiráts; 1 qirá = 2 tassuíj; 1 tassuíj = 2 habbah); and secondly, deficient ones of four dángrs and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The Dindr is a gold coin, weighing one misqál, i. e., 1½ dirhams, as they put 1 misqál = 6 dángrs; 1 dángr = 4 tassuíj; 1 tassuíj = 2 habbahs; 1 habbah = 2 faws (barley grains); 1 faw = 6 khardals (mustard-grain); 1 khardal = 12 fals; 1 fals = 6 fatils; 1 fatil = 6 naqiras; 1 naqir = 6 qimirs; and 1 qimir = 12 zarrahs. One misqál, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. Misqál is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is also the name of the coin. From some ancient writings it appears

1 According to some inferior MSS., the name of a kind of gold.
that the Greek minqāl is out of use, and weighs two gīrāṭe less than this; and that the Greek dirham differs likewise from others, being less in weight by \( \frac{1}{4} \) or \( \frac{1}{4} \) of a minqāl.

**ATN 12.**

**THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.**

One round muhur of 11 máshahs buys one tōlah of gold of 10 bān; or one tōlah, 2 surkh of 9\(\frac{1}{2} \) bān; or 1 tōlah, 4 s. of 8\(\frac{1}{2} \) bān; or 1 tōlah 6 s. of 9\(\frac{1}{2} \) bān; or 1 tōlah, 1 máshah of 9 bān; and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one bān increases the quantity of gold which a muhur can buy, by one máshah.

The merchant buys for 100 Ḿāl i Jalālī muhurs 130 t. 2 m. 0\(\frac{1}{8} \) s. of Hun gold of 8\(\frac{1}{2} \) bāns. Of this quantity 22 t. 9 m. 7\(\frac{1}{4} \) s. burn away in melting, and mix with the khāk i ḳhalāẓ, so that 107 t. 4 m. 1\(\frac{1}{4} \) s. of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhurs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tōlah of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the khāk i ḳhalāẓ are recovered 2 t. 11 m. 4 s. of gold, and 11 t. 11 m. 4\(\frac{1}{4} \) s. of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12\(\frac{1}{4} \) tanga, so that altogether the abovementioned quantity of Hun gold yields 105 muhurs, 39 Rs., and 25 dāms.

This sum is accounted for as follows. **First,** 2 Rs. 18 d. 12\(\frac{1}{4} \) j., due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; **secondly,** 5 Rs. 8 d. 8 j. for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 R. 4 d. 1\(\frac{1}{4} \) j. on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz., 26 d. 16\(\frac{1}{4} \) j. dung; 4 d. 20 j. salōṁī; 1 d. 10 j. water; 11 d. 5 j. quicksilver, and 4 Rs. 4 d. 6\(\frac{1}{2} \) j. on account of the khāk i ḳhalāẓ (viz., 21 d. 7\(\frac{1}{4} \) j. charcoal, and 3 Rs. 22 d. 24 j. lead); **thirdly,** 6 Rs. 37\(\frac{1}{2} \) d., which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the Diwān in case the gold belongs to the exchequer; **fourthly,** 100 Ḿāl i Jalālī muhurs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; **fifthly,** 12 Rs. 37 d. 3\(\frac{1}{4} \) j. which the merchant takes as his profit; **sixthly,** 5 muhurs 12 Rs. 3\(\frac{1}{4} \) d., which go to the exchequer. According to this proportion, merchants make their profits.

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet. Gold may also be obtained by the Salōṁī-process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus,

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1 One tangah = 2 dāms; now-a-days one tangah = 2 pais.

2 There is a slight mistake of 1\(\frac{1}{4} \) jētāle,
and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold: however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.

One Rupee buys 1 t. 0 m. 2 s. of pure silver; hence for 950 Rs. the merchant gets 969 t. 9 m. 4 s. of silver. Out of this quantity, 5 t. 0 m. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ s. burn away in casting ingots. The remainder yields 1006 rupees, and a surplus of silver worth 27½ dâms. The several items are—first, 2 Rs. 22 d. 12 j., as wages for the workmen (viz., The Weighman 5 d. 7½ j., the Châhângir 3 d. 4 j.; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the Zarrâb 2 Rs. 1 d. 0 j.; the Sikkachi 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 10 d. 15 j., on account of requisites (viz., 10 d. charcoal, and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 13 d. 0 j., payable to the Diwân; fourthly, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought; and fifthly, 3 Rs. 21 d. 10 j., being the profit of the merchant. If he refines the base silver at his own house, his profit will be much greater; but when he brings it to be coined, his profit cannot be so great.

Of the silver called lârî and shâhî, and the other above mentioned baser coins, one rupee buys 1 t. 0 m. 4 s., so that 950 Rupees will buy 989 t. 7 m.

In the Sabbâki process, 14 t. 10 m. 1 s. burn away, being at the rate of 14 t. per cent.; and in making the ingots, 4 t. 11 m. 3 s. are lost in the fire. The remainder yields 1012 rupees; and from the khâk i kʰarâl 3½ Rs. are recoverable. The several items are—first, 4 Rs. 27 d. 24½ j. on account of the wages of the workmen (viz., the Weighman 5 d. 7½ j.; the Sabbâk 2 Rs. 0 d. 19 j.; the Qurâkób 4 d. 19 j.; the Châhângir 3 d. 4 j.; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the Zarrâb 2 Rs. 1 d.; the Sikkachi 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 5 Rs. 24 d. 15 j., for necessaries, (viz. 5 Rs. 14 d. lead; 10 d. charcoal; and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 24 d., payable to the state; fourthly, 950 Rs. which the merchant receives for his silver; fifthly, 4 Rs. 29 d. his profit. Sometimes the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger.

1044 dâms buy one man of copper, i.e., at the rate of 26 d. 2½ j. per sér. Out of this quantity, one sér is burnt away in melting; and as each sér yields 30 dâms, there are coined altogether 1170 dâms, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 d. 19½ j. as profit. 33 d. 10 j. go to the workmen; and 15 d. 8 j. for necessaries, (viz. 13 d. 8 j. for charcoal; 1 d. for water; and 1 d. for clay); 58½ d. go to the state.

AIN 13.

THE ORIGIN OF METALS.

The Creator by calling into existence the four elements, has raised up wonderful forms. Fire is absolutely warm, dry, light; air is relatively

1 These items added give Rs. 1015, 25 d. 14½ j., i.e., a little more than the sum mentioned by Abulfazl (1015 Rs. 20 d.)
warm, moist, light; water is relatively cold, moist, heavy; earth is absolutely cold, dry, heavy. Heat is the cause of lightness, and cold of heaviness; moisture easily separates particles, whilst dryness prevents their separation. This wonderful arrangement calls four compounds into existence, first, the earth; secondly, stones; thirdly, plants; fourthly, animals. From the heat of the sun, watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up. Such a mixture is called bukhār (gas). From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up. This mixture is called dukhān (vapour). Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth. Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures bukhār, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of moist, or watery bukhār, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air, dry bukhār, or dukhānt bukhār (vapour-like gas). Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, &c.; and, below the surface of our earth, earthquakes, springs, and minerals. They also look upon the bukhār as the body, and upon the dukhān as the soul of things. From a difference in their quality and quantity, various bodies are called into existence, as described in books on philosophy.

Minerals are of five kinds: first, those which do not melt on account of their dryness, as the yagūt; secondly, those which do not melt, on account of their liquidity, as quicksilver; thirdly, those which can be melted, being at the same time neither malleable, nor inflammable, as blue stone; fourthly, those which can be melted, being however not malleable, but inflammable, as sulphur; fifthly, those which can be melted, and are malleable, but not inflammable, as gold. A body is said to melt, when from the union of the inherent principles of dryness and moisture its particles are moveable; and a body is called malleable, when we can make it extend in such a manner, as to yield a longer and wider surface, without, however, either separating a part from it, or adding a part to it.

When in a mixture of bukhār with dukhān, the former is greater in quantity, and when, after their mixture and complete union, the heat of the sun causes the whole to contract, quicksilver will be produced. Since no part of it is destitute of dukhān, the dryness is perceptible; hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it; and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of bukhār and dukhān, both are nearly in equal proportion, a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the dukhān and the greasiness are a little in excess, sulphur will be produced, in colour

1 Or doings from on high, as rain, snow, &c.
either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the dukhán is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the bukhír is greater, pure, black and yellow karitha will arise, after the mixture gets solid. Since in all, cold was the cause of the contraction, they can be melted; and on account of the prevalence of greasiness and tenacious moistness, they are also inflammable, though, on account of the moistness, not malleable.

Although quicksilver and sulphur are the only component parts of "the seven bodies," there arise various forms from a difference in purity, or from peculiar circumstances of the mixture, or from a variety of the action of the component parts on each other. Thus silver will result, when neither of the two components mixes with earthy particles, when they are pure and become perfectly united, and when the sulphur is white, and less than the quicksilver. Or, when both are in equal proportions and the sulphur red, and capable of colouring, gold will originate. Again, under similar circumstances, if both contract after the mixture, but before a complete union has been effected, kârâkchán will be produced. This body is also called Ahanchini, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called the seven bodies; and quicksilver has the name of the mother of the bodies, and sulphur, the father of the bodies. Quicksilver is also denominated the spirit, and arsenic and sulphur, the pivots of life.

Just (pewter), which, according to the opinions of some, is Râh i tâtiya, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of Jâlûr, which is a dependency of the Súbah of Ajmír. Some practical mechanics are of opinion that the metal called rîjâz is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver a silver in the state of apoplexy; that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt, and bronze crude gold; and that the chemist, like the doctor, can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition.

Practical men form of the above seven bodies several compounds, used for ornaments, vessels, &c. Among them I may mention, 1. Safidrû, which the

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1 According to some MSS., the Hindús.
people of Hindustan call kāshi. It is a mixture of 4 sōrs of copper to 1 sōr of tin, melted together. 2. Rūj, 4 sōrs of copper to 1 sōr of lead. It is called in this country bhangār. 3. Brass, which the Hindus call pital, is made in three ways, first, 2½ sōrs copper to 1 sōr rūh i tūtiya, which is malleable, when cold; secondly, 2 sōrs of copper to 1 sōr of rūh i tūtiya, which is malleable, when heated; thirdly, 2 sōrs of copper to 1 sōr of rūh i tūtiya, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. Sīm i suktah, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. Hafṣījāh, which, like the Khārchi, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it tāliqān, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. Ashēdāt, a compound of eight metals, viz., the six of the hafṣījāh, rūh i tūtiya, and kāshi. It is also made of seven components. 7. Kaulpatr, 2 sōrs of safindrā, and 1 sōr of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.

**ATN 14.**

**ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.**

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of bukhār and dukhān, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, bukhār is wet or dry; and a complete union of the two sets in, sometimes before and after the mixture, and sometimes in either of these conditions. It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles, is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles; and likewise, every mineral in which the bukhār predominates over the dukhān, is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the bukhār and dukhān has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light. Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body. Some one, now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses, (metre Mujass—

-Za rūj i jussah i hafṣād, u yak diram simād,  
ChilāAugust: a word meaning something.
-Hishmaksh烤ast, u na arzis sīy u hasht shumār,  
Zahāb qaṣāst suurb panjāb o nuh dāhān chil;  
Birinj u mis chihil o panj nuqrah panjah u chār.

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1 This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar.  
2 Abū Nasr i Farāh, of Farāh, a town in Sijistān. His real name is Muhammad Badruddin. He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme, entitled Nīqāb u nājihyān, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, for 1888, p. 7.
"Quicksilver" is 71; Rūi is 46; Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 40; Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemonic words in rhyme, (metre Ḑamen)—

Nuh filiz é musta'uyyl ḍajm rā chūn bakasht,
Iktitāf é waz dārad hār yākē bi ištiḥāb.
Zar lakan, zēbaq alam, wṣub dahan, arziż hal,
Fizah nad, dīn yākī, misṣ o shabah mah, rūī māh.

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following nine metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows:—gold lukan, quicksilver alam, lead dahan, tin ḍal, silver nad, iron yaki, copper and brass mah, rūi māh." If of these nine metals, pieces be taken of equal dimensions, their weights will be different. Some sages ascribe this variety in weight to the difference in the qualitative constitution of the bodies, and trace to it their lightness or heaviness, their floating or sinking in water, and their weights as indicated by common and hydrostatic balances.

Several deep-sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water. They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 misqāla of each metal; and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals, are found the differences between them in volume and weight. The greater the quantity of the water is which 100 misqāla of a body displace, the greater is its volume, and the less its weight; and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 95 m. of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5 m. If the weight of the water displaced by a body be subtracted from its weight in air, its weight in water will be found. The scales of the air-balance are both suspended in air: those of the hydrostatic balance are both on the surface of the water. As the heavier body possesses the greater power for sinking, it will, in any case, move in the direction of the perpendicular; but, if either of the two scales be on the surface of the water, and the other in the air, the latter scale, although perhaps the lighter, will necessarily sink, as air, being a finer substance than water, does not offer so much resistance. A body will sink in water, if the quantity of water displaced by it be less than the weight of the body; and a body will float, if that quantity be greater; and if the water displaced be equal to the weight

1 We fix the specific gravities as follows:—Gold 19.26; Mercury 13.6; Lead 11.32; Silver 10.47; Copper 9; Tin 7.32; Iron 7.7, for which numbers water is unity. Abul Fazl takes gold as standard; and assuming, for his values, 19.26 as its specific gravity, we would get, Mercury 13.87; Lead 11.36; Silver 10.40; Copper 8.67; Iron 7.76; Tin 7.32; Rūi 8.86.

2 The Arabic consonants of the mnemonic words lakan, alam, &c., represent numbers; thus ḍ + k + n = 30 + 20 + 60; a + ḍ + m = 1 + 30 + 40; &c.
of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. *Abū Raimān* has drawn up a table, which I shall insert here.

**Quantity of water displaced by 100 misqāls of water**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gold.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brass.</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Quicksilver.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lead.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4</td>
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The weight (in air) of the undermentioned metals, the volume of 100 misqāls of gold being taken as the unit of volume.

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1 With the exception of *Quicksilver*, *Silver*, and *Yāqūt (light blue)*, the numbers given in the MSS., and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 misqāls (1 m. = 6 d.; 1 d. = 4 t.) But in most items there is an excess of one *ddng.*
XI'N

15.

TITE IMPERW HAREM.

His Majesty is a great friend of good order and propriety in business. Through order the world becomes a meadow of truth and reality; and that which is but external, receives through it a spiritual meaning. For this reason, the large number of women—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom, and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order.

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries; and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world. As the sovereign, by the light of his wisdom, has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity, and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio. Short-sighted men think of impure gold, which will gradually turn into pure gold;  but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs and chemical processes. Any kind of growth will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment, if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as dáróghhas, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs. per mensem. Some

1 So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.  
2 Elixirs change quickly that which is worthless into pure gold.
of the servants have from 51 to 20, others from 40 to 2 Rs. Attached to the
private audience hall of the palace, is a clever and zealous writer, who
superintends the expenditure of the Harem, and keeps an account of the
cash and the stores. If a woman wants anything, within the limit of her
salary, she applies to one of the *Tahwíldár* (cash-keepers) of the seraglio.
The Tahwíldár then sends a memorandum to the writer, who checks it,
when the General Treasurer makes the payment in cash, as for claims of
this nature no cheques are given.

The writer also makes out an estimate of the annual expenditure, writes
out summarily a receipt, which is countersigned by the ministers of the state.
It is then stamped with a peculiar Imperial seal, which is only used in
grants connected with the Harem, when the receipt becomes payable. The
money itself is paid by the cash-keeper of the General Treasury to the
General Tahwíldár, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it
over to the several Sub-Tahwíldár for distribution among the servants of
the seraglio. All monies are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.¹

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women; the
most trustworthy of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty.
Outside of the enclosure the eunuchs are placed; and at a proper distance,
there is a guard of faithful *Rájpúts*, beyond whom are the porters of the
gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, *Ahadís*,
and other troops, according to their ranks.

Whenever *Régums*, or the wives of nobles, or other women of chaste
character, desire to be presented, they first notify their wish to the servants
of the seraglio, and wait for a reply. From thence they send their request
to the officers of the palace, after which those who are eligible are permitted
to enter the Harem. Some women of rank obtain permission to remain
there for a whole month.

Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, his Majesty does
not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order.

### AYIN 16.

**THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.**

It would be difficult to describe a large encampment; but I shall say
something on the equipage used for hunting parties and short journeys.

1. The *Gulálábdr* is a grand enclosure, the invention of his Majesty,
the doors of which are made very strong, and secured with locks and keys.
It is never less than one hundred yards square. At its eastern end a

¹ At 40 dáma per rupee.
pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long, and 14 broad; and in the middle there stands a large Chaubin râoti; and round about it a Sardâpârâdah. Adjoining to the Chaubin, they built up a two-storied pavilion, in which his Majesty performs divine worship, and from the top of which, in the morning, he receives the compliments of the nobility. No one connected with the seraglio enters this building without special leave. Outside of it, twenty-four chaubin râoti are erected, 10 yards long, and 6 yards wide, each separated by a canvas, where the favourite women reside. There are also other pavilions and tents for the servants, with Sâibhâns of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a Sardâpârâdah of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the Urdâbégis, and other female servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the Mahtâbi; and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described which is supported by poles 6 yards long, fixed in the ground at distances of two yards. The poles are one yard in the ground, and are ornamented with brass knobs on the top, and kept firm by two ropes, one passing inside, and the other outside of the enclosure. The guards watch here, as has been described.

In the midst of the plain is a raised platform, which is protected by an awning, or Namgirah, supported by four poles. This is the place, where his Majesty sits in the evening, and none but those who are particularly favoured, are here admitted. Adjoining to the Guldbâr, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the Mahtâbi; and in the midst of it, is a Chaubin râoti, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards, and separated by canvasses. This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called Ibachkî, which is the (Chagatâi) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a Sardâpârâdah is put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the Sârâpârâdah being, as before, sustained by poles with knobs. In the midst of it the state-hall is erected, by means of a thousand carpets; it contains seventy-two rooms, and has an opening fifteen yards wide. A tentlike covering, or Qalandârî, made of waxcloth, or any other lighter material, is spread over it, which affords protection against the rain and the sun; and round about it, are fifty awnings, of twelve yards each. The pavilion, which serves as Divdân i khâq, or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles, and the officers of the army, after having

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1 Described in the twenty-first Am.  
2 Awnings.  
3 Armed women.  
4 As may be still seen in the ruins of Fathpûr Sikrî.
obtained leave through the Bakhshies, pass before the Emperor, the list of officers eligible for admission being changed on the first of every month. The place is decorated, both inside and outside with carpets of various colours, and resembles a beautiful flower-bed. Outside of it, to a distance of 350 yards, ropes are drawn, fastened to poles, which are set up at a distance of three yards from each other. Watchmen are stationed about them. This is the Diwān-i 'Ām, or public audience hall, round which, as above described, the various guards are placed. At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve tandūs is the Naqqárah Khánah, and in the midst of the area the Akánsiah is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the Farráshes on a piece of ground which the Mir Mansúr have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty. Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, Mansabdárs, Akáds. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farráshes, natives of Irán, Turán, and Hindustan, 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers, and torch-bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers.

The monthly pay of the foot varies from 240 to 130 dáms.

AYN 17.

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY.

Although his Majesty but rarely collects his armies, a large number of troops accompany him in whatever direction an expedition may go; but a considerable number, in every province, are employed on various services, and are not allowed to follow him. On account of the crowding of camp-followers, and the number of the troops themselves, it would take a soldier days to find his tent; and how much worse would it be for a stranger? His Majesty has invented an admirable method of encamping his troops, which is a source of much comfort to them. On an open ground they pitch the imperial seraglio, the audience hall, and the Naqqárah khánah, all occupying a space the length of which is 1530 yards. To the right and left, and behind, is an open space of 360 yards, which no one but the guards are allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to

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1 Paymasters. The Commanding Officers were at the same time paymasters, as they collected the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents.

2 A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the tandū, vide the tenth Ayn of the third book.

* A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. Vide p. 50.

* Quarter masters.

* Grandees.
the left centre are the tents of Maryam Makání, Gulbadan Bégum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dányaí; to the right, those of Prince Sultán Sálím; and to the left, those of Prince Sháh Murád. Behind their tents, at some distance, the offices and workshops are placed, and at a further distance of 30 yards behind them, at the four corners of the camp, the bázárs. The nobles are encamped without on all sides, according to their rank.

The guards for Thursday, Friday and Saturday, encamp in the centre; those for Sunday and Monday, on the right; and those for Tuesday and Wednesday, on the left.

### AIN 18.

**ON ILLUMINATIONS.**

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select" is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element which is the source of man's existence, and of the duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

How beautifully has Shaikh Sharafuddin Munyari said, "What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down?" Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light, (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty.

At noon of the day, when the sun enters the 19th degree of Aries, the whole world being then surrounded by his light, they expose a round piece of a white and shining stone, called in Hindi Sárajkránt, to the rays of the sun. A piece of cotton is then held near it, which catches fire from the heat of the stone. This celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons.

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1. *Maryam Makání, (i. e., dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Asiah, the wife of Pharao, Khadijah, the name of Muhammad's first wife, and Fátimah, his daughter, are the four perfect women of the Islám) is the title of Akbar's mother. Her name was Hamídah Bání Bégum; vide Badáoní, ed. Bibl. Ind. ii, p. 437. Gulbadan Bégum (i. e., Lady Rose body) appears to be the name of one of Akbar's favourite wives.


* This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Munair is a town in Bahár; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1868, p. 7, l. 3, from below, and the biographies of Indian Saints in the fourth book. His works are to be found among the Persian MSS. of the Society's Library.
The lamp-lighters, torch-bearers and cooks of the household use it for their offices; and when the year has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire. The vessel in which this fire is preserved, is called Agingir, i.e., fire-pot.

There is also a shining white stone, called Chandrkrant, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one ghari before sunset, his Majesty, if on horseback, alights, or if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles, on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candlesticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten maus and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more: they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux both inside and outside, which increase the light very much. The first, second, and third nights of every lunar month, when there is moonlight but for a short time, eight wicks are used; from the fourth to the tenth, they decrease one in number every night, so that on the tenth night, when the moon is very bright, one is sufficient; and they continue in this state till the fifteenth, and increase one wick every day from the sixteenth to the nineteenth. For the twentieth night the number is the same as on the nineteenth; on the twenty-first and twenty-second they increase one daily; the twenty-third is the same as the twenty-second; and from the twenty-fourth to the last, eight wicks are lighted up. They allow for every wick one sér of oil, and half a sér of cotton. In some places there are fat-burners, where grease is burnt instead of oil. The allowance varies according to the size of the wick.

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from

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1 One ghari = 24 minutes.  
2 Oil-burners with several wicks are very common in India.  
3 For each flambeau.
far, his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbar, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes; and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Akâsidiah. Its light is seen from great distances, guides the soldiers to the imperial camp, and helps them to find their tents. In former times, before the lamp was erected, the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road.

In this department, Mansabdars, Ahadis, and other troops, are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dáms.

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**THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.**

The Shamsah* of the arch of royalty is a divine light, which God directly transfers to kings, without the assistance of men; and kings are fond of external splendour, because they consider it an image of the Divine glory. I shall mention some of the insignia used at present.

1. The Aurang, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, &c. 2. The Chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The Sâibân is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade, and ornamented with precious stones. One of the attendants holds it, to keep off the rays of the sun. It is also called Aftíbyâr. 4. The Kaukabah,* of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are only used by kings.

5. The 'Alam, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the Qur,* wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The Chatrîq, a kind of 'Alam, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The Tumantîq is like the Chatrîq, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The Jhanâdâ is an Indian flag. The Qur necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

Of musical instruments used in the Naqqârahkhánah, I may mention, 1. the Kuwarâgh, commonly called damânah; there are eighteen pair of

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* From Akâs sky, and diâh lamp. The Akâsdiyah is also mentioned by Bernier.

* Shamsah is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings.

At night, these pictures are illuminated.

* Vide the plates.

* The Qur is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.
them more or less; and they give a deep sound. 2. The naqqárah, twenty pair, more or less. 3. The dhubul, of which four are used. 4. The Karaná is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals: and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The surné of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The safir, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The sing is of brass, and made in the form of a cow's horn; they blow two together. 8. The sanj, or cymbal, of which three pair are used.

Formerly the band played four gharsi before the commencement of the night, and likewise four gharsi before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One ghari before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the surná, and wake up those that are asleep; and one ghari after sun rise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kuwargah a little, whereupon they blow the karaná, the safir, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqqárah; after a little pause the surnás are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the safirs. One hour later the naqqárahs commence, when all musicians raise "the auspicious strain." After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The Mursalí, which is the name of a tune played by the mursil; and afterwards the bardáshít, which consists likewise of certain tunes, played by the whole band. This is followed by a pianissimo, and a crescendo passing over into a diminuendo; 2. The playing of the four tunes, called ikhlási, ibtidáí, shirázi, qalandárí nigár qatrah,* or nukhúd qatrah, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old Khwárizmíte tunes. Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes Jaláishkáhi, Mahánír karkát (?), and the Naurúsí. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of Bá miyán daur. 6. The passing into the tunes ašfar, also called ráh i bídá, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwárizmíte tunes, played by the Mursil, after which he passes into the mursalí; he then pauses, and commences the blessings on his Majesty, when the whole band strikes up a pianissimo. Then follows the reading of beautiful sentences and poems. This also lasts for an hour. Afterwards the surna-players perform for another hour, when the whole comes to a proper conclusion.

His Majesty has such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess; and he is likewise an excellent hand in performing, especially on the naqqárah.

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* Or Karraná.
* Possibly blessings on his Majesty.
* Several of these names of melodies are unclear, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words shirázi qalandárí, "a hermit of Shiráz," belong to each other. *Nigár qatrah means, behold the tear."
Mansabdárs, Ahadís, and other troops are employed in this department. The monthly pay of a foot-soldier does not exceed 340, and is not less than 74 dánás.

ATN 20.

THE ROYAL SEALS.
Seals are used in the three branches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions. In the beginning of the present reign, Maulána Márqúd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the riqá’ character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timúrláng; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the nasta’líq character, only with his Majesty’s name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, mihrábi in form, which had the following verse round the name of his Majesty—

Ráští miyí b i rizá i khudád, kas na’dalm khum shud az räh i rást.

“Uprightness is the means of pleasing God; I never saw any one lost in the straight road.”

Thákín made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Maulána ‘Ali Ahmad of Dihlí improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chagátí) name of Usúk, and is used for furmuñ i sábís;* and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of his Majesty, was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words Alláhu Akbar, jalla jallalulú, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to furmuñs, another stamp is used of various forms.

Of seal-engravers I shall mention

1. Maulána Márqúd of Herdít, one of the servants of Humáyún, who writes well the riqá’ and nasta’líq characters. Tho astrolabe, globes, and various místarás* which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

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* Corresponding to the threefold division of the Áin i Akbarí.
* The word muhur, a seal, means also a stamp, and generally, the signature of a man. We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them. Sealing wax is rarely used on account of the climate; a tenacious black liquid, or the juice of the bhéldá nut is preferred.
* Vide note p. 30.
* Vide the eleventh Áin of the second book.
* Copyists take a piece a pasteboard of the same size as the paper on which they write. Then they draw two parallel vertical lines, each about an inch from the two vertical sides of the pasteboard. Along these lines they make small holes at equal intervals, and draw a string from the first hole at the left hand to the first hole of the right of the pasteboard. Similarly, the two second holes are joined, and so on, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. This contrivance is called miśtar, from sáfar, a line. The copyist then puts the blank
2. Tamkin of Kabul. He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection, as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the nasta’liq.

3. Mir Dost of Kabul. He cuts both the riqd' and nasta’liq characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His riqd' is better than his nasta’liq. He also understands essaying.

4. Maulana Ibradhim. In the art of cutting cornelians he is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd. He surpasses the ancient engravers; and it is impossible to distinguish his riqd' and nasta’liq from the master pieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words la'î jalâli, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. Maulana ’Ali Ahmad of Dihli who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His nasta’liq is charming; but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father Shaikh Hussain, studied the manner of Maulana Maqçu’d, and eventually surpassed all.

ATN 21.

THE FARRASH KHANAI.

His Majesty considers this department as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it, as a part of Divine worship. The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions. I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers.

1. The Bârgah, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand people. It takes a thousand farrashes a week to erect it with the help of machines. There are generally two door poles, fastened with hinges. If plain, (i.e., without brocade, velvet, or gold ornaments,) a bârgah costs 10,000 Rupees and upwards, whilst the price of one full of ornaments is unlimited. The price of others may be estimated from the price of a plain one. 2. The Chaubin rawati is raised on ten pillars. They go a little into the ground, and are of equal height, with the exception of two, which are a little higher, as

sheets on the top of the mistar, and presses on them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

1 Nizâm of Herát, in his Tabaqat i Akbari, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.
the cross beam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a dásah, to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the dásahs and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two; and at the height of the lower dásahs there is a raised platform. The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet-sackcloth, tied to the walls with silk tape. 3. The Doðshyánah manzil, or house of two stories, is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform; and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper story. The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding. On the march it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship, where he prays to the Sun; and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties, whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motly sarai of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter, to pay their compliments, and after them, outsiders. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, &c,) which is called jharókah, or window. 4. The Zamindóz is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The 'Ajáých consists of nine awnings on four pillars. Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The Mandai is composed of five awnings joined together, and is supported by four poles. Four of the awnings are let down, so as to form a private room; sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open. 7. The At'hk'hambah consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes separate, sometimes joined together; they are supported by eight poles. 8. The Khargáh is a folding tent made in various ways; some with one, others with two doors. 9. The Shámyánah-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The Qalandart has been described. 11. The Sarápardah was made in former times of coarse canvass, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness. 12. The Gulábdár, is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the Khargáh, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together, when the camp breaks off. The gulábdár is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

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1 A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, a support. 2 Vide p. 46.
Carpets.

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many master-pieces. The carpets of Irán and Turán are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Gushkán, Khúzístán, Kirmán, and Sabzwár. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. There are found in every town, especially in Agrab, Fathpur, and Láhor. In the imperial workshops, single carpets are made 20 gäs, 7 tassuítas long, and 6 gäs, 11½ tassuítas broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees.

Takyahnamads, or woollen coverlets, are brought from Kábul and Persia, but are also made in this country.

It would take up too much time to describe the jhtamás, shatrinjás, balúchis, and the fine mats which look as if woven with silk.

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THE ABDÁR KHÁNAH.

His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality," and has committed the care of this department to proper persons. He does not drink much, but pays much attention to this matter. Both at home and on travels, he drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch the water in sealed jars. When the court was at the capital Agrab and in Fathpúr, the water came from the district of Sárán; but now that his Majesty is in the Panjáb, the water is brought from Hardwár. For the cooking of the food, rain water or water taken from the Jamnah and the Chanáb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On journeys and hunting parties his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters.

Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small. Saltpetre is a saline earth. They fill it with a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through,

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1 Gushkán, or Gushaqán, a town in Iráq i 'Ajami, half way between Káshán and Icfahán. Khúzístán is the Persian province of which Shushhtar, or Shustar, is the capital; the ancient Susiana. Kirmán is the capital of the Persian province Kirmán, which borders on Balúchistán. Sabzwár is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Khurásán, between Mashhad (Meshed) and the Caspian Sea.
2 The nearest station on the Ganges from Agrab.
3 A. D. 1596. As in 1586 Fathpur had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjáb.
they boil it, clean it, and let it crystallize. One sér of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sérs of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sérs of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold. The price of saltpetre varies from $1/2$ to 4 mans per rupee.

Since the thirtieth year of the Divine Era, when the imperial standards were erected in the Panjáb, snow and ice have come into use. Ice is brought by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the district of Púnán, in the northern mountains, about forty-five kós from Láhóor. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sérs of ice being sold per rupee. The greatest profit is derived when the ice is brought by water, next when by carriages, and least when by bearers. The inhabitants of the mountains bring it in loads, and sell it in piles containing from 25 to 30 seers, at the rate of 5 dáms. If they have to bring it very far, it costs 24 d. 17 j.; if the distance be an average one, 15 d.

Out of the ten boats employed for the transport of ice, one arrives daily at the capital, each being manned by four boatmen. The ice bundles contain from six to twelve sérs, according to the temperature. A carriage brings two loads. There are fourteen stages, where the horses are changed; and besides, one elephant is used. Twelve pieces of ten to four sérs arrive daily. By this kind of transport, a sér of ice costs in winter 3 d. 21 j.; during the rains 14 d. 20 j.; in the intermediate time 9 d. 21½ j.; and in the average* 5 d. 15½ j. If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year the ice costs 5 d. 19½ j.; in the middle 16 d. 2½ j.; and in the end 19 d. 15½ j., per sér; in the average* 8½ d.

All ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year.

ATN 23.

THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN.

His Majesty even extends his attention to this department, and has given many wise regulations for it; nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, as the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the

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1 A. D. 1586.
2 The text has sardscarī, which may mean the average; but the price given by Abulfazl is not an average. The charges for ice, at the time of Akbar, may be compared to the prices of the present age. Here, in Calcutta, one sér of American ice costs two annas, or $1/2$ rupee, i. e., $2 = 6$ dáms of Akbar.
capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of
worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being
shewn for appropriate food. This knowledge distinguishes man from beasts,
with whom, as far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same
level. If his Majesty did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an
understanding, so universal a kindness, he would have chosen the path of
solitude, and given up sleep and food altogether; and even now, when he
has taken upon himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people,
the question, "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passes over his
tongue. In the course of twenty-four hours his Majesty eats but once, and
leaves off before he is fully satisfied; neither is there any fixed time for this
meal, but the servants have always things so far ready, that in the space of
an hour, after the order has been given, a hundred dishes are served up.
The food allowed to the women of the seraglio commences to be taken
from the kitchen in the morning, and goes on till night.

Trustworthy and experienced people are appointed to this department;
and all good servants attached to the court, are resolved to perform well
whatever service they have undertaken. Their head is assisted by the Prime
Minister himself. His Majesty has entrusted to the latter the affairs of the
state, but especially this important department. Notwithstanding all this,
his Majesty is not unmindful of the conduct of the servants. He appoints a
zealous and sincere man as Mir Bakáwal, or Master of the Kitchen, upon
whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several
upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and
the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries
prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also
oily, sweet and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the
nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how
exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual
estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-
house being sealed with the seals of the Mir Bakáwal and the writer; and
every month a correct statement of the daily expenditure is drawn up, the
receipt for which is sealed by the same two officers, when it is entered under
the head of the expenditure. At the beginning of every quarter, the Diván
i buyútát' and the Mir Bakáwal, collect whatever they think will be necessary;
e.g., Suk'hdäs rice from Bharájí, Dženjrah rice from Gwáliár, Jijín rice from
Rágír and Nimlah, g'hi from Hiqár Firúzah; ducks, water-fowls, and

1 Superintendent of the stores, workshops, &c.
certain vegetables from Kashmir. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, berberries, fowls, ducks, &c., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept longer than a month. The slaughter-house is without the city or the camp, in the neighbourhood of rivers and tanks, where the meat is washed, when it is sent to the kitchen in sacks sealed by the cooks. There it is again washed, and thrown into the pots. The water-carriers pour the water out of their leather bags into earthen vessels, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of cloth, and sealed up; and the water is left to settle before it is used. A place is also told off as a kitchen garden, that there may be a continual supply of fresh greens. The Mir Bakáwal and the writer determine the price of every eatable, which becomes a fixed rule; and they sign the day-book, the estimates, the receipts for transfers, the list of wages of the servants, &c., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthen-ware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the Sub-Bakáwals. During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lookers-on kept away. The cooks tuck up their sleeves, and the hems of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and noses when the food is taken out; the cook and the Bakáwal taste it, after which it is tasted by the Mir Bakáwal, and then put into the dishes. The gold and silver dishes are tied up in red cloths, and those of copper and china in white ones. The Mir Bakáwal attaches his seal, and writes on it the names of the contents, whilst the clerk of the pantry writes out on a sheet of paper a list of all vessels and dishes, which he sends inside, with the seal of the Mir Bakáwal, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the Bakáwals, the cooks, and the other servants, and macebearers precede and follow, to prevent people from approaching them. The servants of the pantry send at the same time, in bags containing the seal of the Bakáwal, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance: first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The Mir Bakáwal is always in attendance. The dishes are taken away according to the above list. Some victuals are also kept half ready, should they be called for.
The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes, &c., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

AYN 24.

RECIPES FOR DISHES.

There are many dishes, but the description is difficult. I shall give some particulars. Cooked victuals may be arranged under three heads, first, such in which no meat is used, called now-a-days gūfydnah; secondly, such in which meat and rice, &c., are used; thirdly, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First, 1. Zard birinj. 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugar-candy; 3½ s. of ghī; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ s. of each; ½ s. of salt; ½ s. of fresh ginger; 1½ dāms saffron, 2½ misqāls of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without any; and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt.

2. Khushkah. 10 s. rice; ½ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of Dēwzirah paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sērs make a full pot; jinjīn rice yields 22 sērs. 3. Khīchri. Rice, split dal, and ghī 5 s. of each; ½ s. salt: this gives seven dishes.

4. Shirbirinj. 10 s., milk; 1 s. rice; 1 s. sugar-candy; 1 d. salt: this gives five full dishes. 5. T'hālī. 10 s. of wheat ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of ghī; 10 misqāls of pepper; 4 m. cinnamon; 3½ m. cloves and cardamums; ½ s. salt; some add milk and sweetmeats: this gives four dishes.

6. Chik'hi. 10 s. of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 s. fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and washed with various kinds of meat. 1 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; saffron, cardamums, and cloves, ½ d. of each; cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 d. of each; fresh ginger, salt 3 d. of each: this gives two dishes; some add lime juice. 7. Bādinjān. 10 s. rice; 1½ s. ghī; 3½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafetida, each ¼ m. This gives six dishes.

8. Pahīt. For ten sērs of dāl, or vetches, or gram, or skinned lentils, &c., take 2½ s. ghī; ½ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cuminseed; 1½ m. assafetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with Khushkah. 9. Sāg. It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, &c., 1½ s. ghī; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamums and cloves: this gives six dishes. 10. Hāleiā. Flour, sugar-candy, ghī, 10 s. of each, which will give fifteen dishes; it is eaten in various ways.
There are also various kinds of sugared fruits, and drinks, which I cannot here describe.

**Secondly.** 1. *Qahdah.* 10 s. rice; 7 s. meat; 3½ s. g'hi; 1 s. gram skinned; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cuminseed, of each 1 d.; cardamums and cloves, ¼ d. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Duzdhiryan.* 10 s. rice, 3½ s. g'hi; 10 s. meat; ½ s. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. *Qinah Paloo.* Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 s. g'hi; 1 s. peeled gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh ginger, and pepper; cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives five dishes. 4. *Shullah.* 10 s. meat, 3½ s. rice; 2 s. g'hi; 1 s. gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt, ¼ s. fresh ginger; 2 d. garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 d., of each: this gives six dishes. 5. *Binghda.* 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; 1½ s. g'hi, 1 s. gram; 1½ s. vinegar; 1 s. sugar-candy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ½ s. of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 d. of each; 2 d. cinnamon; 8 m. round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. *Qinah Shurbu.* 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. g'hi; ½ s. gram, and the rest as in the *Shullah:* this gives ten full dishes. 7. *Harisbah.* 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. g'hi; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. *Kashh.* 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. g'hi; 1 s. gram; ½ s. salt; 1½ s. onions; ¼ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. *Hulim.* The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. g'hi; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ¼ s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. *Qutab,* which the people of Hindustán call *sandhisah.* This is made several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. flour; 2 s. g'hi; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; ¼ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamum, cuminseed, cloves, 1 d. of each; ½ s. of *summag.* This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

**Thirdly.** 1. *Biryan.* For a whole *Dushmani* sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. g'hi; 2 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways. 2. *Yakhni.* For 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and ½ s. salt. 8. *Yulmah.* A sheep is scalded in water till all the hair comes off; it is then prepared like *yakhni,* or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. *Kabub* is of various kinds. 10 s. meat; ½ s. g'hi; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ s. of each; cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, 1⅔ d. of each. 5. *Musammam.* They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole, ½ s. minced meat, ¼ s. g'hi; 5 eggs; ¼ s. onions; 10 m. coriander; 10 m. fresh ginger; 5 m. salt; 3 m. round pepper; ½ m. saffron; it is prepared as the preceding. 6. *Dupiyázah.* 10 s. meat, middling fat; 2 s. g'hi; 2 s. onions; ¼ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh pepper; cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each; 2 d. pepper: this will give
five dishes. 7. Mutanjanah sheep. 10 s. meat, middling fat; 2 s. g'hí; ½ s. gram; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed 2 d. of each; this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. Dampukht. 10 s. meat; 2 s. g'hí; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. Qalyah. 10 s. meat; 2 s. g'hí; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 d. each; ½ s. salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing qalyah, the meat is minced, and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the mutanjanah. Here in Hindustan they prepare it in various ways. 10. Malghúbah 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. g'hí; 1 s. onions, ½ s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dishes.

ATY 25.

OF BREAD.

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a large kind, baked in an oven, made of 10 s. flour; 5 s. milk; 1½ s. g'hí; ½ s. salt. They make also smaller ones. The thin kind is baked on an iron plate. One sér will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it: one kind is called chapáh, which is sometimes made of khushkáh; it tastes very well, when served hot. For the bread used at court, one man of wheat is made to yield ¾ m. of fine flour; 2 s. coarsely pounded flour; and the rest bran; if this degree of fineness be not required, the proportions are altered.

ATY 26.

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (Qúfiyánah.)

His Majesty cares very little for meat, and often expresses himself to that effect. It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures, and lending a ready hand in killing and eating them; none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty, but makes himself a tomb for animals. If his Majesty had not the burden of the world on his shoulders, he would at once totally abstain from meat; and now, it is his intention to quit it by degrees, conforming, however, a little to the spirit of the age. His Majesty abstained from meat for some time on Fridays, and then on Sundays; now on the first day of every solar month, on Sundays, on solar and lunar eclipses, on days between two fasts, on the Mondays of the

1 Living according to the manner of the Súfis.
month of Rajab, on the feast-day of every solar month, during the whole month of Farvardin, and during the month, in which his Majesty was born, viz., the month of Abán. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of Abán had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of Azar also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month. These fast days, however, from pious motives, are annually increased by at least five days. Should fasts fall together, they keep the longer one, and transfer the smaller by distributing its days over other months. Whenever long fasts are ended, the first dishes of meat come dressed from the apartments of Maryam Makání, next from the other béguns, the princes, and the principal nobility.

In this department nobles, ahadís, and other military, are employed. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 dáma.

STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES.

The prices of course vary, as on marches, or during the rains, and for other reasons; but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers.

A. The spring harvest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat, per man</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kábul gram, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black gram, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentils, do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linseed, per man</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safflower (carthamus), do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenugreek, do.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustardseed, do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kéwú, do.</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. The autumnal harvest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mushkin paddy, per man</td>
<td>110 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sádah paddy, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suk’hdás rice, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dúnahparsád rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sánzirah rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakarchiní rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déwzirah rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinjin rice, do.</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakah (?) rice, do.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirí rice, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sát’hí rice, do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Múng (black gram) do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A. H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. The Mondays of the month of Rajab were observed as fasts, because the Sundays had been included in the list of fast days. The members of the Divine Faith fasted likewise during the month of their birth.

2 February—March; vide the first Ain of the third book; Abán corresponds to October—November.
Másh (a kind of vetch) per man, 16 d. Lahdarah, do. .......... 8 d.
Mót'h (do.), do. ... 12 d. Kódram, do. ........... 7 d.
White sesame, do. ... 20 d. Kúri, do. .......... 7 d.
Black sesame, do... 19 d. Shamákh (Hind. Sánwánk), do. 6 d.
Lóbiyá (a king of bean), do. 12 d. Gál (Hind. Kangú), do. .... 8 d.
Juwári (a kind of millet), do. 10 d. Millet (Hind. chínah), do. .. 8 d.

Múng dál, per man, .. 18 d. Lentils, per man, .......... 16 d.
Nukhúd dál, do. ... 16 ½ d. Mót'h dál, do. .......... 12 d.

Wheat flour, per man, ... 22 d. Nukhúd flour, per man, ... 22 d.
Do. coarse, do. .... 15 d. Barley flour, do. .......... 11 d.

C. Vegetables.
Fennel, per man, ... 10 d. Garlic flowers, per sér, .... 1 d.
Spinach, do. ... 16 d. Upalhák, (from Kashmir) do. 1 d.
Mint, do. ... 40 d. Jítú, do. ........ 3 d.
Onions, do. ... 6 d. Ginger, do. ........ 2½ d.
Garlic, do. ... 40 d. Póí, do. .......... 1 d.
Turnips, do. ... 21 d. Kachnáré buds, do. .......... ½ d.
Cabbage, per sér, ... 1 d. Chúká (sorrel), do. .... ½ d.
Kankachhú, from Kashmir, do. 4 d. Bat'hwah, do. .......... ½ d.
Dunwrétú, do. ... 2 d. Ratsáká, do. .......... 1 d.
Shaqáqul (wild carrot), do. 3 d. Chaulái, do. .......... ¼ d.

D. Living animals and meats.
Dáshmandí sheep, per head, ... 6½ R. Duck, per head, .......... 1 R.
Afghán sheep, 1st kind, do. 2 R. Tughdarf (bustard), do. ... 20 d.
Do., 2d kind, do. ... 1½ R. Kuláng (heron), do. ... 20 d.
Do., 3d kind, do. ... 1½ R. Jarz (a kind of bustard), do. 18 d.
Kashmir sheep, do. ... 1½ R. Durráj (black patridge), do. 3 d.
Hindustani sheep, do. ... 1½ R. Kabg, (partridge), do. ... 20 d.
Barbari goat, 1st kind, do. 1 R. Búdanah, do. .......... 1 d.
Do., 2d kind, do. ... ½ R. Lawah, do. .......... 1 d.
Mutton, per man, ... 65 d. Karwának (stonecurlew), do. 20 d.
Goat, do. ........ 54 d. Fákhtah, (ringdove), do... 4 d.
Geese, per head, ........ 20 d.

E. Butter, Sugar, &c.
G'hi, per man, ... 105 d. Refined sugar, per sér, ...... 6 d.
Oil, do. ........ 80 d. White sugar candy, do... 5½ d.
Milk, do. ....... 25 d. White sugar, per man, .. 128 d.
F. Spices.

Saffron, per sér, .......................... 400 d.  Aniseed, per sér, .............. 2 d.
Cloves, do. .............................. 60 d.  Turmeric (Hind. haldi) do., 10 d. 
Cardamums, do. .......................... 52 d.  Coriander seed, do. ............... 3 d. 
Round pepper, do. ....................... 17 d.  Siyáhdánah(Hind.kalaunji),do. 1½ d. 
Long pepper, do. .......................... 16 d.  Assafétída, do. ...................... 2 d. 
Dry ginger, do. ............................ 4 d.  Sweet fennel, do. .................... 1 d. 
Fresh do., do. ............................. 2½ d.  Cinnamon, do. ...................... 40 d. 
Cummin seed,do. ........................... 2 d.  Salt, per man, ....................... 16 d. 

G. Pickles.

Sour limes, per sér, ......................... 6 d.  Pickled quinces, per sér,....... 9 d. 
Lemon-juice, do. ........................... 5 d.  Do. garlic, do. ..................... 1 d. 
Wine vinegar, ............................... 5 d.  Do. onions, do. ................... ½ d. 
Sugarcane vinegar, do. .................... 1 d.  Do. bánijnán (egg-plant,) do. 1 d. 
Pickled ashtarghár, do. ................... 8 d.  Do. raisins & munaqqa, do. 8 d. 
Mangoes in oil, do. ........................ 2 d.  Do. kachnár, do. ................... 2 d. 
Do. in vinegar, do. ........................ 2 d.  Do. peaches, do. ................... 1 d. 
Lemons in oil, do. .......................... 2 d.  Do. sahajnáh(horse-raddish), 1 d. 
Do. in vinegar, do. ........................ 2 d.  Do. karlíbuds (capparis), do. ½ d. 
Do. in salt, ................................. 1½ d.  Do. karlíberries, do. ............ ½ d. 
Do. in lemon-juice,do. .................... 3 d.  Do. súrán, do. ....................... 1 d. 
Pickled ginger, ............................. 2½ d.  Do. mustard, ....................... ½ d. 
Adarshákh, do. ............................. 2½ d.  Do. tóri (a kind of cucumber,) ½ d. 
Turnips in vinegar, do. ................... 1 d.  Do. cucumbers, do. ............... ½ d. 
Pickled carrots, do. ...................... ¼ d.  Do. bádrang, (gourd) do. .......... ½ d. 
Do. bamboo, do. ........................... 4 d.  Do. kachálú, do. ................... ½ d. 
Do. apples, do. ............................. 8 d.  Do. reddishes, do. ............... ½ d. 

Aýn 28.

THE FRUITERY.

His Majesty looks upon fruits as one of the greatest gifts of the Creator, and pays much attention to them. The horticulturists of Irán and Túrán have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state. Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent; and water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, &c., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kábul, Qandahár, and Kashmir, loads of fruits are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bázárs well supplied. Musk melons come in season, in Hindústán, in the month of Furwardin (February—March), and
are plenty in *Urdibihisht* (March—April). They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called *nāshpoṭṭ, bābāshaikhi, 'aliskerī, alchak, barg inai, dūd i chirāgh*, &c. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of *Shartiwar*, (August) they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season, plenty are brought from Kābul; during the month of *Asar* (November) they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshān, and continue to be had during *Dai* (December.) When they are in season in Zābulistān, good ones are also obtainable in the Panjāb; and in Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter. Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from *Khurād* (May) to *Amurdd* (July), whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmiri grapes during *Shahriwar*. Eight sers of grapes sell in Kashmir at one dām, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per man. The Kashmirians bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

From *Mīr* (September) till *Urdibihisht* grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries, which his Majesty calls *shāhduṭ, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, girdalūs, and álūchas*, &c., many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or *kūknar* (he calls the latter *sabras*), the servants in charge place before him stands of fruits; he eats a little, but most is distributed. The fruits are marked according to their degree of excellence: melons of the first quality are marked with a line drawn round the top; those of the second, with two lines; and so on.

In this department Manaabh, Ahadis, and other soldiers are employed; the pay of a foot soldier varies from 140 to 100 d.

The following tables contain particulars regarding the names, seasons, taste, and prices, of various fruits.

**A. Türdīni Fruits.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Fruits</th>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arhang melons, 1st quality</td>
<td>@ 2½ R.</td>
<td>Kābul and European apples, 5 to 10 for. 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd and 3rd do.</td>
<td>@ 1 to 2½ R.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul melons, 1st do.</td>
<td>@ 1 to 1½ R.</td>
<td>Kashmir grapes, <em>per man</em>, 108 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd do.</td>
<td>@ ½ to . . . . . . . 1 R.</td>
<td>Dates, <em>per sēr</em>, 10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd do.</td>
<td>@ ½ to . . . . . . . ½ R.</td>
<td>Raisins, do. 9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarqand apples, 7 to 15</td>
<td>for 1 R.</td>
<td>Abjōsh (large raisins), do. 9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinces, 10 to 30</td>
<td>for . . . . . . . 1 R.</td>
<td>Plums, do. 8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, 10 to 100</td>
<td>for . . . . . . . 1 R.</td>
<td>Khūbānī (dried apricots), <em>per sēr</em>, 8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, <em>per man</em>, 6½ to 15 R.</td>
<td>Qandahār dry grapes, do., 7 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 The original has a word *kilds*, which is not to be found in our dictionaries.
2 It may be *ceresus*.
3 A town in Badakhshān.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figs, per sér,</th>
<th>7 d.</th>
<th>Chilghúzah nuts, per sér,</th>
<th>8 d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Munaqqa, do.</td>
<td>6 d</td>
<td>Sinjid (jujubes), do.</td>
<td>6 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jujubes, do.</td>
<td>3 d</td>
<td>Pistachios, do.</td>
<td>6 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds, without the shell, do.</td>
<td>28 d</td>
<td>Jauz (nuts), do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., with do., do.</td>
<td>11 d</td>
<td>Filberts, do.</td>
<td>3 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, do.</td>
<td>9 d</td>
<td>Hazel nuts, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mangoes, per hundred, up to</th>
<th>40 d.</th>
<th>Usirá,</th>
<th>4 d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pineapples, one for</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>Dates, per sér,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Angúhal,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Délá, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackfruits, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Gúlah,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantains, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Bholsarí, per sér,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bér, per sér,</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>Tarkul, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, per man, 80 to 100 d.</td>
<td>Paníaloh, per sér,</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Láhsaurah, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs, per sér,</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Gumbhí, do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulberry, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>Karahrí,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custard apples, one for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Tarri,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melons, per man,</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
<td>Bangah, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water melons, one</td>
<td>2 to 10 d.</td>
<td>Gúlar, per sér,</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K'hirnî, per sér,</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>Pílú, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuwá, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>Barautah,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dép'hal, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>Píyár, do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Téndú, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mulberries and gúlars are in season during spring; pine apples, oranges, sugarcane, bérs, usiráh, bhólásaris, gumbhísh, dép'háls during winter; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, láhsáuras, karahrísh, mahuwásh, téndús, pílúsh, barautáhs, during summer; and mangoes, plantains, dates, délas, gúlahs, pomegranates, guavas, watermelons, páníás, bangáhs, k'hírnísh, píyársh, during the rains.

**C. Dried Fruits.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cocoanuats, one for</th>
<th>4 d.</th>
<th>Mak'hánás, per sér,</th>
<th>4 d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dry Dates, per sér,</td>
<td>6 d</td>
<td>Súpyáris, do.</td>
<td>8 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnuts, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
<td>Kaulgattásh, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiraunchi, do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates, walnuts, chiraunchis, and kaulgattáshs are in season during summer, and cocoanuts, mak'hánás and supýárís, during winter.

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1 The original says that custard apples are to be had throughout the whole year. This seems a mistake of the MSS. The remark suits the next fruit (melons).

* The Original does not mention the price.
**D. Vegetables.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palwal, <em>per sér</em></td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourd, one</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bădijnjăn, <em>per sér</em></td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turai, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandúrí, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sênb, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pét'h, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karilah, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakúrah, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Súrans and séláls are in season during *summer*; palwals, gourds, turais, kachálus, chachíndás, kandúríás, sénbaś, pót'has, karilahs, kakúrah, and sing'hárah during the *rains*; and carrots, sálakaś, pindálús, and kasérús, during *winter*. Bádijnjánš are to be had throughout the year.

**E. Sour Fruits.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limes, <em>four up to</em></td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalbét, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galgal, <em>two up to</em></td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Limes and ánwlahs are to be had in *summer*, the others during the *rains*.

**F. Fruits somewhat acid.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambili, <em>per sér</em></td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badhal, one for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrak, <em>four up to</em></td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nárangí, <em>two up to</em></td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain grapes,</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Júman, <em>per sér</em></td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'hálsah, do.</td>
<td>1 ½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaundá, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kamraks and nárangíś are in season during *winter*; ambillás, badháls, moutain-grapes, p'hálásaś, labhiras, during *summer*; and kaitś, pákars, karnás, jámans, karaundás, jhanbhírís, during the *rains*.

The fruits of Hindustán are either sweet, or subacid, or sour; each kind is numerous. Some fruits also taste well when dry; others as above described are used when cooked. I shall give now a few details.

'The Mangoe. The Persians call this fruit *Naghaak*, as appears from a verse of *Khuraus.* This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmands of Túrán and Irán place it above muskmelons and grapes.

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1 *Footnote* the fourth note on p. 75 of my text edition.
2 The Original does not mention the price.
In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one sér and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a nut tree, and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger. The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn; and look green and yellow, orange, peach-coloured, and bright red. The flower which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious. About a month after the leaves have made their appearance, the fruit is sour, and is used for preserves and pickles. It improves the taste of galyabs (p. 61.) as long as the stone has not become hard. If a fruit gets injured whilst on the tree, its good smell will increase. Such mangoes are called kötías. The fruit is generally taken down when unripe, and kept in a particular manner. Mangoes ripened in this manner are much finer. They mostly commence to ripen during summer, and are fit to be eaten during the rains; others commence in the rainy season, and are ripe in the beginning of winter: the latter are called Bhadryyah. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down; else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrat, Málwah, Khándésh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Páñjab, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Láhór his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put also milk and treacle round about the tree, which makes the fruits sweeter. Some trees yield in one year a rich harvest, and less in the next: others yield for one year no fruit at all. When people eat a great deal of mangoes, they may promote digestion by partaking of milk with the kernels of the mango stones. The kernels of old stones are subacid, and taste well: when two or three years old, they are used as medicine. If a half ripe mango, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year.

Pineapples are also called Kat'hal i Sofári, or the jackfruits for travels, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels, and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mango. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk, and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out those leaves, separate them, and

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1 Jahángír in his Memoirs (Tuzuk i Jahángír, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3.) states that the pineapples, at his time, came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese
put them singly into the ground: they are the seedlings. Each plant bears only once, and one fruit only.

*Oranges* have the colour of saffron, and the shape of quinces. They belong to the best fruits to be had in Hindústán. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

*Sugarcane*, which the Persians call *Naishakar*, is of various kinds; one species is so tender and so full of juice, that a sparrow can make it flow out by pecking it; and it would break to pieces, if let fall. Sugarcane is either soft, or hard. The latter is used for the preparation of brown sugarcandy, common sugar, white candy, and refined sugar, and thus becomes useful for all kinds of sweetmeats. It is cultivated as follows. They put some healthy sugarcane in a cool place, and sprinkle it daily with water. When the sun enters the sign of Aquarius, they cut off pieces, a cubit and upwards in length, put them into soft ground, and cover them up with earth. The harder the sugarcane is, the deeper they put it. Constant irrigation is required. After seven or eight months it will come up.

Sugarcane is also used for the preparation of intoxicating liquor, but brown sugar is better for this purpose. There are various kinds of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound *Babíl* bark, mixing it at the rate of ten sers to one man of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse-dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but astringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergis, camphor, &c. They let also meat dissolve in it. This beverage when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

They have several methods of distilling it; *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it. The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay. After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm. As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup. *Secondly*, they close the same vessel with an earthen pot, fastened in the same manner with clay, and fix to it two pipes, the free ends of which have each a jar attached to them, which stands in cold water. The vapour through the pipes will enter the jars, and condense. *Thirdly*, they fill an earthen vessel with the above mentioned liquor, and fasten to it a large spoon with a hollow handle. The end of the handle they attach to a pipe, which leads into a jar. The vessel is covered with a lid, which is kept full with cold water. The arrack, when condensed, flows through the
spoon into the jar. Some distil the arrack twice, when it is called Dudtahah, or twice burned. It is very strong. If you wet your hands with it, and hold them near the fire, the spirit will burn in flames of different colours, without injuring the hands. It is remarkable that when a vessel, containing arrack, is set on fire, you cannot put it out by any means; but if you cover the vessel, the fire gets at once extinguished.

The Jackfruit has the shape of a black pudding, looks greenish, and is sometimes a yard long, and half a yard broad. When small, it resembles a water melon; its peel is full of thorns. It grows out of the branches, the trunk, and the roots. Those that grow below the ground are sweetest. On opening you see round clusters, so viscous, that the fingers stick together, when you take them out. The tree looks like a nut tree, but is somewhat bigger, and has larger leaves. The flower, like the fruit, has a good smell. The fruits are also taken down, when unripe. They then apply chalk, &c., when the fruits will get ripe.

The Plantain tree looks straight like a spear; the leaves come out of the trunk thick and soft, and resemble an unsewn plaited sleeve, but are much larger and wider. Out of the middle rises something looking like a spindle, of a lilac colour; this is the bud. The fruit consists of a cluster of seventy to eighty plantains. In shape they resemble small cucumbers; the peel is easily removed. As plantains are very heavy, you cannot eat many. There are various kinds of plantains. The plant is every year cut down, and a stump only is left of it: if this is not done, it will no longer bear fruit. The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor, but this is wrong; for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees,—another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine.

The Mahua tree resembles the mangoe tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called Gilaundah, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The Bhola or tree is large and handsome; the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles jujubes.

The Turkul tree, and its fruit, resemble the cocoanut palm and its fruit. When the stalk of a new leaf comes out of a branch, they cut off its end, and hang a vessel to it, to receive the out-flowing juice. The vessel will fill twice or three times a day. The juice is called tari; when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time, it turns subacid, and is inebriating.

The Panidlah fruit resembles the Zardulla; and its tree, the lime tree; the leaves are like those of the willow. When unripe, the fruit is green; and red, when ripe.

* The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand.
The **Gumbhi** has a stem the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the **kundr**, come from below the roots.

The **Tarr** forms at the root; it grows mostly in the mountains, and weighs a **man**, more or less, when the creeper is a year old; and two, when two years old. It looks like a millstone. When older, it grows larger according to the same proportion. Its leaves resemble those of the water melon.

The **Piyar** is like a small grape; brownish and sweet. The inside of the kernel is like butter, and is used in the preparation of food; it is called **Chiraunji**. Its tree is about a yard high.

The **Coconut** is called by the Persians **Jaua i Hindi**; the tree resembles the date tree, but is larger; its wood, however, looks better, and the leaves are larger. The tree bears fruit throughout the whole year; they get ripe in three months. They are also taken down, when unripe and green, and kept for some time. Their inside contains a cup full of milk-like juice, which tastes well, and is very often drunk in summer, mixed with sugar. When ripe the fruit looks brown. The juice has now become solid, and gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with pudr-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and *ghichaks* (a kind of violin). There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve sars and upwards. The bark of the tree is used for ropes; the large ropes used on ships are made of it.

**Dates** are called in Hindi **Pindhajur**. The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits.

The **Supyari**, or betel nut, is called in Persian **fuful**. The tree is graceful, and slender like the cypress. The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground; but it rises up again. There are various kinds. The fruit when eaten raw, tastes somewhat like an almond, but gets hard when ripe. They eat it with betel leaves.

The **Singhara** is a triangular fruit; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. They eat it raw or roasted.

The **Satal** grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up.

The **Pinddil** is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high. Its leaf resembles the betel leaf; they dig up the root.

The **Kaéri** grows in tanks. When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled.

The **Sedili** root is long and conical; the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached.
The Orange has the shape of an egg. One kind is called kâghâzi. Between the peel and the fruit is a thin white membrane. The fruit is juicy, and tastes well; one kind is to be had throughout the whole year.

The Amaltâs is like a lime, and very sour. If you put a steel needle into this fruit, the needle in a short time will dissolve; and a white shell when put into its juice, will soon disappear.

The Karnâ resembles an apple, and appears after the plant has reached the third year. At first the fruit is green, sour, and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter; when ripe it is red and sweet. When it is kept long, it turns green again. The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader, and the buds like fine arrows. The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergis; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The Betel leaf is properly speaking a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit. Mir Khusrau of Dihli in one of his verses says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit of Hindustân." The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called Bilâhrî is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper, it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days, when greater efforts are made. 2. The Kâkrî leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The Jinâcir leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The Kapârî leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The Kapârkânt leaf is yellowish-green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banâras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The Banglah leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of Chait (March—April), about New-Year's time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with Karhanj leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put
milk, sesame oil and its seeds pressed out, about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The Karhanj leaf, which they separate for seedlings, and call Péří. The new leaf is called Gadautah. 2. The Navú leaf. 3. The Bahuti leaf. 4. The Chhiw leaf. 5. The Adhinád leaf. 6. The Agahniyah or Lódr leaf. 7. The Karhanj leaf itself. With the exception of the Gadautah, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some; others keep it for seedlings: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the Péří.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called Lhásah, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called Dhóli; a lhasah is made up of dhólis. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From 5 to 25 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and adorned in various ways. They also put some betelnut and kat'h on one leaf, and some chalk paste on another, and roll them up: this is called a bórāh. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread. Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus. They are also prepared as a dish.

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ATN 29.

ON FLAVOURS.

As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavours. Héat renders pungent that which is agreeable, bitter that which is greasy, and brackish that which has the proper flavour; cold makes the first acid, the second astringent, and the third tart. Astringency when affecting the tongue merely is called in Arabic qabs; and 'ufúqát, when affecting the whole frame. A moderate temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless. These are the fundamental flavours. Others count four, víz., the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations is endless; some have however names, e. g., bashá'at is a bitter and tart flavour, and zu'úqah a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

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ATN 30.

ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergis, aloeswood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented

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1 An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the pán leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red.

2 In Persian chúnah; but Anglo-Indice, chunám.
by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes, whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. Santúk is used for keeping the skin fresh: 1½ tólahs Civet; 1 t. Chúwah; 2 máshaha Chambéli essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. Argajah, ½ s. sandel wood; 2 t. Iksir and Míd; 3 t. Chúwah; 1 t. violet root, and ghélah (the seed of a plant); ½ m. samphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. Gulkádmah. Pound together 1 t. best Ambergis; ¼ t. Ládan; 2 t. best musk; 4 t. wood of aloes, and 8 t. Iksir i 'abír; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a sér of the juice of the flower called Gul i surkā, and expose it to the sun, till it dries up. Wet it in the evening with rose-water and with the extract of the flower called Bahár, and pound it again on Samud' stome. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called Bahár i Náranj, and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black Raihán (also called black NádBāţ). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. Rúkhafrá, 5 s. Aloewood; ½ s. Sandelwood; ½ s. Ládan; Iksir, Lúbán, Dhúp (a root brought from Kashmir), 3½ t. of each; 20 t. violet root; 10 t. Usnhah, called in Hind. Chharitáh. Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into cakes with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine. 5. Opatnah is a scented soap. 2½ s. Ládan; ½ s. 5 d. Aloewood; the same quantity of Bahár i Náránj, and 1½ s. of its bark; 1 s. 10 d. Sandelwood; 1 s. 5 d. Sumbul uttib, called in Hind. Chhar; the same quantity of Usnhah; 38½ t. musk; 1 s. 4 t. páchh leaves; 36 t. apples; 11 t. Su’d, called in Hind. Móṭ’h; 5 d. violet root; 1 t. 2 m. Dhúp; ½ t. Ikanki (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurumbád, called in Hind. kachár, (zerumbet); 1 t. 2 m. Lúbán; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of Bahár. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist, let it dry. 6. 'Abírmáyáh, 4 d. Aloewood; 2 d. Sandelwood; 1 d. violet root; 3 d. Sumbuluṭtib; 3 d. Duwálak; 4 t. musk of Khatá (Cathay); 2½ d. Ládan; 7½ t. Bahár i Náránj. Pound, and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. Kúshtah, 24 t. Aloewood; 6½ Ládan, Lúbán, and Sandelwood; Iksir and Dhúp, 2 t. of each; violet root and musk, 2 t.; 1 t. Usnhah; mix with 50 t. refined sugar, and boil gently in 2 bottles of rose-water. It is made into cakes. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. Bukhár, 1 s. Aloewood and Sandelwood; ¼ s. Ládan; 2 t. 1

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* This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.

** Vide below the twelfth flower.**
musk; 5 t. Iksir; mix with two sérs of refined sugar and one bottle of rosewater over a slow fire. 9. Fatlilah, 5 s. Aloewood; 72 t. Sandelwood; Iksir and Ládan, 20 t. of each; 5 t. Violet root; 10 t. Lúbán; 3 t. refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. Bárjít, 1 s. Aloewood; 5 t. Ládan; 2 t. musk; 2 t. Sandelwood; 1 t. Lúbán; ½ t. Camphor. Then distill it like Chúwah, (vide below). 11 'Abir-Iksir, ½ s. Sandelwood; 26 t. Iksír; 2 t. 8 m. musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. Ghasúl (a liquid soap),* 35 t. Sandelwood; 17 t. Katúl (?); 1 t. musk; 1 t. Chúwah; 2 m. Camphor; 2 m. Mid. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

**A List of Perfumes** and their **Prices**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfume</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Ambar i ashhab</td>
<td>1 to 3 Muhurs, per tólah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zabád (civet)</td>
<td>½ R. to 1 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk</td>
<td>1 to 4½ R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lignum aloes, Hind. Agar</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M., per sér.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chúwah (Distilled wood of Aloes)</td>
<td>¼ R. to 1 R., per tólah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurah</td>
<td>3 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhímáini Camphor</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>1 to 3 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za'farán</td>
<td>12 to 22 R., per sér.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za'farán i Kamandi</td>
<td>1 to 3 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za'farán (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>8 to 12 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
<td>32 to 55 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náfah i mushk</td>
<td>3 to 12 M., per sér.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanbak (Calembic,)</td>
<td>10 to 40 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Síláras</td>
<td>3 to 5 R., per sér,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ambar i Ládan</td>
<td>1½ to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káfur i Chinah</td>
<td>1 to 2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Araq i Fitnah</td>
<td>1 to 3 R., per bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Araq i Béd i Musk</td>
<td>1 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosewater</td>
<td>½ to 1 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Araq i Bahár</td>
<td>1 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Araq i Chambéli</td>
<td>½ to ½ R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet-root</td>
<td>½ to 1 R., per sér.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azfár uttíb</td>
<td>1½ to 2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barg i Mág (brought from Gujrát)</td>
<td>1 to 1 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugandh Gúgalá</td>
<td>10 to 13 R., do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* According to some MSS. Kanwal.

* Most of the following names are explained below.

* In the text, p. 85, by mistake Kaurah.
A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The Sveti. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The Bhólese. Whitish; in the rains.
3. The Chambél. White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.
4. Ráibél. White and pale yellow. In the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rains.
6. The Champah. Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.
7. Kétkt. The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot season.
10. The Júhi. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
13. The Kécarah. From Leo to Libra.
14. The Chaltah.
17. The Singdrhr. It has small white petals. In the hot season.
18. The Violet. Violet. In the hot season.
20. The Kopur bél.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

2. The Gul Í Kanval. White, and also bluish. In the rains.

* The original text does not mention the prices.
3. The Ja'fari. A golden yellow, or orange coloured, or greenish. In spring.
4. The Gudhal. Of different colours, red, yellow, orange, white. In the rains.
5. The Ratanmanjaní. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.
6. The Kētu. In the hot season.
10. The Gul i Mālīk.
14. The Kādān. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.
15. The Nāgkesar. In spring.
16. The Surpān. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.
18. The Jāit. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
20. The Ėdāt. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The Gul i Kāramdah. White. It is smaller than the Chambelī, and blooms during the rains.
22. The Dhanantar resembles the Nilūfar. During the rains.
23. The Gul i Hinnā.
24. The Dupahriyād. Bright red, and white. All the year.
25. The Bhūn Champā. Peach coloured.
26. The Sudarshan. Yellow; it resembles the Nilūfar, but is smaller.
27. The Kangātā. There are two kinds, red, and white.
29. The Sānā. Yellow. During the rains.

On the Preparation of some Perfumes.

1. 'Ambar. Some say that 'Ambar grows at the bottom of the sea, and that it is the food brought up again after eating, by various animals living in the sea. Others say that fishes eat it and die from it, and that it is taken from their intestines. According to some, it is the dung of the sea-cow, called sārā; or the foam of the sea. Others again say, it trickles from the
mountains of islands. Many look upon it as marine gum; others whose opinion I adopt, take it to be wax. It is said that on some mountains a great deal of honey is to be found, so much in fact that it runs into the sea; the wax rises to the surface, when the heat of the sun reduces it to a solid state. As the bees collect the honey from sweet smelling flowers, 'Ambar is, naturally, scented. Bees are also occasionally found in it. Abū Sind thinks that there is a fountain at the bottom of the sea, from which 'Ambar rills, when it is carried by waves to the shore. 'Ambar, when fresh, is moist; the heat of the sun causes it to dry up. It is of various colours: the white one is the best, and the black is the worst; the middling sort is pistachio-coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of ashhab. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is, the better. Next in quality is the pistachio-coloured 'Ambar; and inferior to it the yellow kind, called Khaskhkhāši. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bāzār-dealers will mix it with wax, Mandal, and Lādan, &c.; but not every one has recourse to such practices. Mandal is a kind of 'Ambar taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

2. Lādan is also often called 'Ambar. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of Qībrus (Cyprus) and Qīsūs (Chios) or Qītūs. It is a moisture that settles on the leaves of the tree. When goats in grazing pass near it, the hairs of their legs and the horn of their hoofs stick to it, and the whole then dries up. Such Lādan as is mixed with goat's-hair, is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But Lādan which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the Lādan which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into cakes.

3. The Camphor tree is a large tree growing in the ghauts of Hindustan and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree. Camphor is collected from the trunk and the branches. Some say that during summer a large number of serpents wind themselves round about the tree, for the sake of its coolness; people then mark such trees by shooting an arrow into the trunks, and collect the camphor during the winter. Others say that camphor trees are much frequented by leopards, which like camphor so much as never to go away from the trees. The camphor within the tree looks like small bits of salt; that on the outside like resin. It often flows from the tree on the ground, and gets after some time solid: If there are earthquakes during a year, or any other cosmical disturbances, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor, the best is called Ribāhī, or Qaiqūtī. Although different in name, they are the same; for it is said
that the first camphor was found by a king of the name of Ribāb near Qa'ījār, which is a place near the island of Ceylon. According to some books, it is white like snow: and this is true, for I have broken it myself from the tree. Ibn Baiṭār, however, said that it was originally red and shining, and only got white by artificial crystallization. Whatever the case may be, there is certainly a kind of camphor which is white in its natural state. And of all other kinds it is the best, the whitest, which has the thinnest layers, the cleanest, and the largest. Inferior to it is the kind called Qurqūi, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called Kaukab. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of Bālūs. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books camphor in its natural state is called Judānah or Bhimsini. If kept with a few barley grains, or pepper-corne, or surkh dāna, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of Zurumbād by mixing it with other ingredients, is called Chinti or Mayyit-camphor. White Zurumbād is finely pounded, and mixed with sour cream, of cow or buffaloe's milk; on the fourth day they put fresh cream to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of Surkh Gul. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. Zabād (civet) is also called Shākh. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having however, a larger face and mouth. The zabād which is brought from the harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Āchin, goes by the name of Sumatra zabād, and is by far the best. The moist substance itself is yellowish white. The animal has below its tail a bag, of the size of a small hazel nut, in which there are from five to six holes. The bag may be emptied every week or fortnight, and yields from half a tōlah to eight máshahs. Some civet cats become so tame as to hold quiet when the bag is being emptied; but in the case of most animals, they have to catch hold of the tail, and draw it through the cage, when they take out the zabād with a shell, or by pressing gently against the bag. The price of a civet cat varies from 300 to 500 Rs. The zabād of the male is better than that of the female, because in the latter the vulva is just above the bag. When removed, the zabād is washed, and

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1 Bāzār dealers here give a few pepper-corne, along with every piece of camphor.
becomes afterwards one of the finest perfumes. The smell will remain a long
time in the clothes, and even on the skin. There are several ways of washing
it. If the quantity be small, they put it into a cup, or if greater, into a
larger vessel, and wash it thirty times in cold water, and three times in warm
water. The latter renders it thin and removes impurities. Then they wash
it again in cold water till it gets solid, when they wash it three times in
lime juice, which removes all unpleasant smell. After this, they wash it
again three times in cold water, pass it through a piece of cloth, put it into
a China cup, and wash it three times in rose water. They then smear the
zabád on the inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of
Chambéi, or Bâibél, or Surkh gul, or Gul i Karna, and expose it at day-
time to the rays of the sun, covered with a piece of white cloth till all
moisture goes away. It may then be used, mixed with a little rose water.

5. Gaurah looks greyish white, but does not smell so well as the
preceding. It is a moisture secreted during the rutting season by an animal
like the civet cat, but somewhat larger. It is also brought from the confines
of Achin. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Ru.

6. Míd resembles the preceding, but is inferior to it. They mix it
with other substances; hence they sell it in larger quantities. The animal
which yields Míd, is found in various countries, and only sells from five to
six dás. Some say that Míd is the dried bag of the civet cat, pounded
and boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the surface is the Míd.

7. 'U’d, or wood of Aloes, called in Hind. Agar, is the root of a tree.
They lop it off and bury it in the earth, when whatever is bad rots, and the
remainder is pure aloes. Some say that they do so with the whole tree.
The statement occasionally found in some old books that the habitat of the
tree is Central India, is an absurdity of fanciful writers. There are several
kinds: the best is called Mandali, and the second in quantity, Jabali or Hindí.
The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive
against fleas; but some think both kinds equal in this respect. Of other
good kinds I may mention the Samandúrî; the Qumárí, which is inferior to
it; the Qäquít, next in rank; the Barri; the Qif't; and the Chinese, also
called Qiumári, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the Jaldí, the
Máyátáqi, the Lawáqi, the Ritáli. But of all kinds the Mandali, is the best
Samandúrî is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of
whitishness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in
water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded.
The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted
the tree to Gujrat, and now-a-days it grows in Chánpánír. It is generally

\[\text{The last three names are doubtful.} \]
brought from Achín and Dahnásarí. Nothing is known of the habitat mentioned in old books. Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes; when eaten, it is exhilarating. It is generally employed in incense; the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes.

8. Chúwah is distilled wood of aloes; it is in general use. The preparation is as follows: They take fine clay, mix it with cotton or rice bran, and beat it well. When properly intermixed, they take a small bottle large enough to put a finger into it, smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry. After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloes into it, so as nearly to fill the bottle. The wood must have been kept wet for a week before. Another vessel, with a hole in the middle, is now placed on a three-legged stand. Into this vessel, they pass the neck of the little bottle inverted, placing a cup full of water at the bottom of the vessel, in such a manner that the mouth of the bottle reaches the surface of the water. On the top of the vessel they then put wild cow's dung, and light a gentle fire. Should flames break out, they extinguish them with water. The wood of aloes will then secrete a moisture which trickles on the surface of the water, where it remains. This is collected, and washed several times with water and rose water, to take off all smell of smoke. The oftener it is washed, and the older it gets, the better will be the scent. It looks black, although experienced people make it white. One sér of wood of aloes will yield from two to fifteen tólahs of Chúwah. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, trying thereby to cheat people.

9. Sandalwood is called in Hind. Chándan. The tree grows in China. During the present reign, it has been successfully planted in India. There are three kinds, the white, the yellow, the red. Some take the red to be more refreshing than the white; others prefer the white. The latter is certainly more cooling than the red, and the red more so than the yellow. The best is that which is yellow and oily; it goes by the name of Maqúcari. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. Siláras (storax) is called in Arabic Mi'áh. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear, is called Miáh i súláh (liquid); the other kinds, Mi'áh i yábisnáh (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. Kalanbak (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zírbád (?); it is heavy and full of veins. Some believe it to be raw wood of aloes. When pounded, it looks grey. They use it for compound perfumes; and they also make rosaries of it.

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1 Zírbád (Zírábád), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. Ghíásullughát.
12. The Maldgk is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When pounded, it looks reddish white.

13. Lubán (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java. Some take it to be the same as Mi'ah i yābisah. When exposed to fire, it evaporates like camphor. The Lubán which the Persians call Kundur i daryá (masti), is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. Asftr uṭṭāb, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind. Nākh, and in Persian Nākhun i bōyā. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. They have a good smell, as the animal feeds on gambuls, and are found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Başrah, and Bahrain, the latter being considered the best. They are also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer them to the other kinds. They warm them in butter; others expose them afterwards to the fire, pound them, and mix them with other perfumes.

15. Sugandh gūgalā (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan; it is used in perfumes.

As I have said something on perfumes, I shall make a few remarks on several beautiful flowers.

1. The Sāwīt resembles the Gul i Surkh, but is smaller. It has in the middle golden stamens, and from four to six petals. Habitat, Gujrát and the Dek'han.

2. Of the Chambēlī there are two kinds. The Rāi Chambēlī has from five to six petals, outside red. The Chambēlī proper is smaller, and has on the top a red stripe. Its stem is one and a half or two yards, high, and hangs over the ground. It has many long and broad branches. It flowers from the first year.

3. The Rāi bēl resembles the jasmin. There are various kinds; some are simple, double, &c. A quintuple is very common, so that each petal might be separated as a distinct flower. Its stem grows a yard high. The leaves of the tree resemble those of the orange tree; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

4. The Mungrā resembles the Rāi bēl. It is larger, but inferior in smell. It has more than a hundred petals; the plant grows to a large tree.

5. The Champah flower has a conical shape, of the size of a finger,¹ and consists of ten petals and more, lying in folds one above the other. It has several stamens. The tree looks graceful, and resembles in leaf and trunk the nut tree. It flowers after seven years.

¹ Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.
6. The *Kitki* has the form of spindle, of the size of a quarter of a yard, with twelve or more petals. Its smell is delicate and fragrant. It bears flowers in six or seven years.

7. The *Kivorah* resembles the preceding, but is more than twice as big. The petals have thorns. As they grow on different places, they are not all equal. In the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey-coloured threads, not without smell. The flower smells even after it is withered. Hence people put it into clothes, when the smell remains for a long time. The stem of the tree is above four yards high; the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer, and triangular, with three thorns in each corner. It flowers from the fourth year. Every year they put new earth round about the roots. The plant is chiefly found in the Dek’han, Gujrát, Málwah, and Bahár.

8. The *Chaltah* resembles a large tulip. It consists of eighteen petals, six green ones above; six others, some red, some green, some greyish yellow; and six white. In the midst of the flower, as in the flower called *Haméshkah Bahár*, there are nearly two hundred little yellow leaves, with a red globule in the centre. The flower will remain quite fresh for five or six days after having been plucked. It smells like the violet. When withered, the flower is cooked and eaten. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree; and its leaves look like those of the orange tree. It blooms in seven years.

9. The *Tusbíhyulát* has a fine smell. The petals have the form of a dagger. The stem of the plant is two yards high. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week.

10. The *Bholsari* is smaller than the jasmin; its petals are indented. When dry, the flower smells better. The tree resembles the walnut tree, and flowers in the tenth year.

11. The *Singárkár* is shaped like a clove, and has an orange-coloured stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree. It flowers in five years.

12. The *Kuzah* looks like a *Gul i surkh*; but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals, and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make *Abírmáyáh* and an extract from it.

13. The *Pídal* has five or six long petals. It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell. It is on this account that people preserve the flowers, mixed with clay, for such times when the flower is out of season. The leaves and the stem are like those of a nut tree. It flowers in the twelfth year.

14. The *Júhi* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Niwári* looks like a simple *Rád bél*, but has larger petals.
The flowers are often so numerous, as to conceal the leaves and branches of the plant. It flowers in the first year.

16. The Kapür bel has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower. This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The Za'faran (saffron). In the beginning of the month of Urdibhishht, the saffron seeds are put into the ground which has been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of Abán; the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour: they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two pals receiving two pals of salt. At the time of Gházi Khán, the son of Kháji Chak, another custom became general: they gave the workmen eleven tarks of saffron flowers, of which one tark was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarsháhi sérś of clean, dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarsháhi mans of saffron flowers they had to give two sérś of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by his Majesty, on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the people.

When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

Saffron comes chiefly from the place Panpuir, which belongs to the district of Mururáj (?). The fields there extend over nearly twelve kás.

1 Vide a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Súbah Kábúl).

2 He was the contemporary of Shér Khán; vide Abúhází’s list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book. A good biography of Gházi Khán may be found in the beginning of the Madsif i Rothimí, Persian MS. No. 45, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

8 One Kashmirí Tark = 8 sérś (of Akbar) = 4 Kashm. mans; 1 Kash. mans = 4 Kash. sérś; 1 Kash. sér = 7½ pals.

4 These places lie to the south of Sri-nagar, the capital of Kashmir; for Mururáj the test has مَرَائِج. Vide Súbah Kábúl, third book.
Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspûr, near Indrukal, not far from Kamrâj, where the fields extend about a kôs.

18. The Astâbî (sun-flower) is round, broad, and large, has a large number of petals, and turns continually to the sun. Its stem reaches a height of three yards.

19. The Kanwât. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the shaqâiq-lily; but its red is paler. Its petals which are never less than six in number enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at night, and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close.

20. The Æfrârî is a pretty round flower, and grows larger than the hadbârî. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months.

21. The Guḍhal resembles the joghdi-tulip, and has a great number of petals. Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards; the leaves look like Mulberry leaves. It flowers in two years.

22. The Ratanmanjant has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The tree and the leaves resemble the Râibîl. It flowers in two years.

23. The Kesû has five petals resembling a tiger's claw. In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue. The plant is very large, and is found on every meadow; when it flowers, it is as if a beautiful fire surrounded the scenery.

24. The Kanîr remains a long time in bloom. It looks well, but it is poisonous. Whoever puts it on his head, is sure to fall in battle. It has mostly five petals. The branches are full of the flowers; the plant itself grows to a height of two yards. It flowers in the first year.

25. The Kadam resembles a tumâghah (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the nut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The Nîg kësar, like the Gul ñ surkh, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the nut tree in the leaves and the stem, and flowers in seven years.

27. The Surpan resembles the Sesame flower, and has yellow stamens in the middle. The stem resembles the Hinnd plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The Srik'handî is like the Chambéli, but smaller. It flowers in two years.
29. The *Hinna* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Ndísarmán*. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The *Dupahriyá* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamešah bahár*. It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The *Bhún champá* resembles the *Nilúfar* flowers, and has five petals. The stem is about a span long. It grows on such places as are periodically under water. Occasionally a plant is found above the water.

32. The *Súdansan* resembles the *Ráibél*, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sónan* flower.

33. *Sénbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.

34. The *Ratanmálá* is round and small. Its juice is cooked out, and when mixed with vitriol and *Muacífar*, furnishes a fast red dye for stuffs. Butter, sesame oil, are also boiled together with the root of the plant, when the mixture becomes a purple dye.

35. The *Súndrárd* resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the *Chambéli*. It flowers in two years.

36. The *Máltis* is like the *Chambéli*, but smaller. In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed. It flowers in two years more or less.

37. The *Karí* has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well. The flower is also boiled and eaten; they make also pickles of it.

38. The *Jait* plant grows to a large tree; its leaves look like Tamarind leaves.

39. The *Chánpálah* is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like nut leaves. It flowers in two years. The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red. It grows chiefly in the hills; its wood burns bright like a candle.

40. The *Láhi* has a stem one and a half yards high. The branches, before the flowers appear, are made into a dish which is eaten with bread. When camels feed on this plant, they get fat and unruly.

41. The *Karáunáh* resembles the *Jáhi* flower.

42. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nilúfar*, and looks very well. It is a creeper.

43. The *Sírs* flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a * tumághah*. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the *Pipal* and *Bar* trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.
44. The Kangldí has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

43. The San flower (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the Chaná. Of the bark of the plant strong ropes are made. One kind of this plant bears a flower like the cotton tree, and is called Patsan. It makes a very soft rope.

It is really too difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of this country: I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know something about them. There are also found many flowers of Irán and Túrán, as the Gul i Surkh, the Nargis, the violet, the Yusaman i kabúd, the Sózan, the Raihán, the Ba'ndá, the Zóbá, the Shaqáiq, the Túj i khurus, the Qalghah, the Náfarmán, the Khatami, &c. Garden and flower beds are everywhere to be found. Formerly people used to plant their gardens without any order, but since the time of the arrival in India of the emperor Bábár, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained; and travellers now-a-days admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains.

It would be impossible to give an account of those trees of the country, whose flowers, fruits, buds, leaves, roots, &c., are used as food, or medicine. If, according to the books of the Hindus, a man were to collect only one leaf from each tree, he would get eighteen bowed, or loads, (5 surkhs = 1 máshah; 16 máshahs = 1 karga; 4 kargas = 1 pala; 100 palas = 1 tuld; 20 tuldies = 1 bowed); i.e., according to the weights now in use, 96 mans. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two gharis (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years. The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand jicjam. When a tree dies, its life is said to pass into one of the following ten things: fire, water, air, earth, plants, animals, animals of two senses, such as have three, or four, or five senses.

AYN 31.

THE WARDROBE* AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES.

His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Irání, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of

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1 Regarding this measure, vide the fourth book.

2 The text has a word which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Turnk i Jahángír; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagátáí Dictionary. The meaning a wardrobe is however clear.
Lāhōr, Agra, Fathpūr, Ahmadābād, Gujrat, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade; and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection; and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description.

All articles which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved; and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents. Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices. Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. Even the prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous Ghūsī Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhurs, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten.¹ His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by his Majesty may be of interest.

1. The Takanehiyā is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt, and to be tied on the right side.² It requires seven yards and seven girīks,³ and five girīhs for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a misqāl of silk is required.

¹ Or as we would, the prices have become less by 66²⁄₃; and even 75 per cent.
² The coats used now-a-days both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (Geru. Schlafrock), but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the left, and the Hindus on the right side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin (schādar).
³ It is not stated in the Aīn how many girīhs the tailor's gāz, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 girīhs = 1 gāz, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, vide the 87th and 88th Aīns of this book. The Persian word girīh is pronounced in India girah.
2. The Peshwadz (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

3. The Dastdhi (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four girihis for the outside, six yards lining, four girihis for the binding, nine girihis for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One misqal of silk is required.

4. The Shāh-ājīdah (or the royal stitch coat) is also called Shātikhāt (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches per girih. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees per yard.

5. The Sōzāni requires a quarter of a sér of cotton and two dāms of silk. If sewed with bakhyah stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with ājīdah stitches costs four rupees.

6. The Qalāmi requires $\frac{3}{2}$ s. cotton, and one dām silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The Qabā, which is at present generally called jāmāh i pumbahdār, is a wadded coat. It requires 1 s. of cotton, and 2 m. silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.

8. The Gadar is a coat wider and longer than the qabā, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan, it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven yards of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihis binding, nine for bordering, 2½ s. cotton, 3 m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

9. The Fargul has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the jāmāh (coat), and requires 5 y. 12 g. stuff; 5 y. 5 g. lining; 14 g. bordering; 1 s. cotton; 1 m. silk. Price, from a quarter to one rupee.

10. The Fargul resembles the yāpanjī, but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe; but every one now-a-days wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 y. 6½ g. stuff, the same

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1 Bakhyah, in Hind. bak'hiyā, corresponds to what ladies call backstitching. Ājīdah is the button hole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which bakhyah and ājīdah now have. Sōzani, a name which in the text is transferred to the coat, is a kind of embroidery, resembling our satin-stitch. It is used for working leaves and flowers, &c., on stuffs, the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find sozani work in rugs, small carpets, &c. The rugs themselves are also called sozani. A term which is sometimes used in Dictionaries as a synonym for sozani is chikin; but this is what we call white embroidery.

2 A coat used in rainy weather. Calcutta Chaquṭā Dictionary.

3 The etymology of the word fargul is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, now-a-days current in India, are Portuguese; asiya, a petticoat; fitta, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are padri, clergyman; girjā, a church, Port. igorjā; kōhī, sabbha, Port. cuvè; chābī, a key, Port. chāva.

Abul Fazl's explanation (vide my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II. p. 663 a.
quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double.

Price, from 1$ to 2 $.

11. The Chakman is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Daré wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 y. stuff, 5 g. binding, and 2 m. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 $; of wool, 1$ $; of wax cloth, 4$ $.

12. The Shaluar (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 y. 11 g. cloth, 6 g. for the hem through which the string runs, 3 y. 5 g. lining, 1$ m. silk, 4 s. cotton. Price, from 1$ to 1$.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chiraha, fawfah, and dupattah, or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grandees of the present time. Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness. From his indifference to every thing that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears woollen stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that His Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms. Instead of jumah (coat), he says sarbagdi, i.e., covering the whole body; for izar (drawers), he says iarpirah (the companion of the coat); for nimznah (a jacket), tanzeb; for faufah, patgat; for burqu (a veil), chitrangpita; for kulah (a cap), sis nohah; for mubaf (a hair ribbon), kisghah; for patka (a cloth for the loins), katzeb; for khul (shawl), parmnarm; for ... , parngarm; for kapirah, a Tibetan stuff, kapurnur; for Paidah (shoes), charndharn; and similarly for other names.

As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vullers' form chaspán.

Stuffs of different shapes, used for making turbans.

In allusion to the practice of Çiśīs, who only wear garments made of wool (Çiśī). Abul Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a Çiśī of so high a degree as to be able to work miracles, and he states below that it was his intention to write a book on Akbar's miracles. The charge of fulsome in praise has often been brought against Abul Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against Faizī who—like the poets of imperial Rome—represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar's character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.

The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar's predilection for Hindī terms.

The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banaras MS. has pardak Firāng, or European Pardak (ξ).
ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, &c.

His Majesty improved this department in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the Tús shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name; its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye. Secondly, in the Safid Alcha, also called Tarhddr, in their natural colours. The wool is either white or black. These stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black, or mixed. The first or white kind, was formerly dyed in three ways; his Majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways. Thirdly, in stuffs as Zarézi, Kalahbatun, Kashidah, Qalghai, Bandhunun, Chhint, Alcha, Purzdár, to which His Majesty pays much attention. Fourthly, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; his Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.

The garments stored in the Imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months, and years, of their entries, and according to their colour, price, and weight. Such an arrangement is now-a-days called misil, a set. The clerks fix accordingly the degree of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the pieces. Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the Imperial wardrobe on the Ursud day (first day) of the month of Farwardin, provided they be of a good quality, have a higher rank assigned to them than pieces arriving on other days; and if pieces are equal in value, their precedence, or otherwise, is determined by the character of the day of their entry; and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank; and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour. The following is the order of colours: Tús, safidalchah, ruby coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, mauve like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac.
coloured like the *Rutamnanjani* flower, coloured like the *Kāmi* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, ........1, *bhōjpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *gaghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Pākhtah* pigeon.

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmir. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Now-a-days they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well.

His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Lāhōr also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called *mūyān*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chirahs* (turbans), *faustahs* (loin bands), &c.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

**A. Gold stuffs.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brocaded velvet, from <em>Yaad</em>, per piece,</td>
<td>15 to 150 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Europe, do.</td>
<td>10 to 70 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from <em>Gujrāt</em>, do.</td>
<td>10 to 50 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from <em>Kāshān</em>, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from <em>Herāt</em>, do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from <em>Lāhōr</em>, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from <em>Barsah</em>, (?) do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mutabbag</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 to 70 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Milak</em>, do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocade, from <em>Gujrāt</em>, do.</td>
<td>4 to 60 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tēs'</em>-Brocade, from do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 35 M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. The text contains two doubtful words. The next word *bhōjpatra* is the bark of a tree used for making *hukka* tubes.

2. *Yazd* is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khurāsān. *Kāshān* lies in 'Irāq il-'Ajami, north of *Tehān*. “The asses of Kāshān are wiser than the men of Tehān,” which latter town is for Persia what Brūtia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, or the kingdom of Fīfe for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bahār for India,—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls, the Sāyīds of Bārāh enjoyed a similar notoriety.


4. *Tēs* means generally brocaded; *Dēwātfūf* is a kind of brocaded silk; *Mugqyyak* is silk with stripes of silver—the Ghīds says that Mugqyyak comes from the Hind. kēsh, hair, to which the silver stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicised form of the Hind. word, as qaranufal, a clove, for the Hind. kar-en- *p'hal*; *ttisfyl*, a kind of medicine, for *trīp'hal*, as it consists of three fruits; &c.

5. *Mushajjī* is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; *Dēbā* is coloured silk; *Kādrī*, moirée antique; *Khazz* is filoselle-silk. For *tafjīlak* (tide Freytag 111. p. 383), we also find *tafjīlak*. 

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---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dārdī bāf, from Gujrat,</td>
<td>2 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muqayyash, do.</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirvānī Brocade, do.</td>
<td>6 to 17 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushajjar, from Europe, <em>per yard</em>,</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēbā silk, do.</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārd, do.</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Chinese Tartary,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Navār, from do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāzs silk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Tafṣīlah, (a stuff from Mecca)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtahwār, from Gujrat,</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindil</td>
<td>1 to 14 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chirah, (for turbans)</td>
<td>½ to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupattah, do.</td>
<td>9 to 8 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauṭah, (loin bands)</td>
<td>½ to 12 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpanes</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Text does not give the prices.

**B. Silks, *et c.*, plain.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velvet, from Europe, <em>per yard</em>,</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Kāshān, <em>per piece</em>,</td>
<td>2 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Mashhad, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Herāt, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. Khāffe, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhorr, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Gujrat, <em>per yard</em>,</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatīfah i Pūrabi,¹ do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tājah Bāf, <em>per piece</em>,</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārāī Bāf, do.</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṭtabbaq, do.</td>
<td>1 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirwānī, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 10 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milak, do.</td>
<td>1 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamkhab, from Kābul and Persia, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawār, (?) do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūrī (?) do.</td>
<td>4 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushajjar, from Europe, <em>per yard</em>,</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, <em>per piece</em>,</td>
<td>1 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Europe, <em>per yard</em>,</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ A kind of velvet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Herāt, *per piece,</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārā, *per yard,</td>
<td>1 R. to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihrang, *per piece,</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutnī, *do.</td>
<td>1¼ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katān, *from Europe, *per yard,</td>
<td>½ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāftah, *do.</td>
<td>¼ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbari, *do.</td>
<td>4 d. to ½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārā, *do.</td>
<td>½ R. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlīpūrī, *per piece,</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qabābānd, *do.</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāt bandpūrī, *do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāh, *per yard,</td>
<td>½ to ¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrī, *per piece,</td>
<td>½ to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sār, *per yard,</td>
<td>1/8 to ½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṣṣar, *per piece,</td>
<td>½ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain Kurtahwār Satin, *per yard,</td>
<td>½ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapūrnūr, formerly called Kapūrdhār, *do.</td>
<td>½ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alchah, *do.</td>
<td>½ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṣfīlah, *per piece,</td>
<td>7 to 12 R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C. Cotton cloths.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khāṣah, *per piece,</td>
<td>3 R. to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chautār, *do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 9 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl, *do.</td>
<td>4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tansak'h, *do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrī āsthī, *do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāngjāl, *do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhīraun, *do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāhan, *do.</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhōnah, *do.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atān, *do.</td>
<td>2½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assāwālī, *do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāftah, *do.</td>
<td>1¼ R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhmūdī, *do.</td>
<td>½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchtōliyād, *do.</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhōlah, *do.</td>
<td>½ to 2½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālū, *per piece,</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Changing silk.
2 A stuff made of silk and wool.
3 Generally translated by linen. All Dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is *Muslin.*
4 Properly, woven; hence *tafeta.*
5 Now-a-days chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; *vulgo*, tessa.
Dōriyah, *per piece*, ........................................ 6 R. to 2 M.
Bahādūr Shāhī, do. ........................................... 6 R. to 2 M.
Garbah Sūtī, do. ............................................... 1½ to 2 M.
Shēlāh, from the Dek’han, do. .............................. ¼ to 2 M.
Mīhrkūl, do. ..................................................... 3 R. to 2 M.
Mindīl, do. ....................................................... ¼ to 2 M.
Sarband, do. ..................................................... ¼ to 2 M.
Dūpattah, do. .................................................... 1 R. to 1 M.
Kātānchah, do. ................................................ 1 R. to 1 M.
Fauṭāh, do. ....................................................... ½ to 6 R.
Gōshpēch, do. ................................................... 1 to 2 R.
Chhint, *per yard*, .......................................... 2 d. to 1 R.
Gazīnah, *per piece*, ....................................... ¼ to 1¼ R.
Silāhatī, *per yard*, ......................................... 2 to 4 d.

**D. Woollen stuffs.**

Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe¹, and
Portugal, *per yard*, ........................................ 2¼ R. to 4 M.
Do., from Nāgór and Lāhōr, *per piece*, .............. 2 R. to 1 M.
Čūf i Murabbā', do. ......................................... 4 to 15 M.
Čūf i ....................................................... 3 R. to 1½ M.
Parmnarm, do. ................................................. 2 R. to 20 M.
Chirah i Parmnarm, do. ..................................... 2 R. to 25 M.
Fauṭāh, do. ..................................................... ½ to 3 M.
Jāmahwār i Parmnarm, do. .................................. ¼ to 4 M.
Gōshpēchār i Parmnarm, do. .............................. 1½ R. to 1½ M.
Sarpēch, do. ................................................... ½ to 4 M.
Aghri, do. ...................................................... 7 R. to 2¼ M.
Parmgārām, do. ................................................ 3 R. to 2½ M.
Katās, do. ..................................................... 2½ R. to 10 M.
P'ḥūk, *per piece*, ........................................... 2½ to 15 R.
Dūrmāh, do. ................................................ 2 R. to 4 M.
Patū, do. ....................................................... 1 to 10 R.

¹ The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (*vide* Badā’oni II, p. 290, l. 2 from below; p. 338, l. 7) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abulfazl, several are not known, as native weavers cannot compete with the English Longcloth and the cheap European Muslins, Alpacas, Chintzes, and Mohairs, which are now a-days in common use with the natives all over the East. At the time of the Moguls, and before, the use of woollen stuffs and, for the poorer classes, blankets, was much more general than now. Even the light caps generally worn by Muhammadans in this country, called in Hind. *tōpt*, and in Persian *takhistūk* (*vide* Bahā’ī ‘Ajam) are mostly imported from England. I am not aware that the soldiers of the armies of the Moguls were uniformly dressed, though it appears that the commanders of the contingents at least looked to uniformity in the caps and turbans.

² The MSS. have an unintelligible word.
### ATN 33.

**ON THE NATURE OF COLOURS.**

White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours. They are looked upon as extremes, and as the component parts of the other colours. Thus white when mixed in large proportions with an impure black, will yield yellow; and white and black, in equal proportions, will give red. White mixed with a large quantity of black, will give a bluish green. Other colours may be formed by compounding these. Besides, it must be borne in mind that cold makes a juicy body white, and a dry body black; and heat renders that which is fresh black, and white that which is dry. These two powers (heat and cold) produce, each in its place, a change in the colour of a body, because bodies are both quabil, i. e., capable of being acted upon, and muqtaza, i. e., subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

### ATN 34.

**THE ARTS OF WRITING AND PAINTING.**

What we call form leads us to recognize a body; the body itself leads us to what we call a notion, an idea. Thus on seeing the form of a letter, we recognize the letter, or a word, and this again will lead us to some idea. Similarly in the case of what people term a picture. But though it is true that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental

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* The price is not given in the text.
states, so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality: yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and become a means to intellectual progress.

I shall first say something about the art of writing, as it is the more important of the two arts. His Majesty pays much attention to both, and is an excellent judge of form and thought. And indeed, in the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within it beams forth; and in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate; it contains the secret of the word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure; but the deepsighted, a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it; or, it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye. A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas; a dark night ushering in day; a black cloud pregnant with knowledge; the wand for the treasures of insight; speaking, though dumb; stationary, and yet travelling; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God’s knowledge falls on man’s soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (mujarrad) and that which is material (maddî). The result is a concrete thing mixed with the absolute, or an absolute thing mixed with that which is concrete. This compound steps forward on man’s tongue, and enters, with the assistance of the conveying air, into the windows of the ears of others. It then drops the burden of its concrete component, and returns as a single ray, to its old place, the realm of thought. But the heavenly traveller occasionally gives his course a different direction by means of man’s fingers, and having passed along

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1 Khilqî (from khilqat) referring to states of the mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, &c. These, Abûfâzîl says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.
2 The fabulous cup of king Jamshîd, which revealed the secrets of the seven heavens.
3 Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Hâfiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhârâ. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.
4 The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.
the continent of the pen and crossed the ocean of the ink, alights on the pleasant expanse of the page, and returns through the eye of the reader to its wonted habitation.

As the letter is a representation of an articulate sound, I think it necessary to give some information regarding the latter.

The sound of a letter is a mode of existence depending on the nature of the air. By qara' we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by qala', the separation of the same. In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion; and thus the state is produced which we call sound. Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion; but others look upon it as the primary effect, i.e., they define sound to be the very qara', or the qala', of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances: it may be piano, deep, nasal, or guttural, as when the throat is affected by a cold. Again, from the nature of the organ with which man utters a sound, and the manner in which the particles of the air are divided, another modifying circumstance may arise, as when two piano, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abú 'Ali Siná, call this modifying element ('áris) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (ma'rúz); but the far-sighted define an articulate sound as the union of the modifying element and the original state modified. This is evidently the correct view.

There are fifty-two articulate sounds in Hindi, so and so many in Greek, and eighteen in Persian. In Arabic, there are twenty-eight letters represented by eighteen signs, or by only fifteen, when we count the joined letters, and if we take the Hamzah as one with the Alif. The reason for writing an Alif and a Lám, (ي) separately at the end of the single letters in the Arabic Alphabet, is merely to give an example of a sákin letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter lám is preferred1 when you say the Alphabet: look upon it as a mere example of a sákin letter.

1 Abul Fazl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because گ़, چ, and $, have the same fundamental sign. 2 Or rather, the alif was preferred to the س or ی, because these two letters may be either sákin or mutaharririk. But the custom has become established to call the alif, when mutaharririk, hamzah; and to call the alif, when sákin, merely alif. 'Abdu'l-was, of Hámza, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled Rád-lah i 'Abdu'l-was, which is read all over India, says that the lám-alif has the meaning of not, i.e., 'do not read this compound lám-alif,' but pass over it.
as an example, is because the letter lām is the middle letter of the word alif, and the letter alif the middle letter of the word lām.

The vowel-signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink; thus a red dot placed over a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an a; a red dot in front of the letter signified an u; and a red dot below a letter, an i. It was Khalif ibn i Ahmad,' the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel-signs as they are now in use.

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste; hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Ma'qalī, Kūfī, Kashmīrī, Abyssinian, Rāhānī, Arabic, Persian, Himyarītic, Berbery, Andalusian, Rūhānī, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Adam i Haftahāzī;* but some mention Idrīs as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the Ma‘qalī character. According to several statements, the Kūfīc character was derived by the Khalīfah ‘Alī from the Ma‘qalī.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes: thus the Kūfīc character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the Ma‘qalī has no curved lines at all; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

In writing we have to remember that black and white look well, as these colours best prevent ambiguities in reading.

In Iran and Turān, India, and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical systems* current, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived, in A. H. 310, by Ibn i Muqlah from the Ma‘qalī and the Kūfīc characters, viz., the Sūs, Taufq, Muhāqqaq, Naskh, Rāhān, Riqa'. Some add the Ghubār, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The Naskh character is ascribed by many to Yaqūt, a slave of the

badly treated, because all explain the word Hamzah as the name of a sign.

Another peculiarity of European grammars is this, that in arranging the letters of the alphabet, the wāw is placed after the kā'; here, in the East, the kā' is invariably put before the yā'.

* He is said to have been born A. H. 100, and died at Baṣrah A. H. 175 or 190. He wrote several works on the science which he had established, as also several books on the rhyme, lexicographical compilations, &c.  

* 'Adam is called Haft-hazārf, because the number of inhabitants on earth, at his death, had reached the number seven thousand. A better explanation is given by Badāwī (II. p. 337, l. 10), who puts the creation of Adam seven thousand years before his time. Vide the first Aṅ in the Third Book.  

* Idrīs, or Enoch.

* It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abulfazl’s letters, where nearly the whole of this Aṅ is repeated, contain a reference to printed books. “The first book printed in India was the Doctrina Christiana of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I
Khalīfah Mustaʿṣam Billāh. The Suls and the Naskh consist each of one-third curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the suls) is jali, whilst the latter (the naskh) is khaṣṭ. The Taqīq and Riqū consist of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines; the former is jali, the latter is khaṣṭ. The Mukaqqaq and Raiḥān contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is jali, and the Raiḥān khaṣṭ.

Among famous copyists I must mention ‘Ali ibn i Hilāl, better known under the name of Ibn i Bawwāb; he wrote well the six characters. Yaqūt brought them to perfection. Six of Yaqūt’s pupils are noticeable: 1. Shuykh Ahmad, so well known under the name of Shuykhzādah i Shahrwādī; 2. Arghūn of Kābul; 3. Maulānā Yūsuf Shāh of Mashhād; 4. Maulānā Mubārīk Shāh, styled Zarrīn qalam (the golden pen); 5. Haidar, called Gunaḥkarnīs (i.e., the writer of the jali); 6. Mir Yahya.

The following caligraphists are likewise well known: Čuṭī Naṣrullāh, also called Čadr i ‘Iraqī; Arqūn ‘Abdullāh; Khājājah ‘Abdullāh i Čairaffi; Hājī Muḥammad; Maulānā ‘Abdullāh i Asphāz; Maulānā Muḥi of Shīrāz; Muʿīnuddin i Tānu’rī; Shamsuddin i Khätā’ū; ‘Abdurrahīm i Khālīlī (?); Abdulhāy; Maulānā Jaʿfar i Tafrīz; Maulānā Shāh of Mashhād; Maulānā Maʿrūf* of Baghdād; Maulānā Shamsuddin i Bāyasanghur; Muʿīnuddin of

know, first cast Tumulic characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled Flos Sanctorum, which was followed (2) by the Tumulic Dictionary of Father Antonio de Proenca, printed in 1679, at Ambadacate, on the coast of Maleabar. From that period the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti Fabricii Sacutariae lux Evangelii. Johnston’s translation of Fra P. Da San Bartolomeo’s Voyage to the East Indies, p. 395. The Italian Original has the same years: 1577, 1578, 1679.

1 He was the last caliph, and reigned from 1242 to 1258, when he was put to death by Hulagū, grandson of Chingiz Khān.
2 Hence the name suls, or one-third.
3 Jali (i.e., clear) is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a pen full of ink.
4 Ghaš.-Khaṣṭ (hidden) is the opposite.
5 Ibn Muṣṭafā, Ibn Bawwāb, and Yaqūt, are the three oldest caligraphists mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Bahktāwar Khān’s Mir-ādūl ‘Ālam:--
6 Ibn Muṣṭafā, or according to his full name, Abū ‘Ali Muḥammad ibn i ‘Ali ibn i Ḥasan ibn i Muṣṭafā, was the vizier of the Khalifahs Muṣṭafādi bilah, Alqūhir bilah, and Ar-R户籍 bilah, who reigned from A. D. 907 to 940. The last cut off Ibn i Muṣṭafā’s right hand. He died in prison, A. H. 327, or A. D. 938-39.
7 Ibn i Bawwāb, or Abū Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn i Hilāl, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalifah, Alqūhir bilah (A. D. 992-1030), the contemporary of Muḥammad of Ghaznī, and died A. H. 416, or A. D. 1025.
8 Yaqūt, or Shuykh Jamāluddin, was born at Baghdād, and was the Librarian of Mustaʿṣam bilah, the thirty-seventh and last Khalifah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shiʿah tendencies. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Hulagū Khān, and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A. H. 1217, or A. D. 1217, during the reign of Ghāzān Khān, Hulagu’s great grandson.
9 He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Ṣirāj Shihhrūkh, (1401-1447).
10 A contemporary and rival of the great poet Salūnān of Sāwāh (died 769). The name Maʿrūf appears to have been common in Baghdaḍ since the times of the famous saint Maʿrūf of Karḫ (a part of Baghdād).
Farâh; Abdulhaq of Sabzwâr; Maulânâ Ni'matullah i Bawwâb; Khâjâgî Múmin i Marwârid, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper; Sultân Ibrâhîm, son of Mirzâ Shâhrukh; Maulânâ Muhammad Hakîm Îlîsî; Maulânâ Mahmûd Siyâush; Maulânâ Jamâlûdîn Husain; Maulânâ Pir Muhammad; Maulânâ Fazlulhaq of Qazwîn'.

A seventh kind of writing is called Ta'llîq, which has been derived from the Riqâ' and the Ta'qîf. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khâjah Tâj i Salmân, who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern calligraphists I may mention: Maulânâ 'Abdulhay, the Private Secretary of Sultân 'Abî Su'id Mirzâ, who wrote Ta'llîq well; Maulânâ Darwîsh; 'Amîr Maçûr; Maulânâ Ibrâhîm of Asûrâbâîd; Khâjah Ikhtiyâr; Munshî Jamâlûdîn; Muhammad of Qazwîn; Maulânâ Idrîs; Khâjah Muhammad Husain Munshî; and Ashraf Khân, the Private Secretary of His Majesty, who improved the Ta'llîq very much.

The eighth character which I have to mention is the Nasta'llîq: it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mir 'Ali of Tabriz, a contemporary of Timûr, derived it from the Naskh and the Ta'llîq; but this can scarcely be correct, because there exist books in the Nasta'llîq character, written before Timûr's time. Of Mir 'Ali's pupils I may mention two: Maulânâ Ja'far of Tabriz, and Maulânâ Azhar; and of other calligraphists in Ta'llîq, Maulânâ Muhammad of Aubah (near Herât), an excellent writer; Maulânâ Bâri of Herât; and Maulânâ Sultân 'Ali of Mashhad, who surpasses

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* The Maktûbât and the Mûsâfî also mention Maulâ Abû Bâkr, and Shaikh Muhammad.
* According to the Maktûbât and several MSS., Selamânî.
* In the original text, p. 114. l. 5, by mistake. Maulânâ 'Abdulhay and the Munshî of Sultân Âbû Su'id.
* Maulânâ Darwîsh Muhammad was a friend of the famous Âmir 'Ali Shër, the vizier of Sultân Husain Mirzâ, king of Khuràsân (A. D. 1470 to 1506), and the patron of the poet Jânî. Maulânâ Darwîsh entered afterwards the service of Shâh Junàid i Câfawî, king of Persia, (A. D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Maulânà may be found in the Mâdârîs i Rekhtî, p. 751.
* Khâjah Ikhtiyâr, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding calligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sultân Husain Mirzâ.
* This is the title of Muhammad Âçkâ, a Sâyîd from Mashhad—or according to the Tabàqât i Akbarî, from 'Arabshâhî. He served Humâyûn as Mir Munshî, Mir 'Arâzî and Mir Mâlî. He accompanied Tàrdî Bég on his flight from Dîhî, was imprisoned by Bâirûn, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Akbar, in A. H. 908, when Bâirûn had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of Ashraf Khân, and served under Mun'im Khân in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Akbar's reign, A. H. 973. In Aubâlzlâ's list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khân is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Bâdùnî mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. Abû Muzaffar, Ashraf Khân's son was, A. D. 1506, a commander of five hundred.
* The Mûsâfî mentions a third immediate pupil of Mir 'Ali, Mûslûmán Khâjah Muhammad, and relates that he put Mir 'Ali's name to his own writings, without giving offence to his master.
* He also was a friend of Âmir 'Ali Shër, and died A. H. 910, during the reign of Sultân Husain Mirzâ, mentioned in the fourth note.
them all. He imitated the writing of Maulána Azhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sultán Muhammad i Khandán; Sultán Muhammad Núr; Maulána 'Aláuddín* of Herát; Maulána Zainuddin (of Nishápúr); Maulána 'Abd of Nishápúr; Muhammad Qásim Shádí Sháh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good calligraphists, who are famous for their skill in Nasta’liq; as Maulána Sultán 'Ali, of Qáyín;* Maulána Sultán 'Ali of Mashhad;* Maulána Híjrání;* and after them the illustrious Maulána Mir 'Ali,* the pupil, as it appears, of Maulána Zainuddin. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultán 'Ali of Mashhad. The new method which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many master-pieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Maulána. He said, "I have brought his writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

In conclusion I may mention:—Sháh Mahmúd* of Nishápúr; Mahmúd Is-háq; Shamsuddín of Kirmán; Maulána Jamshéd, the riddle-writer; Sultán Husain of Khujand; Maulána 'Aishi; Ghíáuddín, the gilder; Maulána 'Abdu'ccamad; Maulána Malik; Maulána 'Abdulkarím; Maulána Abdurrahím of Khárizm; Maulána Shaikh Muhammad; Maulána Sháh Mahmúd i Zarrínqalam (or gold pen); Maulána Muhammad Husain* of Tabríz; Maulána Hasan 'Ali of Mashhad; Mir Mu'izz of Káshán; Mirzá Ibráhím of Iqfnán; and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists. Nasta’liq has especially received a new impetus. The artist, who, in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty, has become a master of calligraphy, is Muhammad Husain* of Kashmír. He has been honoured

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* He was called Khandán, as he was always happy. He was a friend of Amir 'Ali Shér, and died A. H. 915.
* In the Maktúbát, 'Aláuddín Muham-mad of Herát.
* He was the instructor of Sultán Husain Mírá’s children, and died A. H. 914. Qáyín is a Persian town, S.E. of Khurásán, near the frontier of Afgánis-tán. It is spelt Gháyan on our maps.
* According to the Maktúbát, Maulá-ná Sultán 'Ali shér of Mashhad, which is evidently the correct reading.
* Maulána Mir 'Ali, a Sayyíd of Herát, died A. H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mir Ahmad, son of Mir Khusrau of Díhl, and Bairám Khán, Akbar's Kháñkhánán, as a master of Dakhíl poetry. Dakhíl, or entering, is the skilful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.
* According to the Maktúbát and the Mír-dát, Sháh Muhammad of Nishápúr. Both mention another calligraphist, Mir Sayyíd Ahmad of Mashhad.
* He was the teacher of the celebrated calligraphist 'Imád, whose biography will be found in the Mír-dát. Vide also the preface of Dr. Sprenger’s Gélsfrin.
* He died A. H. 1020, six years after Akbar’s death.
with the title of Zarrínqalam, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mauláná 'Abdul-'Aziz; his maddát and dawáir show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullá Mir 'Ali. Of other renowned calligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mauláná Báqir, the son of the illustrious Mullá Mir 'Ali; Muhammad Amin of Mashhad; Mír Husain i Kulunki; Mauláná 'Abdu'llahy; Mauláná Dauri'; Mauláná 'Abdurrahim; Mír 'Abdu'llah; Nizámi of Qazwin; 'Ali Chaman of Kashmir; Núrullah Qásim Arsalán.

His Majesty's library is divided into several parts: some of the books are kept within, and some without the Harem. Each part of the Library is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindú, Persian, Greek, Kashmírian, Arabic, are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhláq i Náqízí, the Kímiyá i Sa'ádat, the Qábúsánámah, the works of Sharaf of Munair (vide p. 48), the Gulistán, the Hadiqah of Hakím Sanáí, the Masnawi of Ma'navi, the Jám i Jam, the Bustán, the Shañánmah, the

By Maddát, (extensions) calligraphists mean letters like ب. ف.; by dawáir (curvatures), letters like , ج.

Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals; call the spaces between them a, b, c, of which a is the highest. Every letter which fills the space b, is called a shóshah; as , ش. . The diacritical points are immaterial. Every line above b, is called a markiz; every line below b, i.e. in c, a dáman. Thus ك consists of a shóshah and a markiz; س of a shóshah and a dáman. The knob of , , or , is called kallah, head. Thus  is a Maddák, consisting of a kallah, and a dáman; so also . The ك consists of a markiz and a dáman.

In Grammar the word markiz means the same as shóshah in calligraphy; thus , , consist of a markiz, and a shákl i hamzah.

By iqdák calligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or refilling a written letter with ink (Hind. siyáht bharndé), or erasing (Hind. chhitína).

His name is Sultan Báyázid; he was born at Herá. Dauri is his poetical name. Vide Badáníi's list of poets (Vol. III of the Bibl. Indiae). Akbar bestowed on him the title of Kátib ul mulk, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Khójah Muhammad Husain, an Ahádí, (vide Badáníi, II, p. 394, where for Ibráhím, in the Táríkh, read Baráhím).

Observe that the Arabic books are placed last.
collected Masnawis of Shaikh Nizam, the works of Khusrau and Maulana Jami, the Divans of Khajâni, Anwari, and several works on History, are continually read out to His Majesty. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindi, Greek, Arabic, and Persian books, into other languages. Thus a part of the Zikr i Jadid i Mirzâ (ride IIInd book, Ain 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amir Fathullah of Shiráz (ride p. 33), and also the Kishnjöshi, the Gangâdhar, the Mohesh Mahânnund, from Hindi (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahâbhârat which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustân has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqib Khan1, Maulana 'Abdul Qadir of Badaon,2 and Shaikh Sultân of Thanâsar.3 The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history Râzmânâmah, the book of Wars. The same

1 Regarding this renowned man, ride Ahulâziz's list of Grandees, IInd book, No. 161.
2 Mullâ 'Abdul Qadir, poetically styled Qadîri, was born A. H. 947 (or 949) at Badaon, a town near Dihil. He was thus two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 960, was called Shaikh Mubârâk Shâh, and was a pupil of the Saint Bâchû of Sambhal. Abdul Qadir, or Badaonîs as we generally call him, studied various sciences under the most renowned and pious men of his age, most of whom he enumerates in the beginning of the third volume of his Munakhab. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court Înâm for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jahâl Khan Qirîchî (ride List of Grandees, IInd book, No. 213). For forty years Badaonî lived in company with Shaikh Mubârâk, and Faizî and Ahulâziz, the Shaikh's sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badaonî looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the Râmâyana (Badaonî II, pp. 336, 366) from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand shâkis 160 Ashrafis and 10,000 Tagâs ; and parts of the Mahâbhârat; extracts from the History of Rashid; and the Bahl ul asmâr, a work on the Hidâya. A copy of another of his works, entitled Najâtverroskât may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Beugul. His historical work, entitled Mentakhâb ut Tawârikh, is much prized, as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the Akbarnamâmah, or the Tabaqât i Akbari, or the Madsiri Rahimî. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A. H. 1004, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badaonî died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the Mirâtul'Adâm, it was made public during the reign of Jahânhâr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badaonî's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzuk i Jahângirî unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badaonî's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the last year of Jahângir's reign, in which the Madsiri i Rahimî was written, whose author complains of the want of a history beside the Tabaqât, and the Akbarnamâmah.

In point of style, Badaonî is much inferior to Bakhštâwar Khân (Mirâtul 'Alam) and Muhammad Kâzîm (the 'Alamgirnamâmah), but somewhat superior to his friend Mirzâ Nizâmuddîn Ahmad of Herât, author of the Tabaqât, and to 'Abdul Hamîd of Lâhôr, author of the Pâshâhnamâmah. 'Abdul Qadir of Badaon must not be confounded with Maulana Qâdiri, another learned man contemporary with Akbar.

3 Ride Badaonî III, p. 118; and for Hájî Ibrâhim, III, p. 139.
learned men translated also into Persian the Ramâyana, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rám Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Hájí Ibrâhîm of Sarhind translated into Persian the At'harbân1 which, according to the Hindus, is one of the four divine books. The Lilawati, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian Mathematicians on Arithmetic, lost its Hindû veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdul Faiez i Faiz.2

At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khán of Gujrat translated into Persian the Tájâk, a well known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs3 of Bâbar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a Code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirzâ

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1. In this year (A. H. 983, or A. D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaikh Báwan, had come from the Dekhân and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the At'harbân. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of the Islám. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh Báwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizî, and then Hájí Ibrâhîm, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the At'harbân, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter 3 and resembles very much our 6d ìllah ìlallah. Besides, I found that a Hindû, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindús bury their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Brahmins in argument; and they had in fact led him to embrace Islám. Let us praise God for his conversion!"

2. Badáomi II. p. 212.

The translation of the Mahâbhârat was not quite a failure. "For two nights, His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahâbhârat, and told Naqib Kháán to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqib Kháán; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless abridgments—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a Harâmkhur and a turnip-eater, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqib Kháán and Mullâ Shérf, and another part by Sultân Hájí of Thanészar; then Shaikh Faizî was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Hájí wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred jus together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue now-and-then the fight between Pandûs and the Kurús. May God Almighty protect those that are not engaged in this work, and accept their repentance, and hear the prayer of pardon of every one who does not hide his disgust, and whose heart rests in the Islám; for ' He allows men to return to Him in repentance!' This Razmînâmah was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and Abdul Fazl wrote an introduction to it of about two jus, &c." Badáomi II. p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen fâns (3)4 s among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One jus (Josh) = sixteen pages quarto, or two sheets.

3. This work has been printed. Abul-fazl's words Hindû veilt are an allusion to Lilawati's sex.

'Abdurrahim Khán, the present Khán Khánán (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmirian into Persian by Mauláná Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád. The Mu'jam ul Buldán, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'háh, Qi̇sid Bég, Shaikh Munawwar, and others. The Haríbás, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mauláná Sherí (Vide the poetical extracts of the second book). By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the Kálílah Damnah, and published it under the title of 'Áyd-Ár Dánish. The original is a master-piece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naqûtulláh i AṣmauSh and Mauláná Husain i Wáiz had translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindí story of the Love of Nal and Daman, which melts the heart of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my brother Shaikh Faizi i Fayyázi, in the masnawi metre of the Lailí Majnú, and is now everywhere known under the title of Nal Daman. As His Majesty has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several well informed writers to compose a work containing the events which have taken place in the seven zones for the last one thousand years. Naqib Khán, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullá Ahmad of T'hat'háh, and the whole concluded by Ja'far Bég i Aṣaf Khán. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of Taríkh i Aṣf, the History of a thousand years.

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1 "During this year (A. H. 999, or A. D. 1590-91,) I received the order from His Majesty, to re-write, in an easy style, the History of Kashmir, which Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád, a very learned man, had translated into Persian. I finished this undertaking in two months, when my work was put into the Imperial Library, to be read out to His Majesty in its turn." Badbóní, II. p. 374.

2 Regarding the tragic end of this "heretic," vide Badbóní II. p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of Badbóní.

3 For Iyár i Dánish. Such abbreviations are common in titles.

4 " Faizi's Naldaman (for Nal o Da- man contains about 4200 verses, and was composed, A. H. 1003, in the short space of five months. It was presented to Akbar with a few ashráf as nazár. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqib Khán was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a masnawi, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khusrau of Dihlí, has composed." Badbóní, II. p. 396.

5 In A. H. 1000, A. D. 1691-92, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that the Islám and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be Imám Mahdí, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badbóní's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the Din i Iláhí. The Túrikh i Áṣf was likewise given prominence to this idea.

The copy of the Túrikh i Áṣf in
The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called taqawir. His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Darogahs and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and master-pieces, worthy of a Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, &c., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.

Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention:

1. Mir Sayyid 'Ali of Tabriz. He learned the art from his father. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success.

2. Khâjah Abduqqamad, styled Shirinigalam, or sweet pen. He comes from Shiraz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee of the Court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khâjah's pupils became masters.

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the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 19,) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of 'Umar ibn i 'Abdul Malik (A. H. 99, or A. D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, ride Baddoni, II. p. 317.

"Bihzad was a famous painter, who lived at the Court of Shâh Isma'il i Çafa-wi of Persia." Sirdjullughât.

* Compare with Abu'l-fazl's opinion, Elphinstone's History of India, second edition, p. 174.

* Better known as a poet under the name of Judâ. Vide the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the Story of Amir Hamzah, mentioned on the next page.

* He was a Chahârdâd. Vide the list of grandees, in the second book, No. 266.
3. Daswant’h. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love to his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khájah. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many master-pieces.

4. Basáwan. In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so, that many critics prefer him to Daswant’h.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Késú, Lál, Mukund, Mushkín, Farrukh the Qálmaq (Calmuck), Mádhú, Jagan, Mohesh, K’ómkrán, Tárá, Sáýwáh, Haríbah, Rám. It would take me too long to describe the excellencies of each. My intention is “to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf.”

I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: “There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.”

The number of master-pieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The Story of Hamzah was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznámah, the Zafarnámah, this book, the Razmnámah, the Ramáyan, the Náli Daman, the Kalilah Danmah, the ‘Aýár Dánish, &c., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses

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1 Mentioned in the Madáir i Ráhími (p. 763) as in the service of Abdurrahim Khán Khánán, Akbar’s Commander-in-Chief.

taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away, have received a new life, and those who are still alive, have immortality promised them.

In the same manner, as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line-drawers, and pagers.

Many Mansabdars, Ahadis, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1200 to 600 dāms.

ATN 35.

THE ARSENAL.

The order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes. Thus a plated armour was brought before His Majesty, and set up as a target; but no bullet was so powerful as to make an impression on it. A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies. His Majesty also looks into the prices of such as are sold in the bāzārs.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords, (khḍāḥah swords) one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the Harem, who keep it till its turn comes again. Forty other swords are kept in readiness: they are called kotal swords. When the number of khḍāḥah swords (in consequence of presents, &c.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the kotal swords. There are also twelve Yakbandi (†), the turn of every one of which recurs after one week. Of Jāmdhars and K'hapwahs, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty kotal, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and barchkas are required monthly. Of eighty-six Masshadī bows, Bhaddyan bows, and twenty-four others, are returned monthly....

In the same manner a rank is assigned to each.

Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the Bdr i 'Am, or Levee, the sons of the Amirs, and other Mansabdārs and Ahadīs, carry the Qur in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e., every four of them carry four

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1 I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word yakbandi is not in the Dictionaries.

2 The text has an unintelligible sentence.
quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyāzī* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a foot-stool, all properly arranged. Several *qitārs* of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels, they use Bactrian camels, &c., for that purpose. At Court receptions the Amir and other people stand opposite the *Qur*, ready for any service; and on the march, they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, naqqárahs, flags, the kankabahs, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the *Qur*, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mirbakhshis. In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses.

In order to shorten the trouble of making references, I shall enumerate the weapons now in use in form of a table, and give pictures of some of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Swords (slightly bent)</td>
<td>½ R. to 15 Muhurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>K'hándah (straight swords)</td>
<td>1 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gupti 'Açá (a sword in a walking stick)</td>
<td>2 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Janal'har (a broad dagger)</td>
<td>½ R. to 2½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Khanjar</td>
<td>½ R. to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>K'hapwah,</td>
<td>½ R. to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Jam K'hák,</td>
<td>¼ R. to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bāṅk,</td>
<td>½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jhanbwañ</td>
<td>½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Katárah,</td>
<td>¼ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Narsink Mo't'hí,</td>
<td>½ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Kamáñ (bows)</td>
<td>¼ R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Takl̓sh Kamán,</td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Náwak,</td>
<td>½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Arrows, <em>per bundle</em>,</td>
<td>¼ to 30 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Quivers,</td>
<td>¼ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Dûdî,</td>
<td>¼ to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Tirbardár (Arrow drawers),</td>
<td>¼ to 2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Paikánkash (Do.),</td>
<td>¼ to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Naizah (a lance),</td>
<td>1½ R. to 6 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Barékhah,</td>
<td>½ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Sánk,</td>
<td>½ to 1½ R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Five camels are called *qitār*, in Hind, *qatār*. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.

2 If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be *fir i parāhār*, an arrow with a *feather* at the bottom of the shaft, a *barbed arrow*. 
23. Sain't'hí, ........................................... ½ to 1 R.
24. Sélarah, ........................................... 10 d. to ½ R.
25. Gurz (a war club,) .............................. ½ to 5 R.
26. Shaahpar (do.), ................................... ½ R. to 3 M.
27. Késtan (?), ......................................... 1 to 3 R.
28. Tabar (a war axe), ............................... ½ R. to 2 M.
29. Piyází (a club), .................................... ½ to 5 R.
30. Zághnól (a pointed axe)....................... ½ R. to 1 M.
31. Chakar-Básólah, ................................... 1 to 6 R.
32. Tabar zághnól, ..................................... 1 to 4 R.
33. Tarangúlah, ........................................ ½ to 2 R.
34. Kárd (a knife) ..................................... 2 d. to 1 M.
35. Guti kárd, .......................................... 3 R. to 1½ R.
36. Qamchi kárd, ...................................... 1 to 3½ R.
37. Cháquí (a clasp knife) ......................... 2 d. to ½ R.
38. Kamán i Guróhah (bullet bow) ............... 2 d. to 1 R.
39. Kam't'hah, .......................................... 5 d. to 3 R.
40. Tufak i dahán (a tube; Germ. Blaserohr) .... 10 d. to ½ R.
41. Pushthkhr, .......................................... 2 d. to 2 R.
42. Shaçtáwéz, ......................................... 2 d. to 1 R.
43. Girikhushá, ........................................ 1 d. to ½ R.
44. Khár i Máhi, ........................................ 1 to 5 R.
45. Góbhan (a sling) ................................... 1½ d. to ½ R.
46. Gajbág, ................................................ 1 to 5 R.
47. Sipar (a shield), .................................... 1 to 50 R.
48. Dhal, .................................................. ½ R. to 4 M.
49. K'herah, ............................................. 1 R. to 4 M.
50. Pahri, ................................................. 1 R. to 1 M.
51. Udánah, .............................................. ½ to 5 R.
52. Dubulghah, .......................................... ½ R. to 3½ M.
53. K'hóg'hi, ............................................ 1 to 4 R.
54. Zirih Kuláh, ......................................... 1 to 5 R.
55. G'húg'huwhah, ..................................... 1 R. to 2 M.
56. Jaibah, ............................................... 20 R. 30 M.

* This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. Vide my Text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The Dictionaries give no information.
* Vide Journal As. Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 61.
* A weapon resembling the following. The word Shaçtáwéz, or more correctly shastáwéz, means a thing by which you can hook anything. In Vullers' Persian Dicty. II. p. 426, b, read biz for panír (').
* This word is used in a general sense, an armour. It is either Turkish, or a corruption of the Arab, jubbah. The form jaibá is occasionally met with; but jabbah, as given by Vullers I, p. 508 a., is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.
57. Zirih, ........................................ 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 100 M.
58. Bagtar, ........................................ 4 R. to 12 M.
59. Jushan, ........................................ 4 R. to 9 M.
60. Char Afnah, .................................... 2 R. to 7 M.
61. Kofhi, ........................................... 5 R. to 8 M.
62. Qadiq, ........................................... 3 R. to 8 M.
63. Angirk'hah, ..................................... 1$\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 5 M.
64. Bhanju, ......................................... 3 R. to 2 M.
65. Chihrahzirih i Ahani, ........................... 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
66. Salhqa, ........................................... 5 R. to 8 M.
67. Chihiqad, ........................................ 5 to 25 R.
68. Dastwana, ....................................... 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
69. Rak, .............................................. 1 R. to 10 M.
70. Kunt'hah sobha, ................................. 1 to 10 R.
71. Mozah i Ahani .................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 10 R.
72. Kajem, ........................................... 50 to 300 R.
73. Artak (the quilt) i Kajem, ....................... 4 R. to 7 M.
74. Qashqah .......................................... 1 R. to 2$\frac{1}{4}$ M.
75. Gardani .......................................... 1 R. to 1 M.
76. Matchlocks ...................................... 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
77. Ban (rockets) .................................... 2$\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 R.

ATN 36.

ON GUNS.

Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the state; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 mans; several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a king, and therefore devotes to it much of his time. Darughahs and clever clerks are appointed, to keep the whole in proper working order.

His Majesty has made several inventions, which have astonished the whole world. He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to

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1 According to some MSS. rdg.

2 The figure represents a long spear; but the etymology, as also its position in the list of weapons, shows that it must be a part of the armour, a neck-piece.

* A round shield-like plate of iron attached to the neck of the horse and hanging down so as to protect the chest of the animal.
pieces, and properly put again together when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match. Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name of Gajnáls. Guns which a single man may carry, are called Narnáls.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each Súbah has that kind which is fit for it. For the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches. It is impossible to count every gun; besides clever workmen make continually new ones, especially Gajnáls and Narnáls.

Amirs and Ahadís are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 d.

ATN 37.

ON MATCHLOCKS, &c.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a markman. Matchlocks are now made so strong, that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one edge open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun; or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long, and go by the name of Damának. The gunstocks are differently made. From the practical knowledge of His Majesty, guns are now made in such a manner that they can be fired off, without a match, by a slight movement of the cock. Bullets are also made, so as to cut like a sword. Through the assistance of the inventive genius of His Majesty, there are now many masters to be found among gunmakers; e.g., Uståd Kabir, and Husain.

Iron, when heated, loses about one-half of its volume.
When a barrel is completed lengthways, before the transverse bottom piece is fixed to it, they engrave on it the quantity of its iron and the length, both being expressed in numerals. A barrel thus far finished, is called\\n. In this imperfect state they are sent to His Majesty, and delivered, in proper order, at the Harem, to which place they are also brought for.... At the same time, the weight of the ball is fixed, and the order is given for the transverse section of the matchlock. For long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty-five tins, and for smaller ones, fifteen. But balls of the former weight no one but His Majesty would dare to fire. When the barrels are polished, they are again sent to the Harem, and preserved in proper order. They are afterwards taken out, and closed by the order of His Majesty with a transverse bottom piece. Having been put to an old stock, they are filled to one-third of the barrel with powder, and fired off. If no tariwishes takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouth piece of the barrel. After this the gun is again placed on the stock, and subjected to a trial. If the ball issues in a crooked line, the barrel is heated, and straightened by means of a rod introduced into it, and, in the presence of His Majesty, handed over to a file. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the Harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected, and completed at His Majesty’s command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the purgaz; as soon as all these things have been completed, a new trial is ordered; and when it succeeds, they send in the gun, and deliver it a third time at the Harem. In this state the gun is called sâdah (plain). Five bullets are sent along with it. His Majesty, after trying it in the manner above described, returns it with the fifth bullet. The order for the colour of the barrel and the stock is now given; one of the nine kinds of colour is selected for the stock. Guns also differ in the quantity of inlaid gold

1 The text has an unintelligible word; the variates lectores are marked on p. 125 of my text edition. Note (13). The Bândârs MS. has. The word appears to be a foreign term. Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Vide Tuzuk-i-Jahângir, p. 16.

2 Tariwishes means a trickling; the particular meaning which it here has, is unclear and not given in the Dictionaries. Purgaz, or Purjaz, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the Dicts., and appears to be unknown at the present day.
and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called rangin (coloured). It is now, as before, handed over together with five bullets; His Majesty makes four trials, and returns it with the last ball. When ten of such guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and the butt end with gold. They are then again sent for trial into the Harem, and whenever ten are quite complete, they are handed over to the slaves.

ATN 38. THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow. The plate will best shew what sort of a machine it is.

ATN 39. THE RANKS OF THE GUNS.

The Imperial Arsenal contains manufactured, purchased, and presented, guns. Each of them is either long, or short; and these are again subdivided into sadah (plain), rangin, (coloured), and koftkar (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as khacah, i.e., for his special use. First, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. Secondly, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. Thirdly, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. Fourthly, thirty-one kotals. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, kotals are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; kotals; plain; coloured; koftkar, not handed over to the slaves; koftkar, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from pehkaah presents, or from such as were bought; Damankaah, selected from pehkaah, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five khacah guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a kishk, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays, two are taken from the first; four from the second; five from the third; four from the fourth. This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second; four from the third; five from
the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first; five from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such ḥāṣah guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half kotals, fourteen; quarter kotals, seven; one-eighth kotals, four; one-sixteenth kotals, two; one-thirty second kotals, one. When kotal guns are given away, they bring half kotals; similarly, the place of a gun, when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the Harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the Harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the kotals, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the koftkār not in charge of the slaves, the koftkār in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected Damdānak, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (i.e., ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the Harem.

His Majesty practises often. When he has tried each gun, he commences from the beginning; and when each gun has been used four times, it is sent away and replaced by a new one of each kind. If guns have been left unused at the beginning of a new month, they are placed last, and the guns for the current month are put first.

An order has also been given to the writers to write down the game killed by His Majesty with the particulars of the guns used. Thus it was found that with the gun, which has the name of Sangrām, one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty’s private guns, and is used during the Farwardin month of the present era.

ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.


1 A man placed over ten. The rank of the Mirdahā appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul Armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a Dabhāshī, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a Dabhāshī was the lowest Mansabdār rank (vide the second book). Mirdahā is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after ten horses.
THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANT STABLES.

This wonderful animal is in bulk and strength like a mountain; and in courage and ferocity like a lion. It adds materially to the pomp of a king and to the success of a conqueror; and is of the greatest use for the army. Experienced men of Hindustan put the value of a good elephant equal to five hundred horse; and they believe, that when guided by a few bold men armed with matchlocks, such an elephant alone is worth double that number. In vehemence on one side, and submissiveness to the reins on the other, the elephant is like an Arab, whilst in point of obedience and attentiveness to even the slightest signs, it resembles an intelligent human being. In restiveness when full-blooded, and in vindictiveness, it surpasses man. An elephant never hurts the female, though she be the cause of his captivity; he never will fight with young elephants, nor does he think it proper to punish them. From a sense of gratitude, he does his keepers no harm, nor will he throw dust over his body, when he is mounted, though he often does so at other times. Once an elephant, during the rutting season, was fighting with another. When he was in the height of excitement, a small elephant came in his way: he kindly lifted up the small one with his trunk, set him aside, and then renewed the combat. If a male elephant breaks loose during the rutting season, in order to have his own way, few people have the courage to approach him; and some bold and experienced man will have to get on a female elephant, and try to get near him and tie a rope round his foot. Female elephants, when mourning the loss of a young one, will often abstain from food and drink; they sometimes even die from grief.

The elephant can be taught various feats. He learns to remember such melodies as can only be remembered by people acquainted with music; he will move his limbs, to keep time, and exhibit his skill in various ways. He will shoot off an arrow from a bow, discharge a matchlock, and will learn to pick up things that have been dropped, and hand them over to the keeper. Sometimes they get grain to eat wrapped up in hay; this they hide in the side of their mouth, and give it back to the keeper, when they are alone with him.

The teats of a female elephant, and the womb, resemble those of woman. The tongue is round like that of a parrot. The testicles are not visible. Elephants frequently with their trunks take water out of their stomachs, and sprinkle themselves with it. Such water has no offensive smell. They also take out of their stomach grass on the second day, without its having undergone any change.
The price of an elephant varies from a lakṣ to one hundred rupees; elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common.

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. Bhūddār. It is well proportioned, has an erect head, a broad chest, large ears, a long tail, and is bold, and can bear fatigue. They take out of his forehead an excrescence resembling a large pearl, which they call in Hindi Gaj manik. Many properties are ascribed to it. 2. Mand. It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized belly, a long penis, and is wild and ungovernable. 3. Mirī. It has a whitish skin, with black spots; the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, yellow, black, and white. 4. Mir. It has a small head, and obeys readily. It gets frightened, when it thunders.

From a mixture of these four kinds are formed others of different names and properties. The colour of the skin of elephants is threefold: white, black, grey. Again, according to the threefold division of the dispositions assigned by the Hindus to the mind, namely, sat benevolence, raj love of sensual enjoyment, and tam irascibility, which shall be further explained below, elephants are divided into three classes. First, such in which sat predominates. They are well proportioned, good looking, eat moderately, are very submissive, do not care for intercourse with the female, and live to a very old age. Secondly, such in whose disposition raj prevails. They are savage looking, and proud, bold, ungovernable, and voracious. Lastly, such as are full of tam. They are self-willed, destructive, and given to sleep and voraciousness.

The time of gestation of the female is generally eighteen lunar months. For three months the fluida germinalia intermix in the womb of the female; when agitated, the mass looks like quicksilver. Towards the fifth month the fluida settle, and get gelatinous. In the seventh month, they get more solid, and draw to perfection towards the ninth month. In the eleventh, the outline of a body is visible; and in the twelfth, the veins, bones, hoofs, and

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1 During the reigns of Akbar's successor, the price of a well trained war elephant rose much higher. Vide Tunuk i Jahāngīrī, p. 198. At the time of Shāhjahān, the first white elephant was brought from Pégū, Pādīskhānamah, I. p. 267.

2 This excrescence is also called Gajmotti, or elephants' pearl. Forbes has, also Gajmanik, and the Dalil i Sāti, Gaj wati?

3 In the fourth book of this work.

4 The time is differently given. The emperor Jahāngīr says in his Memoirs (p. 130):—During this month, a female elephant in my stables gave birth before my own eyes. I had often expressed the wish to have the time of gestation of the female elephant correctly determined. It is now certain that a female birth takes place after sixteen, and a male birth after nineteen months [the emperor means evidently solar months]; and the process is different from what it is with man, the fetus being born with the feet foremost. Aftergiving birth, the female at once covers the young one with earth and dust, and continually caresses it, whilst the young one sinks down every moment trying to reach the teats of the mother. Vide Lt. Johnstone’s remarks on the same subject, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1868.
hairs, make their appearance. In the thirteenth month, the genitalia become distinguishable, and in the fifteenth, the process of quickening commences. If the female, during gestation, gets stronger, the foetus is sure to be a male; but if she gets weak, it is the sign of a female. During the sixteenth month, the formation becomes still more perfect, and the life of the foetus becomes quite distinct. In the seventeenth month, there is every chance of a premature birth, on account of the efforts made by the foetus to move, till, in the eighteenth month, the young one is born.

According to others, the sperm gets solid in the first month; the eyes, ears, the nose, mouth, and tongue, are formed in the second; in the third month, the limbs make their appearance; in the fourth month, the foetus grows and gets strong; in the fifth, it commences to quicken; in the sixth, it gets sense, which appears more marked during the seventh month; in the eighth, there is some chance of a miscarriage; during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months, the foetus grows, and is born during the twelfth. It will be a male young one, if the greater part of the sperm came from the male; and it will be a female young one, if the reverse is the case. If the sperm of both the male and female is equal in quantity, the young one will be a hermaphrodite. The male foetus lies towards the right side; the female towards the left; a hermaphrodite in the middle.

Female elephants have often for twelve days a red discharge, after which gestation commences. During that period, they look startled, sprinkle themselves with water and earth, keep ears and tail upwards, and go rarely away from the male. They will rub themselves against the male, bend their heads below his tusks, smell at his urine and dung, and cannot bear to see another female near him. Sometimes, however, a female shows aversion to intercourse with the male, and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called bdī. When ten years old, they are named pūt; when twenty years old, bikka; when thirty years old, kalbāh. In fact the animal changes appearance every year, and then gets a new name. When sixty years old, the elephant is full grown. The skull then looks like two halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing

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The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean: In the seventeenth month, the effort of the foetus to move causes the female to sink down.
fans.' White eyes mixed with yellow, black, and red, are looked upon as a sign of excellence. The forehead must be flat without swellings or wrinkles. The trunk is the nose of the animal, and is so long as to touch the ground. With it, it takes up the food and puts it into the mouth; similarly, it sucks up water with it, and then throws it into the stomach. It has eighteen teeth; sixteen of them are inside the mouth, eight above and eight below, and two are the tusks outside. The latter are one and more yards long, round, shining, very strong, white, or sometimes reddish, and straight, the end slightly bent upwards. Some elephants have four tusks. With a view to usefulness as also to ornament, they cut off the top of the tusks, which grow again. With some elephants they have to cut the tusks annually; with others after two or three years; but they do not like to cut them when an elephant is ten and eighty years old. An elephant is perfect when it is eight dast high, nine dast long, and ten dast round the belly, and along the back. Again, nine limbs ought to touch the ground, namely, the fore feet, the hind feet, the trunk, the tusks, the penis, the tail. White spots on the forehead are considered lucky, whilst a thick neck is looked upon as a sign of beauty. Long hairs on and about the ears point to good origin.

Some elephants rut in winter, some in summer, some in the rains. They are then very fierce, they pull down houses, throw down stone walls, and will lift up with their trunks a horse and and its rider. But elephants differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks grand; in this state he gets the name of Tafti or Sarhari. When the above discharge exudes from a place a little higher than the soft parts between the ears and the temples, the elephant is called Singsdhal; and when the fluid trickles from all three places, Teljor. When hot, elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men, or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

The Bhaddar rats in Libra and Scorpio; the Maud in spring; the Mirg in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the Mir in any season. Elephant drivers

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1 Ghallah afshán. This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse, collect near the side which is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use sieves for such purposes.
have a drug which causes an artificial heat; but it often endangers the life of the beast. The noise of battle makes some superior elephants just as fierce as at the rutting season; even a sudden start may have such an effect. Thus His Majesty's elephant Gajmuktah; he gets brisk, as soon as he hears the sound of the Imperial drum, and gets the above mentioned discharge. This peculiar heat generally makes its first appearance, when elephants have reached the age of thirty; sometimes, however, earlier, at an age of twenty-five. Sometimes the heat lasts for years, and some of the Imperial elephants have continued for five years in an uninterrupted alacrity. But it is mostly male elephants that get hot. They then commence to throw up earth, and run after a female, or roll about in mud, and daub themselves all over with dirt. When hot, they are very irritable, and yawn a great deal, though they sleep but little. At last, they even discontinue eating, and dislike the foot-chain; they try to get loose, and behave noisily.

The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years.

The Hindi language has several words for an elephant, as hasti, gaj, pil, hadhi, &c. Under the hands of an experienced keeper, it will much improve, so that its value, in a short time, may rise from one hundred to ten thousand rupees.

The Hindus believe that the eight points of the earth are each guarded by a heavenly being in the shape of an elephant; they have curious legends regarding them. Their names are as follows: 1. Airadwata, in the East; 2. Pandarika, South-east; 3. Baman, South; 4. Kumada, South-west; 5. Anjun, West; 6. Puppadanta, North-west; 7. Sardhabhuma, North; 8. Supratika, North-east. When occasions arise, people read incantations in their names, and address them in worship. They also think that every elephant in the world is the offspring of one of them. Thus, elephants of a white skin and white hairs are related to the first; elephants with a large head, and long hairs, of a fierce and bold temper, and eyelids far apart, belong to the second; such as are . . . . 1', good looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third; if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth; if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-foot, from the fifth; if fearful, with prominent veins, with a short hump and ears, and a long trunk, from the sixth; if thin-bellied, red-eyed, and with a long trunk, from the seventh; and if of a combination of the preceding seven qualities, from the eighth.

1 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps khushean, graceful, is the correct reading.
The Hindus also make the following division into eight classes. 1. Elephants whose skin is not wrinkled, who are never sick, who are grand looking, do not run away from the battle-field, dislike meat, and prefer clean food at proper times, are said to be Dēvo mīṣādī (of a divine temper). 2. Such as possess all the good qualities of elephants, and are quick in learning, moving about the head, ears, trunk, forelegs, hind legs, and the tail, and do no one harm, except they be ordered to do so, are Gandharva mīṣādī (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are Barhamān mīṣādī (of a brahminical temper). 4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernable, are said to have the temper of a Kheti, or warrior. 5. Those which are of a low stature, and forgetful, self-willed in their own work, and neglectful in that of their master, fond of unclean food, and spiteful towards other elephants, are Sūdra mīṣādī. 6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a serpent. 7. Such as squint, and are slow to learn, or feign to be hot, have the temper of a Pāhcē (spectre). 8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a Rūchhas (demon).

The Hindus have written many books in explanation of these various temperaments, as also many treatises on the diseases of the elephants, their causes and proper remedies.

Elephants are chiefly found in the Sūbah of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Sūbah of Ilahbād (Allahabad), in the confines of Pātah (?), and G'horāghāt, and Ratanpur, Nandāpur, Sargachh, and Bustar; and in the Sūbah of Mālwah, near Handiyah, Uchchod, Chandēri, Santwās, Bijāgarh, Rāūsin, Hoshangābād, Ghādi, Haryāghāth; in the Sūbah of Bhurā, in the neighbourhood of Rahtās and Chār K'hand; and in the Sūbah of Bengal, in Orissā, and Sātgaū (Hāgli). The elephants of Pātah (?) are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindi sahn. They vary in number; sometimes a herd amounts to a thousand elephants. Wild elephants are very cautious. In winter and summer, they select a proper place, and break down

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1 Narwar, where Ablu Fazl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Sālim (Jahāngīr). Long. 77° 58'; G'horāghāt, near Dinagpore, Long. 8° 17', Lat. 25° 12'; Ratanpur (Abul Fazl evidently means the one south-east of Sargachh) Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 14'; Sargachh, Long. 83° 8', Lat. 23° 8'; Bustar, Long. 81° 58', Lat. 19° 13'. The towns from Handiyah to Haryāghāth lie all between Long. 75° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Gvālīār). For Uchchod (اچھود) the third book has Unchchod (اونچھود)-the Fort of Rahtās, the scene of Sher Shāh's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38'. The name Pātah (پتاہ) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have now-a-days disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abul Fazl.
a whole forest near their sleeping place. For the sake of pleasure, or for
food and drink, they often travel over great distances. On the journey one
runs far in front of the others, like a sentinel; a young female is generally
selected for this purpose. When they go to sleep, they send out to the
four sides of the sleeping place pickets of four female elephants, which
relieve each other.

Elephants will lift up their young ones, for three or four days after
their birth, with their trunks, and put them on their backs, or lay them over
their tusks. They also prepare medicines for the females when they are
sick or in labour pains, and crowd round about them. When some of them
got caught, the female elephants break through the nets, and pull down the
elephant-drivers. And when a young elephant falls into a snare, they hide
themselves in an ambush, go at night to the place where the young one is,
set it at liberty, and trample the hunters to death. Sometimes its mother
slowly approaches alone, and frees it in some clever way. I have heard the
following story from His Majesty.—"Once a wild young one had fallen into
a pit. As night had approached, we did not care to pull it out immediately,
and left it; but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that
some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken logs and grass, and thus
pulled out the young one." Again, "Once a female elephant played us a trick.
She feigned to be dead. We passed her, and went onwards; but when at
night we returned, we saw no trace left of her."

There was once an elephant in the Imperial stables, named Ayds. For
some reason, it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watch-
ing for an opportunity. Once at night, it found him asleep. It got hold
of a long piece of wood, managed to pull off with it the man's turban, seized
him by his hair, and tore him asunder.

Many examples are on record of the extraordinary cleverness of
elephants; in some cases it is difficult to believe them.

Kings have always shown a great predilection for this animal, and done
every thing in their power to collect a large number. Elephant-keepers
are much esteemed, and a proper rank is assigned to such as have a special
knowledge of the animal. Wicked, low men see in an elephant a means of law-
lessness; and unprincipled evildoers, with the help of this animal, carry on
their nefarious trade. Hence kings of former times never succeeded in
suppressing the rebellious, and were thus disappointed in their best intentions.
But His Majesty, though overwhelmed with other important matters, has
been able, through God's assistance and his numerous elephants, to check
those low but haughty men; he teaches them to desire submission, and
bestows upon them, by wise laws, the blessings of peace.

His Majesty divided the Imperial elephants into sections, which he
put in charge of honest Darogahs. Certain elephants were also declared khaqah, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

**ATN 42.**

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a seven-fold division, based upon experience; 1. *Mast* (full blood); 2. *Shorgir* (tiger-seizing); 3. *Sadah* (plain); 4. *Manjholah* (middlemost); 5. *Karha*; 6. *Phandurkiya*; 7. *Mokal*. The first class comprises young elephants, possessed of the peculiar heat which renders the animal so strong. The second class contains likewise young ones, which once or twice have given signs of perfection, and exhibit an uninterrupted alacrity. The third class comprehends useful elephants, which are nearly as good as the preceding. The fourth class contains elephants of a somewhat inferior value. Those of the fifth class are younger than those of the fourth. The elephants of the sixth class are smaller than those of the fifth. The last class contains all young ones still unfit for use.

Each class is divided into three subdivisions, viz., large sized, middle, young ones; the last class contains ten kinds. A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class.

**ATN 43.**

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO THE ELEPHANTS.

Formerly the classification of the elephants was never attended to; hence in feeding them a large quantity of the stores was wasted. But when His Majesty, soon after lifting the veil, commenced to care for the happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired to, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Mast elephants*. Large ones get daily 2 mans 24 sere; middle-sized, 2 m. 19 s.; small ones, 2 m. 14 s. 2. *Shorgir*. Large ones, 2 m. 9 s.; middle-sized ones, 2 m. 4 s.; small ones, 1 m. 39 s. 3. *Sadahs*. Large ones, 1 m. 34 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 29 s.; small ones, 1 m. 24 s. 4. *Manjholahs*. Large ones, 1 m. 22 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 20 s.; small ones, 1 m. 18 s. 5. *Karhas*. Large ones, 1 m. 14 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 9 s.; small ones, 1 m. 4 s. 6. *Phandurkiyas*. Large ones, 1 m.; middle-sized ones, 36 s.; small ones, 32 s. 7. *Mokals*. Large ones, 26 s.; middle-sized ones, 24 s.; third class, 22 s.; fourth class, 20 s.; fifth class,

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1 The same phrase as on p. 13, l. 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bairam fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.
Female elephants have been divided into four classes, viz., large ones, middle-sized ones, small ones, Mokals. The first two classes are divided into three; the third, into four; the fourth, into nine subdivisions.

1. **Large ones.** Big, 1 m. 22 s.; middling, 1 m. 18 s.; small ones, 1 m. 14 s.
2. **Middle-sized ones.** Big, 1 m. 10 s.; middling, 1 m. 6 s.; small, 1 m. 2 s.
3. **Small ones.** Big, 37 s.; middling, 32 s.; small, 27 s.; still smaller, 22 s.
4. **Mokals.**
   - First class, 22 s.; second, 20 s.; third, 18 s.; fourth, 16 s.; fifth, 14 s.; sixth, 12 s.; seventh, 10 s.; eighth, 8 s.; ninth, 6 s.

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**THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.**

1. **Mast** elephants. There are five and a half servants for each, viz.,
   - a **Maháwat**, who sits on the neck of the animal and directs its movements. He must be acquainted with its good and bad properties, and thus contribute to its usefulness. He gets 200 dáms per month; but if the elephant be bhutakar, i.e., wicked and addicted to pulling down the driver, he gets 220 d. **Secondly,** a **Bhoi**, who sits behind, upon the rump of the elephant, and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the Maháwat. His monthly pay is 110 d. **Thirdly,** the **Mot’hs**, of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A met’h fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. Mot’hs of all classes get on the march four dáms daily, and at other times, three and a half.

   2. For every _Shagir_, there are five servants, viz., a Maháwat, at 180 d.; a Bhoi, at 103 d.; and three Met’hs as before.

   3. For every _Sádah_, there are four and a half servants, viz., a Maháwat, at 160 d.; a Bhoi at 90 d.; and two and a half Met’hs.

   4. For every _Manjholah_, there are four servants; viz., a Maháwat, at 140 d.; a Bhoi, at 80 d.; and two Met’hs.

   5. For every _Kára,_ there are three and a half servants; viz., a Maháwat at 120 d.; a Bhoi at 70 d.; and one and a half Met’hs.

   6. For every _Phandurkiya_, there are two servants; viz., a Maháwat, at 100 d., and a Met’h.

   7. For every _Mokal_, there are likewise two servants; viz., a Maháwat, at 50 d., and a Met’h.

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1. _i.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy._
Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, viz., a Maháwat at 100 d.; a Bhoi, at 60 d., two Mot’hs. 2. Middle sized ones have three and a half servants; viz., a Maháwat, at 80 d.; a Bhoi, at 50 d.; and one and a half Mot’hs. 3. Small ones have two; viz., a Maháwat, at 60 d.; and a Mot’h. 4. Mokals have likewise two; viz. a Maháwat, at 60 d., and a Mot’h.

The Faujdar.

His Majesty has appointed a Superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty, elephants. Such a troop is called a halqah; the superintendent is called Faujdar. His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants; he teaches them to be bold, and to stand firm at the sight of fire, and at the noise of artillery; and he is responsible for their behaviour in these respects. When a Faujdar is raised to the dignity of a Çadi (a commander of one hundred), or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other Faujdars, as Bistís (commanders of twenty) and Dabháshís (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the Dabháshís up to the Hazáris (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the Çadí is different. Some Faujdars have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A Çadí marks two horses. A Bisti of the first grade has 30 Rupees per mensem; second grade, 25 R.; third grade, 20 R. A Dabháshi of the first grade has twenty R.; second grade, 16 R.; third grade, 12 R. Bistís and Dabháshís mark one horse, and belong to the Ahádis. Such Faujdars as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves, have to pay the wages of the Mahiwat and of one Bhoi of that elephant, which they select for their own use; but such as have twenty or ten, only pay for a Maháwat.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several halqahs in charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them. The fodder also is now supplied by the government. A trustworthy clerk has, besides, been appointed, who is in charge of the correspondence of this branch; he looks after the receipts and expenditure, and sees that the orders of His Majesty are carried out. He also parades the elephants in the order described below (Aín 78).

AÍN 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The Dharnah is a large chain, made of iron, gold, or silver. It is made of sixty oval links, each weighing three seras; but the chain differs in length and thickness according to the strength of the elephant. One end of
the chain is fixed in the ground, or fastened to a pillar; the other end is tied to the left hind leg of the elephant. Formerly, they fastened this chain to the forefoot; but as this is injurious for the chest of the elephant, His Majesty ordered to discontinue the usage.

2. The Andú is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The Beri is a chain for fastening both hindfeet.

4. The Baland is a fetter for the hindfeet, an invention of His Majesty. It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The Gaddh beri resembles the Andú, and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants.

6. The Loh langar is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such an extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The Charkhi is a piece of hollowed bamboo, half a yard and two tassújes long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fuzeé wrap of paper, is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round, and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire; but people had much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all.

8. Andhíydrí, i. e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into Uyádhí, i. e., light, is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, &c., and tied with two ends to the Kíláwah (next). When the elephant is unruly, it is let fall, so that he cannot see. This has been the saving of many. As it often gives way, especially when the elephant is very wild, His Majesty had three heavy bells attached to the ends of the canvas, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The Kíláwah consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half

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1 This should be Káláwah. Abulâzîl edition, p. 136, l. 16. It looks as if Abulâzîl had mistaken this Persian word
yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without however being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is; the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the kaláwah, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The Dult'hi is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a stick. This they tie over the kaláwah, to strengthen it.

11. The Koundi is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the kaláwah, and prick the elephant's ears with it, in order to make the animal wild, or to urge it on.

12. The Diw is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied, it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

13. The Gadelah, is a cushion put on the back of the elephant, below the dult'hi. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

14. The Gudanto is a chain of brass. They attach it near the tail, which it prevents from getting injured by the dult'hi. It is also ornamental.

15. The Pichvak is a belt made of ropes, and is fastened over the buttocks of the elephant. It is a support for the Bhot, and of much use to him in firing.

16. The Chaurdád consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of broadeloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. Piñchakh is the name of two chains fastened over the elephant's sides. Attached to them, a bell hangs below the belly. It is of great beauty and grandeur.

18. Large chains. They attach six on both sides, and three to the kaláwah, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. Quptis (the tail of the Thibetan Yak). There are about sixty, more or less, attached to the tusk, the forehead, the throat, and the neck. They are either white, or black, or pied, and look very ornamental.

20. The Thayyá consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the Thayyá there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it, to the kaláwah, to which both are attached.

for a Hindi term; else, why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers' Persian Dictionary, II, p. 802 b, read khalt for khat, and ba tanid for his emendation (?) labyin.
Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the \textit{kalkwah}; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The \textit{Qu\textsuperscript{a}s} are attached here. At their lower end, there are three other chains similarly arranged. Besides, four other chains are attached to the knob; two of them, like the first, end in a knob, whilst the remaining two are tied to the tusks. To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down. \textit{Qu\textsuperscript{a}s} and daggers are attached to the former knobs, but the latter lies over the forehead. All this is partly for ornament, partly to frighten other animals.

21. The \textit{P\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{h}ar} is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

22. The \textit{Gaj-jhamp} is a covering put as an ornament above the \textit{p\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{h}ar}. It looks grand. It is made of three folds of canvass, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside.

23. The \textit{Meg\textsuperscript{h} dambar} is an awning, to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty. It also looks ornamental.

24. The \textit{Rampiyala} is a fillet for the forehead, made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and \textit{qu\textsuperscript{a}s} hang down.

25. The \textit{Gateli} consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter. It is attached to the feet of the elephant. Its sound is very effective.

26. The \textit{P\textit{h}i ranj\textit{a}n} consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The \textit{An\textit{k}us} is a small crook. His Majesty calls it \textit{Gajb\textit{a}g\textit{h}}.\textsuperscript{1} It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

28. The \textit{Gad} is a spear which has two prongs, instead of an iron point. The Bhoi makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The \textit{Bangri} is a collection of rings made of iron or brass. The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them.

30. The \textit{Jag\textit{a}vat} resembles the \textit{Gad} (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoi uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The \textit{Jhand\textit{a}}, or flag, is hung round with \textit{Qu\textsuperscript{a}s}, like a \textit{togh}.\textsuperscript{2} It is fixed to the side of the elephant.

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants.

For each \textit{M\textit{a}st} and \textit{S\textit{e}r\textit{g}r\textit{i}} and \textit{S\textit{d}\textit{a}h}, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of \$\frac{8}{2} \text{ d\textsuperscript{a}m\textsuperscript{a}}. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindi \textit{kambal}, at 10 d. each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 d.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{I.e.}, an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name \textit{An\textit{k}us}, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." \textit{R\textit{a}shid\textit{i}}.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Togh} is the same as \textit{t\textit{\=o}g}. \textit{Vide} \textit{Kin} 19, p. 50.
For Manjholah and Karha elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For P'handurkiyas, and Mokales, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddle cloth is made of cloth, lining, and stuff for edging it round about; for sewing, half a ser of cotton thread is allowed. For every man of grain, the halqah ddr is allowed ten ser of iron for chains, &c., at 2 d. per ser; and for every hide, one ser of sesame oil, at 60 d. per man. Also, 5 s. coarse cotton thread for the kalâwah of the elephant on which the Faujddr rides, at 8 d. per ser; but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, &c., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve dâms is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

ATN 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (KHA'QAH).

There are one hundred and one elephants selected for the use of His Majesty. Their allowance of food is the same in quantity as that of the other elephants, but differs in quality. Most of them also get 5 s. of sugar, 4 s. of g'hi, and half a man of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, &c.; and some have one and a half man' of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar-canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the Mahâwat.

Each elephant requires three kbois in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 d., and are fixed by His Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four Met'hs. In the Hâlgâhs, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each khâcâh elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half met'hs; second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes, the same as in the Hâlgâhs.

As each Halqah is in charge of one of the Grandees, so is every khâcâh elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten khâcâh elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called Dahâîdder. They draw twelve, ten, and eight rupees per mensem. Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called Naqtâ (watcher), and has to submit a daily report, when elephants eat little, or get a shortened allowance, or in cases of sickness, or when anything unusual happens. He marks a horse, and holds the rank of an Ahâdi. His Majesty

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1 Liquids are sold in India by the weight.
also weekly dispatches some of the servants near him, in the proportion of one for every ten elephants, who inspect them and send in a report.

ATN 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING KHAČAH-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephants, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.¹

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned, is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the Bhois. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, viz., the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 R.; the Dahái, 31 R.; the Naqib, 15 R.; the Mushrif (writer), 7½ R. Besides, the regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech.

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting: some are always ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over, if the combatants were khačah elephants, the bhois receive 250 dāms as a present; but if other elephants, the bhois get 200 d.

The Dahādār of khačah elephants receives one dām for every rupee paid as wages to the Bhois and Met'hs; the Mushrif is entitled to 1½ d., and the Naqib to 1 d. In the case of Halqah elephants, the Çadīwāl, the Dakhāshī, and the Bistī, are entitled to 1 d. for every rupee; and the Mushrif and the Naqib receive the allowance given for khačah elephants.

ATN 48.

ON FINES.

In order to prevent laziness, and to ensure attentiveness, His Majesty, as for all other departments, has fixed a list of fines. On the death of a male or a female khačah elephant, the Bhois are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhois and Met'hs are fined two-

¹ Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect; vide Tuzuk, p. 16.
thirds of the value of the article: but in the case of a saddle cloth, the full price. When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the Bhois have to pay the cost price of the animal.

If a driver mixes drugs with the food of an elephant, to make the animal hot, and it dies in consequence thereof, he is liable to capital punishment, or to have a hand cut off, or to be sold as a slave. If it was a khâçah elephant, the Bhois lose three months' pay, and are further suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched, to enquire into the fatness or leanness of khâçah elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh, to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the Pâgosht Regulation (vide Xín 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the bhois are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of Halqah elephants, Ahudis are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the Maháwat and the Bhoi are fined three months' wages. If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the kali—this is a place at the root of the tusks, which on being injured is apt to fester, when the tusks get hollow and become useless—a fine amounting to one-eighth of the price of the elephant is exacted, the dârogah paying two-thirds, and the Faujdar one-third. Should the injury not reach as far as the kali, the fine is only one-half of the former, but the proportions are the same. But, at present, a fine of one per cent. has become usual; in the case of khâçah elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.

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ATN 49.

THE IMPERIAL HORSE STABLES.

His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience.

Merchants bring to court good horses from 'Iráq i 'Arab and 'Iráq i 'Ajam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshán, Shirwán, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drovers after droves arrive from Túrán and Irán, and there are now-a-days twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty. And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes.

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man; and after a short time Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia,
whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from 'Iráqí breed. There are fine horses bred in every part of the country; but those of Cachh excel, being equal to Arabs. It is said that a long time ago an Arab ship was wrecked and driven to the shore of Cachh; and that it had seven choice horses, from which, according to the general belief, the breed of that country originated. In the Panjáb, horses are bred resembling 'Iráqís, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of Sanúji; so also in the district of Patí Haibatpúr, Bajwárah, Tahárah, in the Súbah of Ágrah, Mewát, and in the Súbah of Ajmír, where the horses have the name of pachwariyah. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horses is bred, which are called ñut; and in the confines of Bengal, near Kách [- Bahár], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the ñut and Turkish horses, and are called lóng’han: they are strong and powerful.

His Majesty, from the light of his insight and wisdom, makes himself acquainted with the minutest details, and with the classification and the condition of every kind of article; he looks to the requirements of the times, and designs proper regulations. Hence he also pays much attention to every thing that is connected with this animal, which is of so great an importance for the government, and an almost supernatural means for the attainment of personal greatness.

First, he has set apart a place for horse-dealers, where they may, without delay, find convenient quarters, and be secure from the hardships of the seasons. By this arrangement, the animals will not suffer from that hardnese and avariciousness so often observed in dealers of the present time; nor will they pass from the hands of well intentioned merchants into those of others. But dealers who are known for their uprightness and humanity, may keep their horses where they please, and bring them at an appointed time. Secondly, he appointed a circumspect man to the office of an Amin i Körđnaard, who from his superior knowledge and experience, keeps the dealers from the path of disobedience, and ties the mischievous tongues of such as are wicked and evasive. Thirdly, he has appointed a clever writer, who keeps a roll of horses that arrive and have been mustered, and who sees that the orders of His Majesty do not fall into abeyance. Fourthly, he has appointed trustworthy men, acquainted with the prices of horses, to examine the animals, and to fix their prices, in the order in which they are imported. His Majesty, from his goodness, generally gives

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\* Several good MSS. read Satúji.
\* Haibatpúr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76°
\* Tahárah, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 75°
\* Akbar abhorred cruelty towards domestic animals. Towards the end of his life, as shall be mentioned below, he even gave up hunting and animal fights.
half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.¹

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**Ain 50.**

**THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.**

There are two classes of horses: 1. *Khācāh*; 2. Those that are not *khācāh*. The *khācāh* horses are the following—six stables, each containing forty choice horses of Arabia and Persia; the stables of the princes; the stables of Turkish courier horses; the stables of horses bred in the Imperial studs. They have each a name, but do not exceed the number thirty. His Majesty rides upon horses of the six stables.

The *Second class* horses are of three kinds, *viz.*, *al-uspī*, *bisṭ-uspī*, *dah-uspī* i.e., belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a *Dah-muhri* stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a *Bisṭ-muhri* stable, and so on.

Grandees and other *Manṣūbdārs*, and *Senior Akadis* are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except for the horse which the *Yatāgdār* (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain and grass at his own expense.

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**Ain 51.**

**THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.**

A *khācāh* horse was formerly allowed eight *ser* fodder per diem, when the *ser* weighed twenty-eight *dāms*. Now that the *ser* is fixed at thirty *dāms*, a *khācāh* horse gets seven and a half *ser*. In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch; in summer, grain. The daily allowance includes two *ser* of flour, and one and a half *ser* of sugar. In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a *ser* of *g'hi*. Two *dāms* are daily allowed for

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¹ Abulfazl mentions this very often in the *Ain*. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a *consideration*, to Mahājans (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazīr Mirzā Gālih, brother of the great Persian historian Sikandar Beg) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (muḥaccīl), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mirzā Rahīm, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mirzā Gālih out of his wretched plight, they ruined him, in a short time, to such an extent, that they had to provide in lieu a daily subsistence allowance. He died of a broken heart." *Ṭāhir Naṣrābdīl’s Tādzhikirāh*.
hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available. About three
big'has of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of
sugar, the horses get molasses, they stop the g'hi; and when the season of
fresh grass comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow
afterwards six sera of grain and two sera of molasses per diem. In other
'Iraqi' and Turki stables, they give seven and a half sera of grain. During
the cool six months of the year, they give the grain boiled, an allowance
of one dám being given for boiling one man of it. The horses also get once a
week a quarter sera of salt. When g'hi and fresh grass are given, each horse,
provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one sera of sugar;
whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a
ser. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass is given,
horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get
one man and ten sera of g'hi; such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs,
thirty sera; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither g'hi, brown sugar,
nor green oats. Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a dám, though it
is mostly given in a lump. 'Iraqi and Turki horses which belong to the
court, are daily allowed two d. for grass; but such of them as are in the
country, only one and a half. In winter, each horse gets a big'ha of fresh
oats, the price of which, at court, is 240 d., and in the country, 200 d. At
the time of fresh oats, each horse gets two mans of molasses, the same
quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain.

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the
amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid.
When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the
horse doctor.

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a khúṣáh
horse. The gút horses get five and a half sera of grain, the usual quantity
of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half d. per diem, if at court,
and at the rate of 1½ d., when in the country; but they do not get g'hi,
molasses, or green oats. Qisára, i. e., female horses, get, at court, four
and a half sera of grain, the usual allowance of salt, and one d. for grass;
and in the country, the same, with the exception of the grass, for which only
three fourths of a dám are allowed. Stud mares get two and three fourths
 sera of grain; but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months,
it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-
fourths sera of grain per diem; after which period, the allowance is every
six months increased by a sera, till it completes the third year, when its food
is determined by the above regulations.
ON HARNESS, &c.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the khdqah horses on which His Majesty rides out.

For the whole outfit of a khdqah horse, the allowance is 277\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. per annum; viz., an artak, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 d.; a ydłposh (a covering for the mane) 32 d.; a woollen towel, 2 d.—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old artak, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old ydłposh; a saddle cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being coarse wool, 42 d.; halters for the nakhtah (headstall) and the hind feet, 40 d.; a pusht-tang (girth), 8 d.; a magas-rd̂n (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 d.; a nakhtah and qaisah (the bit), 14 d.; a curry-comb, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a grain bag, 6 d.; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1 d. These articles are given annually, and fifteen dāms, ten jetals, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one muhurs, is 196\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. per annum, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty-five and a half dāms are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven muhurs, the annual allowance is 155\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; viz., for the artak, 39\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; the ydłposh, 27\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a coarse saddle cloth, 30 d.; the girth, 6 d.; the nakhtah and qaisah, 10 d., and the nakhtah ropes and feet-ropes, 32 d.; the magaardān, 2 d.; a towel, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a curry-comb, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a basket, 1 d.; a grain bag, 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. Twenty dāms are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and qisrdq̂e, and qît, the allowance is 117\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; viz., an artak, 37 d.; a ydłposh, 24\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a jul, 24 d.; a nakhtah band and a pāiband, 8 d.; a nakhtah and qaisah, 8 d.; a pusht-tang, 5 d.; a magaarŝn and a towel, each 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a curry-comb, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a basket, 1 d.; a grain bag, 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. The amount subtracted is the same as before.

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1 In consequence of the climate, horses are kept, in the East, much more outside than in the stables. When being cleaned or fed, each of the hindlegs is fastened by means of a rope to a peg in the ground. In the case of wicked horses, a rope is attached to each side of the head stall, and fastened, like tent ropes, to pegs in the ground. Native grooms in feeding horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word nakhtah, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced nuq̂tah. Similarly, qaisah is pronounced qiizah; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, 1. p. 36 b. c.

2 Altogether 196\(\frac{1}{2}\) d., and 81 d. on account of the first three articles renewed after six months. The deduction in lieu of old articles refers, of course, to the wages of the grooms.

3 The items added only give 116\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.
1. The Kardh is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a kardh is at the rate of one hundred and forty dams per man of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The Misin Sajd, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten kháçah horses. The price of making one is 140 d. For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, &c., there is only one. 3. The Kamand is a halter, attached to iron pegs, for fastening the horses. In stables of forty, there are three; in stables of thirty, two; in others, one. The weight of a halter is half a man; its cost price is 140 d., and 16 d. the wages of the rope maker. 4. The Ahání mekh, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five sers, and costs 15 d. 5. The Tabartukhmdq, or hammer, weighs five sers, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the kháçah stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dárogah; and when they are past mending, their present value is deducted, and the difference paid in cash. In other stables, a deduction of one-half of their value is made every third year.

6. Na'l, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight dams were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. Kündán. One is allowed for ten horses. The price of it is 80½ R.

AYN 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The Atbegl is in charge of all horses belonging to the government. He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the State, and is only held by grandees of high rank: at present it is filled by the Khán Khánán (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The Dárogah. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior Ahadis. 3. The Mushrif, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty's orders are

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1 This appears to be the same as the Hind. Ìíjíï, which our meagre dictionaries describe as "a kind of tent." 2 Or Mirá Khán Khánán, i.e., 'Abdurrahím, son of B sûrán Khán; vide List of Grandees, Hind book, No. 29.
carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees. 4. The Didahwar, or inspector. Their duty is occasionally to inspect the horses, before they are mustered by His Majesty; they also determine the rank and the condition of the horses. Their reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by Mansabdars or Ahadis. 5. The Akhtachis look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis. 6. The Chubaksuwar rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Ahadi. 7. The Hadsi. This name is given to a class of Rajputs, who teach horses the elementary steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis. 8. The Mirdahah is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Ahadi: but in other khasah stables, he only gets 170 d.; in the country-bred stables, 160 d.; in the other Siaspi stables, 140 d.; in the Bistasp stables, 100 d.; and in the Dhaspi stables, 30 d. Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The Baijdar, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Ahadi. 10. The Naqib, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. They report the condition of each stable to the Doorgahs and the Mushrif, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head Naqibs are Ahadis, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 d. 11. The Sds, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the Chihilaspi stables, each groom gets 170 d.; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 d.; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 d.; in the country bred stables, 126 d.; in the other Siaspi stables, 106 d.; in the Bistasp stables, 103 d.; and in the Dhaspi stables, 100 d. 12. The Jilauddar (rider Ain 60) and the Paik (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1200 to 120 d., according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred kroh (kos) p. day. 13. The Na'ilband, or farrier. Some of them are Ahadis, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 d. 14. The Zindor, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the Khasah stable of forty horses, one saddle is allowed for every two horses, in the following manner: for the first and twenty-first; for the second and twenty-second, and so on. If the first horse is sent out of the stable, the saddle remains at its place, and what was the second horse becomes first, and the second saddle falls to the third horse, and so on to the end. If a horse out of the middle leaves, its saddle is given to the preceding horse. 15. The Abkash, or water-carrier. Three are allowed in the stables of forty; two in stables of thirty, and only one in other stables. The monthly pay is 100 d. 16. The Farrash (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every khasah stable. His pay is 130 d.
17. A *Sipandoz* is only allowed in the stables of forty horses; his pay is 100 d.

18. The *Khákúb*, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Haldíkhur*;* His Majesty brought this name *en vogue*. In stables of forty, there are two; in those of thirty and twenty, one. Their monthly pay is 65 d.

During a march, if the *dárogahs* are in receipt of a fixed allowance for coolies, they entertain some people to lead the horses. In the stables of thirty horses, fifteen are allowed. And in the same proportion does the government appoint coolies, when a dárogah has not received the extra-allowance. Each cooly gets two dâms *per diem*.

**AtII 54.**

THE BARGIR.

His Majesty, from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service, though he would not trust them with the keeping of a horse. For these he has told off separate stables, with particular *Dárogahs* and Mushrífs. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Ritikché* (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a *Bárgirswédár*.

**AtII 55.**

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for sometime marked with the word نظر (*nazár* sight), sometimes with the word داغ (*dágh*, mark), and sometimes with the

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1. The seeds of *sipand* (in Hind. sar-son, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (*nazár i bad, chasm rásidan*), which is even dangerous for Akbar's choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a crackling sound. The man who burns them, is called *Sipandóz*. *Vide* the poetical extracts of the 11th book, under *Shíkebí*. Instead of *Sipand*, grooms sometimes keep a monkey over the entrance of the stable. The influence of the evil eye passes from the horses to the ugly monkey.

Another remedy consists in nailing old horse shoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fathpúr Sikrí.

2. Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; *vide* p. 46, l. 28; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 90, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under *rangtará*. *Haldíkhur*, *i. e.*, one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for *harámkhur*, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, &c. The word *haldíkhur* is still in use among educated Muhammmadans; but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is *mákár*, a prince, which like the proud title of *khálimshá*, now-a-days applied to cooks, tailors, &c., is an example of the irony of fate.
Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek; and those that were returned, on the left side. Sometimes, in the case of 'Irāqī and Mujannas horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turki and Arab horses, on the left. Now-a-days the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten muhurs, is marked with the numeral ten; those of twenty muhurs, have a twenty, and so on. When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed.

REGULATIONS FOR KEEPING UP THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF HORSES.

Formerly, whenever there had been taken away either ten horses from the stables of forty, or from the stud-bred horses, or five from the courier horses, they were replaced in the following manner. The deficiency in the stables of forty was made up from horses chosen from the stables of the princes; the stud-bred horses were replaced by other stud bred ones, and the courier horses from other stables. Again, if there were wanting fifteen horses in the stables of the eldest prince (Salīm), they were replaced by good horses of his brothers; and if twenty were wanting in the stables of the second prince (Murād), the deficiency was made up by horses taken from the stables of the youngest prince and from other stables; and if twenty-five were wanting in the stables of the youngest prince (Dānyāl), the deficiency was made up from other good stables.

But in the thirty-seventh year of the Divine Era (A. D. 1593), the order was given that, in future, one horse should annually be added to each stable. Thus, when, in the present year, the deficiency in the khāṣṭah stables had come up to eleven, they commenced to make up the complement, the deficiency of the other stables being made up at the time of the muster parades.

When a khāṣṭah horse dies, the Dāroghah has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdahah ten d., upon every muhur of the cost price; and the

\[1 \text{ Vide Ains 7 and 8 of the second book.} \]

The branding of horses was revived in A. H. 981, A. D. 1573, when Shahbāz had been appointed Mīr Bakhshī. He followed the regulations of 'Alāūddin Khiljī and Sher Shāh; vide Bedāoni, pp. 173, 190.

\[2 \text{ Mujannas, i. e., put nearly equal (to an Irāqī horse); vide IIInd book, Aīn 2.}\]
grooms lose one-fourth of their monthly wages. When a horse is stolen, or
injured, His Majesty determines the fine, as it cannot be uniform in each
case.

In the other stables, they exacted from the Dároghah for a single
horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees
upon every muhur; and from the Mírdahah and the grooms the above
proportions. But now, they take one rupee upon every muhur for one to
two horses that die; and two upon every muhur, for four horses; and
three upon every muhur, for five.

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mírdahah is fined ten dâms
upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

ATN 58.

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two khdáchah horses; but of courier-
horses, three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to
the ten muhur stables and the Gáts. They are formed into four divisions,
and each division is called a mial.

First mial, one from the chihilaepi stables; one from the stable of the
eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of
khdáchah courier horses. Second mial, one from the stable of the youngest
 prince; one from the studbred; one from the chihilaepi stables; one
courier horse. Third mial, one horse from the stables of the three princes;
one stud bred. Fourth mial, one horse from each of the stables of horses of
forty, thirty, and ten muhurs.

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth mial. But when
prince Sháh Murád joined his appointment,¹ His Majesty also rode the best
horses of the stables of forty muhurs. The arrangement was then as
follows. First mial, one horse from the stables of forty; one horse from
the stables of the eldest and the youngest prince, and a courier horse.
Second mial, stud bred horses from the stables of horses above seventy
muhurs; khdáchah horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses. Third mial,

¹ "Prince Murád, in the beginning of
the fortieth year (1596) of Akbar’s reign,
was put in command of the army of
Gujrát, and ordered to take Ahmadnagar.
But when, some time after, Akbar heard
that Murád’s army was in a wretched
condition, chiefly through the carelessness
and drunken habits of the prince, the
emperor resolved to go himself (43rd
year), and dispatched Abulázil, to bring
the prince back to court. Abulázil came
just in time, to see the prince die, who
from the preceding year had been suffer-
ing from epileptic fits (par’, delirium
tremens?) brought on by habitual drunk-
eness." Mir-dát.
one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud bred, and the seventy mulmur horses. Fourth misl, horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty mulmurs.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten mulmurs and the G'uts.

AYN 59.

ON DONATIONS.

Whenever His Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six khâghah stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with the view of increasing the zeal and desire for improvement among the servants. For some time it was a rule that, whenever he rode out on a khâghah horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one dâm to the Ategi, two to the Jilaunâhár; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqib, the Akhtachî, and the Zindâr. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty dâms were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a dam less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty dâms were given, the donations decreasing by the same fraction; and for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses, and stud-breds, ten dâms, according to the same manner of distribution.

Now, the following donations are given:—For a horse of a stable of forty, one rupee as before; for a horse belonging to a stable of the eldest prince, twenty dâms; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten dâms; for courier horses, five; for stud breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

AYN 60.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWANAH.\(^1\)

Whenever a horse is given away as a present, the price of the horse is calculated fifty per cent. higher, and the recipient has to pay ten dâms upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten dâms per muhur are

\(^1\) *Jilaw* is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called jâniyâh. The adjective *jilaunâhah*, which is not in the dictionaries, means referring to a led horse. We have to write *jilaunâhâh*, not *jilaunâhah*, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives: as na-in, jawin, from nai, jau, not nai-in, or jau-in. The jilaunâdâr, or janiyâhdâr, or janaubkazh, is the servant who leads the horse. The jilaunâbegi is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The takâlîdâr collects the fee.
divided as follows:—The Atbegi gets five dâms; the Jilaubegi, two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqibs, nine jetals; the grooms, a quarter dâm; the Tahçildâr, fifteen jetals; the remainder is equally divided among the Zîndâr and Akhtachi.

In this country, horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 Rupees.

THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shewn a great liking for this curiously shaped animal; and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Irán and Tûrán.

From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these khâçah camels, which is named Shâh passand (approved of by the Shâh), is a country bred twelve years old: it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up, every finesses of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ajmir, Jodhpûr, Nâgôr, Bikânir, Jaisalmîr, Bântâ and Bhatnîr; the best are bred in the Sûbah of Gujrat, near Cachh. But in Sind is the greatest abundance: many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards. The swiftest camels are those of Ajmir; the best for burden are bred in T'hat'hah.

The success of this department depends on the Arvânahs, i.e., female camels. In every country, they get hot in winter, and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of Bughur. The young ones of camels are called nar (male), and mâyâh (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the nar the name of Bughdi, and to the female that of Jammâzâh. The bughdi is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the jammâzâh excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called Lok, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a bughur and a jammâzâh goes by the name of g'hurd; the female is called mâyâh.

1 In the text mâyâh, which also means a female camel—a very harmless pun. Vide Dr. Sprenger's Gulistân, preface, p. 6. Regarding the word bughur vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 69.
g'hurd. If a bughdi, or a lok, couples with a jammdzah, the young one is called bughdi or lok respectively. But if a bughdi or a lok couples with an arwoánah, the young male is named after its sire, and the young female after its dam. The lok is considered superior to the g'hurd, and the máyáh g'hurd.

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into qaṭārs (strings), each qaṭár consisting of five camels. The first camel of each qaṭár is called peshang; the second, peshdarah; the third, miyánah qaṭár; the fourth, dumdaat; the last camel, dumdár.

ATN 62.

THE FOOD OF CAMELS.

The following is the allowance of such bughdis as are to carry burdens. At the age of two and a half, or three years, when they are taken from the herd of the stud dams, a bughdi gets 2 8. of grain; when three and a half to four years old, 5 8.; up to seven years, 9 8.; at eight years, 10 8. The same rule applies to bughurs. Similarly in the case of jamzáahs, g'hurds, máyah g'hurds, and loka, up to four years of age; but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 8.; and at the age of eight years, 7 8., at the rate of 28 dánms p. ser. As the ser has now 30 ddnr, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance. When bughdis are in heat, they eat less. Hence also concession is made, if they get lean, to the extent of 10 8., according to the provisions of the Págosht rule (Aín 83); and when the rutting season is over, the Dároghahs give out a corresponding extra allowance of grain, to make up for the former deficiency. If they have made a definite entry into their day-book, and give out more food, they are held indemnified according the Págosht rule; and similarly in all other cases, note is taken of the deductions according to that rule.

At Court, camels are found in grass by the government for eight months. Camels on duty inside the town, are daily allowed grass at the rate of 2 d. per head; and those outside the town, 1 ½ d. During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels to meadows to graze.

1 So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of pesh-đchang, the leader of a troop. Pesh-
THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for khd~ah camels:—an Alsdr (head stall); a Dum-afsdr, (crupper); a Mahdr kdt'hl (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer,—an invention of His Majesty); a kuch (which serves as a saddle-cloth); a Qatdrchi; a Sarbchi; a Tang (a girth); a Sotrng a (head-strap); a Shebband (a loin-strap); a Jalhjl (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a Gardunband (a neckstrap); three Chdars (or coverings) made of broadcloth, or variegated canvas, or waxcloth. The value of the jewels, inlaid work, trimmings, and silk, used for adorning the above articles, goes beyond description.

Five qafdr of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a Mhaffah, which is a sort of wooden turret, very comfortable, with two poles, by which it is suspended, at the time of travelling, between two camels.

A camel's furniture is either coloured or plain. For every ten qafdr, they allow three qafdr coloured articles.

For Bugdls, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225½ d., viz., a head-stall studded with shells, 20½ d.; a brass ring, 1½ d.; an iron chain, 4½ d.; a kalldgi (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a pushtpoti (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a dum-afsdr (a crupper), 1½ d.; for a takaltu (saddle quilt) and a sarbchi, both of which require 5 sers of cotton, 20 d.; a jut (saddle-cloth), 68 d.; a jahdz, and Gajkari, which serves as a mahdrkdt'h (ride above), 8 d.; a tang, shebband, guluband (throat-strap), 24 d.; a tanb (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope Tqah tanb, or kharidr—38 d.; a balapor, or covering, 15 d.*

For Jammazahs, two additional articles are allowed, viz., a gardanband, 2 d.; and a sinah band (chest-strap), 16 d.

The cost of a set of plain furniture for Bugdls and Jammazahs amounts to 168½ d., viz., an afsdr, studded with shells, 10 d.; a dum-afsdr, ½ d.; a jahdz, not 225½, as stated by Abulfazl. When discrepancies are slight, they will be found to result from a rejection of the fractional parts of the cost of articles. The difference of 20½ d. in this case can only have resulted from an omission on the part of the author, because all MSS. agree in the several items. Perhaps some of the articles were not exchanged critically, but had to last a longer time.

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1 The meaning is doubtful. The Arab sarb, like qitdr, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that sarbchi is a sort of quilt.

2 Gajkari appears to be the correct reading. The Arab jahdz means whatever is upon a camel, especially the saddle and its appurtenances, generally made of coarse canvas, steeped in lime (gow). Hence gajkari, white-washed.

* These items added up give 248 d.,
For Loks, the allowance for furniture is 143 d., viz., an afsar, jahuz, kharwár, according to the former rates; a jul, 37½ d.; a tang, shebband, guláband, 14¼ d.; a báléposh, 28 d.¹

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the wood work. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every qafár, sixteen dáms, and of plain furniture, fourteen dáms, are deducted by the Government. At the end of every three years, they draw out an estimate, from which one-fourth is deducted; then after taking away one-tenth of the remainder, an assignment is given for the rest.²

'Alafi camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ d. for countrybred camels and loks, viz., [for countrybred camels] an afsar, 5 d.; a jul, 36½ d.; a sardoz, ½ d.; a tang, and a shebband, 10½ d.;³ and [for loks], an afsar, a tang, and a shebband, as before; a jul, 45½ d.; a sardoz, ½ d.

From the annual estimate one-fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder.

Shalitah táts, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every qafár, at a price of 302 d. for bughdís and jammdzahs, and 243 d. for loks.

Hitherto the cost of these articles had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel-drivers. But when in the forty-second year of the divine era [1598 A. D.], it was brought to the notice of His Majesty that these people were, to a certain extent, losers, this regulation was abolished, and the current market price allowed for all articles. The price is therefore no longer fixed.

On every New Year’s day, the head camel-drivers receive permission for shearing the camels, anointing them with oil, injecting oil into the noses of the animals, and indenting for the furniture due to 'Alafi camels.

APPLE 64.

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS.

The scientific terms for these operations are tatliyah and tajrif, though we might expect tatliyah and tānshiq, because tānshiq means injecting into the nose.

¹ These items added up give 169 d., instead of Abulfazl’s 1683 d.
² The items added up give 144 d., instead of Abulfazl’s 143 d.
³ Hence the Government paid, as a rule, ⅓ × ⅔ = ⅔ of the estimates presented.
⁴ The addition gives 52½ d. instead of 52½. The following items, for loks, give added up 62½.
For each Bughd and Jammdzh 3½ sera of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz., three sera for anointing, and ½ ser for injection into the nose. So also ⅛ s. of brimstone, and ⅜ s. of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is ⅛ s. of brimstone, ⅜ s. of butter-milk, and ⅝ s. of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once a year.

AYN 65.

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into qatárs, and given each qatár in charge of a Sárban, or driver. Their wages are four-fold. The first class get 400 d.; the second, 340 d.; the third, 280 d.; the fourth, 220 d., per mensem.

The qatárs are of three kinds—1. Every five qatárs are in charge of an experienced man, called bistopanji, or commander of twenty-five. His salary is 720 d. He marks a Yábú horse, and has four drivers under him. 2. Double the preceding, or ten qatárs, are committed to the care of a Panjáhi, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 960 d., and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred qatárs are in charge of a Panjádi, or commander of five hundred. Ten qatárs are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one qatár, Government finds drivers for the others. The Panjáhis, and Bistopanjis are under his orders. Their salary varies: now-a-days many Yúzbásbis are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the fardshes. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each Panjádi under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected, to enquire from time to time into the condition of the camels, so that there may be no neglect. Besides, twice a year some people adorned with the jewel of insight, inspect the camels as to their leanness or fatness, at the beginning of the rains, and at the time of the annual muster.

Should a camel get lost, the Sárban is fined the full value; so also the Panjáhi and the Panjádi. If a camel get lame or blind, they are fined the fourth part of the price.

Raibdri.

Raibdri is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel. They teach the country bred lok camel so to step as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital

1 Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.
to the frontiers of the empire, into every direction, relay horses are stationed,
and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five kos, a few of
these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness. Each Raibdré
is also put in charge of fifty stud arwánahs, to which for the purpose of
breeding, one bughur and two loks are attached. The latter (the males) get
the usual allowance of grain, but nothing for grass. The fifty arwánahs
get no allowance for grain or grass. For every bughur, bughdî, and jam-
mážah, in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils,
is 4 s. of sesame oil, $\frac{1}{2}$ s. of brimstone, 6$\frac{1}{2}$ s. of butter milk. The first
includes $\frac{1}{2}$ s. of oil for injection. Loks, arwánahs, g’hurs, and mdyah g’hurs, only get 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s. of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection,—6$\frac{1}{2}$ s. of
butter milk, and $\frac{3}{4}$ s. of brimstone.

Botahs and Dumbulahs—these names are given to young camels; the former
is used for light burdens—are allowed 2$\frac{1}{2}$ s. of oil, inclusive of $\frac{1}{2}$ s. for
injection into the nostrils, $\frac{1}{2}$ s. of brimstone, and 4$\frac{1}{2}$ s. of butter milk.

Full grown stud camels get weekly $\frac{1}{4}$ s. of saltpetre and common salt; botahs get $\frac{1}{2}$ s.
The wages of a herdsman is 200 d. per mensem. For grazing every
fifty stud camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 d. per
dièm. A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present His Majesty
three arwánahs every year; on failure, their price is deducted from his
salary.

Formerly the state used to exact a fourth part of the wool sheared from
every bughdî and jammázh, each camel being assessed to yield four sers of
wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the
drivers to provide their camels with dum-afsára, wooden pegs, &c.

The following are the prices of camels:—a bughdî, from 5 to 12 Muhurs;
a jammázh, from 3 to 10 M.; a bughur, from 3 to 7 M.; a mongrel lok, from
8 to 9 M.; a country-bred, or a Balúchi lok, from 3 to 8 M.; an arwánah,
from 2 to 4 M.

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first
class bughdî, not more than 10 mans; a second class do., 8 m.; superior
jammázh, loks, &c., 8 m.; second class do., 6 m.

In this country, camels do not live above twenty-four years.

ATN 66.

THE GAOKHANAH OR COW-STABLES.

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow is considered
auspicious, and held in great veneration; for by means of this animal,
tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life is rendered possible, and the table of
the inhabitant is filled with milk, buttermilk, and butter. It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government.

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrat are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakh'in. They kneel down at the time of being loaded. The cows give upwards of half a man of milk. In the province of Dihl again, cows are not more worth than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of dimes [5000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmir, the Qatús, or Thibetan Yak, occurs, an animal of extraordinary appearance.

A cow will live to the age of twenty-five.

From his knowledge of the wonderful properties of the cow, His Majesty, who notices every thing which is of value, pays much attention to the improvement of cattle. He divided them into classes, and committed each to the charge of a merciful keeper. One hundred choice cattle were selected as khâdçâh, and called kotal. They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen on hunting expeditions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Ain 27.). Fifty-one others nearly as good are called half-kotal, and fifty-one more, quarter-kotal. Any deficiency in the first class is made up from the second, and that of the middle from the third. But these three form the cow-stables for His Majesty's use.

Besides, sections of cattle have been formed, each varying in number from 50 to 100, and committed to the charge of honest keepers. The rank of each animal is fixed at the time of the public muster, when each gets its proper place among sections of equal rank. A similar proceeding is adopted for each section, when selected for drawing waggons and travelling carriages, or for fetching water (vide Ain 22).

There is also a species of oxen, called gaini, small like gut horses, but very beautiful.

Milk-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and handed over to intelligent servants.

Ain 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first khādçâh class is allowed daily 6½ s. of grain, and 1½ d. of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 man, 19 s. of molasses, which
is distributed by the Dárogah, who must be a man suitable for such a duty and office. Cattle of the remaining ḥd¢ḥ classes get daily 6 s. of grain, and grass as before, but no molasses are given.

In other cow-stables, the daily allowance is as follows. First kind, 6 s. of grain, 1½ d. of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 d. The second kind get 5 s. of grain, and grass as usual. The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 s. of grain, and grass as usual. First class gainis get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only ½ d. Second class do., 2½ s. of grain, and ½ d. of grass at court, otherwise only ½ d.

A male buffalo (called Arnah) gets 8 s. of wheat flour boiled, 2 s. of g'hi, ½ s. of molasses, 1½ s. of grain, and 2 d. of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion to pieces. When this peculiar strength is gone, it reaches the second stage, and is used for carrying water. It then gets 8 s. of grains, and 2 d. for grass. Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass. First class oxen for leopard-waggons get 6½ s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1½ d. for grass; but now they get a quarter ser less, and grass as before.

The milk-cows and buffaloes, when at court, have grain given them in proportion to the quantity of milk they give. A herd of cows and buffaloes is called t'hdj. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 s. of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 s. The buffaloes of the Panjáb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two dāms weight of g'hi for every ser of milk.

Atn 68.

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW-STABLES.

In the ḥd¢ḥ stables, one man is appointed to look after four head of cattle. Eighteen such keepers in the first stable get 5 d. per diem, and the remaining keepers, 4 d. In other stables, the salary of the keepers is the same, but each has to look after six cows. Of the carriage drivers, some get their salaries on the list of the Ahadis; others 360 d., others 256 d. down to 112 d. Bahals, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. Chatridár or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the chatr, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called g'hurbahals. For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed.

1 Carriages for the transport of trained hunting leopards. Vide Book II, Aín 27.
The head driver, or Mirdahah, and the carpenter, get each 5 d. per diem; the others, 4 d. For some time 15 drivers had been appointed, and the carpenter was disallowed: the drivers themselves undertook the repairs, and received on this account an annual allowance of 2200 dāms [55 Rupees.]

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the Dāroghah was fined one-fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury.

Formerly the Dāroghahs paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a dām āng money—āng is hemp smeared with g'hi, and twisted round about the axle-tree which, like a pivot, fits into the central hole of the wheel, and thus prevents it from wearing away or getting broken. When afterwards the Dāroghahship was transferred to the drivers, they had to provide for this expense. At first, it was only customary for the carts to carry on marches a part of the baggage belonging to the different workshops; but when the drivers performed the duties of the Dāroghahs, they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court, and for the transport of building materials. But subsequently, 200 waggons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50,000 mans of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the Pāgosht regulation (vide Ain 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

But when it came to the ears of His Majesty that the above mode of contract was productive of much cruelty towards these serviceable, but mute animals, he abolished this system, and gave them again in charge of faithful servants. The allowance of grain for every cart-bullock was fixed at 4 s., and 1½ d. were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance in one-half of the preceding. But during the four rainy months no money is allowed for grass. There were also appointed for every eighteen carts twelve drivers, one of whom must understand carpenter's work. Now, if a bullock dies, government supplies another in his stead, and likewise pays for the āng, and is at the expense of repairs.

The cattle that are worked are mustered once a year by experienced men who estimate their fatness or leanness; cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months. Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, &c., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.
THE MULE STABLES.

The mule possesses the strength of a horse, and the patience of an ass; and though it has not the intelligence of the former, it has not the stupidity of the latter. It never forgets the road which it has once travelled. Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to every thing, and the breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens, and travelling over uneven ground, and has a very soft step. People generally believe that the male ass couples with a mare, but the opposite connexion also is known to take place, as mentioned in the books of antiquity. The mule resembles its dam. His Majesty had a young ass coupled with a mare, and they produced a very fine mule.

In many countries just princes prefer travelling about on a mule; and people can therefore easily lay their grievances before them, without inconveniencing the traveller.

Mules are only bred in Hindustan in Pak'halí, and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of this country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them; but in consequence of the interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found.

Mules are chiefly imported from 'Iráq i 'Arab and 'Iráq i 'Ajam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into qaṭārs of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each qaṭār, which is called bardast, [instead of peshdarah, vide Aín 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD FOR MULES.

Such mules as are not country-bred, get at court, 6 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass; otherwise, only 1½ d. Country-bred mules get 4 s. of grain, and 1½ d. of grass, when at court; otherwise, 1 d. for grass. Each mule is allowed every week 3½ jetals for salt; but they give the salt in a lump.

1 Which the subjects could not so easily do, if the princes, on their tours of administration of justice, were to ride on elephants, because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king.

2 The Sarkár of Pak'halí lies between Atak (Attock) and Kashmír, a little north of Rawul Pindéé. Vide towards the end of Book III.
THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ d.; an iron chain weighing 2 cwt., 10 d.; a ranaptop (crupper) of leather, 4 d.; a pálán (pack-saddle), 102 d.; a šáltang (shawl strap), and a pálás-tang (blanket strap), 36½ d.; a tágah šanáb (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 d.; a qatir šaldq (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every qatár, 10 d.; a horse hair saddle, 40 d.; a kaláqah (vide Axn 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 4½ d.; a sardoz (a common head stall) 4 d.; a khurijn (wallet), 15 d.; a fodder-bag, 4 d.; a magas-rán (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove (for washing), 4 d. Total, 3454 d.

For country-bred mules the allowance is 1514 d., viz., a head stall of leather, 4 d.; pack-saddle, 51 d. 18½ j.; the two straps, 16½ d.; a tágah šanáb and sardoz, 40 d.; a bell, 5 d.; a fodder-bag, 3 d.; a crupper, 3 d.; a saddle, 24 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove, 4 d.

The furniture is renewed every third year; but for all iron and wood work, half the price is deducted. The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 d.; but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear. Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 d. per head.

Each qatár is in charge of a keeper. Túránís, Iránís, and Indians, are appointed to this office: the first two get from 400 to 1920 d.; and the third class, from 240 to 256 d. per mensem. Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R. [400 d.] and upwards, have to find the peshang (first mule of their qatár) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; and one-half, if it is lost.

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water. They get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. for grass. The furniture for asses is the same as that for country-bred mules, but no saddle is given. The annual allowance for repairs is 23 d. The keepers do not get above 120 d. per mensem.

THE MANNER IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY SPENDS HIS TIME.

The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the
manner in which a king spends his time. The care with which His Majesty guards over his motives, and watches over his emotions, bears on its face the sign of the Infinite, and the stamp of immortality; and though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same time, his attention, they do not stir up the rubbish of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the dust of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers, or the habitual earnestness with which His Majesty contemplates the charms of God's world. His anxiety to do the will of the Creator is ever increasing; and thus his insight and wisdom are ever deepening. From his practical knowledge, and capacity for every thing excellent, he can sound men of experience, though rarely casting a glance on his own ever extending excellence. He listens to great and small, expecting that a good thought, or the relation of a noble deed, may kindle in his mind a new lamp of wisdom, though ages have past without his having found a really great man. Impartial statesmen, on seeing the sagacity of His Majesty, blotted out the book of their own wisdom, and commenced a new leaf. But with the magnanimity which distinguishes him, and with his wonted zeal, he continues his search for superior men, and finds a reward in the care with which he selects such as are fit for his society.

Although surrounded by every external pomp and display, and by every inducement to lead a life of luxury and ease, he does not allow his desires, or his wrath, to renounce allegiance to Wisdom, his sovereign—how much less would he permit them to load him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as a means of lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening, when that
fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering
grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that
great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed
cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with
sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honor of God, and in adoration
of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot
comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it?
Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to
our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may
fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light
of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is
essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the
wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light.\(^1\) And this
is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence
lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of
the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on
the perverseness of those weakminded zealots, who, with much concern, talk
of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduc-
tion of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile.

The compassionate heart of His Majesty finds no pleasure in cruelties,
or in causing sorrow to others; he is ever sparing of the lives of his subjects,
wishing to bestow happiness upon all.

His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away
without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is
nothing thought of by the sage. His august nature cares but little for the
pleasures of the world. In the course of twenty-four hours, he never
makes more than one meal. He takes a delight in spending his time in
performing whatever is necessary and proper. He takes a little repose in
the evening, and again for a short time in the morning; but his sleep looks
more like waking.

His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably;
to the private audience hall are then admitted eloquent philosophers, and
virtuous Çâsis, who are seated according to their rank, and entertain His
Majesty with wise discourses. On such occasions His Majesty fathoms
them, and tries them on the touch-stone of knowledge. Or the object of an
ancient institution is disclosed, or new thoughts are hailed with delight. Here
young men of talent learn to revere and adore His Majesty, and experience
the happiness of having their wishes fulfilled, whilst old men of impartial

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\(^1\) Vide Abulfazl's Preface, p. iii., and p. 49.
judgment see themselves on the expanse of sorrow, finding that they have to pass through a new course of instruction.

There are also present in these assemblies, unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts, and relate the impressive events of ancient times. His Majesty often makes remarks wonderfully shrewd, or starts a fitting subject for conversation. On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue, are brought up, when His Majesty gives orders for whatever is to be done in each case.

About a watch before day-break, musicians of all nations are introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four gharias are left till morning, His Majesty retires to his private apartments, brings his external appearance in harmony with the simplicity of his heart, and launches forth into the ocean of contemplation. In the meantime, at the close of night, soldiers, merchants, peasants, trades-people, and other professions, gather round the palace, patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty. Soon after day-break, they are allowed to make the kornish (vide AIN 74). After this, His Majesty allows the attendants of the Harem to pay their compliments. During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of His Majesty. As soon as they are settled, he returns to his private apartments, and reposes a little.

The good habits of His Majesty are so numerous, that I cannot adequately describe them. If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject, they would not be exhaustive.

AIN 73.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COURT.

Admittance to Court is a distinction conferred on the nation at large; it is a pledge that the three branches of the government are properly looked after, and enables subjects personally to apply for redress of their grievances. Admittance to the ruler of the land is for the success of his government, what irrigation is for a flower-bed; it is the field, on which the hopes of the nation ripen into fruit.

His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. First, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible, from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace-bearers. This mode of showing himself is
called, in the language of the country, darshan (view); and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The second time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections, or any thing impure and contrary to the will of God. Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed. From his knowledge of the character of the times, though in opposition to the practice of kings of past ages, His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline; he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers his equanimity to be disturbed.

Whenever His Majesty holds court, they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise. In this manner, people of all classes receive notice. His Majesty's sons and grandchildren, the grandees of the Court, and all other men who have admittance, attend to make the kornish, and remain standing in their proper places. Learned men of renown and skillful mechanics pay their respects; the Dároghahs and Bitikchis (writers) set forth their several wants; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers, and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiasedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest: the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure!
REGULATIONS REGARDING THE KORNISH AND THE TASLIM.

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible, unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit, and build up the arch of true humility.¹

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to show their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead, and the head to be bent downwards. This mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called kornish, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him.

The salutation, called taslim, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering.

His Majesty relates as follows: "One day my royal father bestowed upon me one of his own caps, which I put on. Because the cap of the king was rather large, I had to hold it with my [right] hand, whilst bending my head downwards, and thus performed the manner of salutation (kornish) above described. The king was pleased with this new method, and from his feeling of propriety ordered this to be the mode of the kornish and taslim.

Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a mansab, a jagir, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three taslims; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made.

Such a degree of obedience is also shown by servants to their masters, and looked upon by them as a source of blessings. Hence for the disciples of

¹ Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. Vidi Ain 77, and the Note after it.
His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz., prostration\(^1\) (sijdah); and they look upon a prostration before His Majesty as a prostration performed before God; for royalty is an emblem of the power of God, and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute. Viewed in this light, the prostration has become acceptable to many, and proved to them a source of blessings upon blessings.

But as some perverse and dark-minded men look upon prostration as blasphemous man-worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the *Darbār i 'A'm* (general court-days). However, in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune.

In this manner, by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfills the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom.

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\(^1\) The prostration, or *sijdah*, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all Muslims as the exclusive right of God. When Akbar, as the head of his new faith, was treated by his flattering friends, perhaps against his calmer judgment, as the representative of God on earth, he had to allow prostration in the assemblies of the Elect. The people at large would never have submitted. The practice evidently pleased the emperor, because he looked with fondness upon every custom of the ancient Persian kings, at whose courts the *proskynēs* had been the usual salutation. “It was *Nizám* of Badakhshán who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpúr [before 1586]. The success of the innovation made Mullá A'lam of Kábul exclaim, “O that I had been the inventor of this little business!”’” *Bad.*, III, p. 153. Regarding Nizám, or Ghází Khán, *ride* Abulfázi’s list of Grandees, IIInd book, No. 144. The *sijdah* as an article of Akbar’s Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to Ain 77.
searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king.1

When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the kornieb, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed, partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer.

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne.

All others stand in the Yasal.2 One or two attendants* stand nearer than all.

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1 The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.

2 The finger tips of the left hand touch the right elbow, and those of the right hand, the left elbow; or, the fingers of each hand rest against the inner upper arm of the opposite side. The lower arms rest on the kumarband. When in this position, a servant is called ámidah i khidmat, or ready for service. Sometimes the right foot also is put over the left, the toes of the former merely touching the ground. The shoes are, of course, left outside at the ʿuff i niʿḍ. The emperor sits on the throne (vide Plate VII.) with crossed legs, or zhahar-zaʿān, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called žirʿaun ʿnisbáta, or Pharaoh’s mode of sitting, if assumed by persons of no rank in the presence of strangers. Pharaoh—Orientals mean the Pharaoh of the time of Moses—is proverbial in the East for vain-glory. The position suitable for society is the duzání mode of sitting, i.e., the person first kneels down with his body straight; he then lets the body gently sink till he sits on his heels, the arms being kept extended and the hands resting on the knees.

* Yasal signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court, and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the Qur (vide pp. 109, 110), the Mullahs and the ‘Ulamá, &c.

* The servants who hold the ṣibba Xín 18, or the fans.

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AṣN 76.

THE MUSTER OF MEN.

The business which His Majesty daily transacts is most multifarious; hence I shall only describe such affairs as continually recur.

A large number of men are introduced on such days, for which an Anjuman i Dād o Dihish, or assembly of expenditure, has been announced. Their merits are enquired into, and the coin of knowledge passes current. Some take a burden from their hearts by expressing a wish to be enrolled among the members of the Divine Faith; others want medicines for their diseases. Some pray His Majesty to remove a religious doubt; others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter. There is no end to such requests, and I must confine myself to the most necessary cases.

The salaries of a large number of men from Turān and Irān, Turkey and Europe, Hindustan and Kashmīr, are fixed by the proper officers in a manner described below, and the men themselves are taken before His Majesty by the paymasters. Formerly it had been the custom for the men to come with a horse and accoutrements; but now-a-days only men appointed to the post of an Ahadi bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them, is then increased or decreased, though it is generally increased; for the market of His Majesty's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before His Majesty depends on the number of men available. Every Monday all such horsemen are mustered as were left from the preceding week. With the view of increasing the army and the zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two ḍāmes for each horseman.

Special Bitikchis [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Ahadis. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Ahadi to buy his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadi that

1 This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. Vide next Aīn.

2 As settling a family-feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, &c.

Abulfazl means men who were willing to serve in the several grades of the standing army. The standing army consisted of cavalry, artilllery, and rifles. There was no regular Infantry. Men who joined the standing army, in the beginning of Akbar's reign, brought their own horse and accoutrements with them; but as this was found to be the cause of much inefficiency (vide Second Book, Aīn 1), a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.

3 As Ahadis drew a higher salary (II, Aīn 4), they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.

4 Aīn 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Ahadis.

5 So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 158, l. 10, has As it is not customary for Ahadis to buy a horse, &c. Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to Aīn 4, of the second book, an Ahadi was supplied with
may have lately died, which he hands over to the newly appointed Ahadis either as presents, or charging the price to their monthly salaries.

On such occasions, Senior Grandees and other Amirs introduce also any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. His Majesty then fixes the salaries of such candidates according to circumstances; but appointments under fifty rupees per mensam are rarely ever solicited in this manner.

Appointments to the Imperial workshops also are made in such assemblies, and the salaries are fixed.

ATN 77.

HIS MAJESTY' AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE.

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies among men, one class of whom turn to religious (din), and the other class to worldly thoughts (dunyā). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders, and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one; •

Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol.
There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,
Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of thousand others consists in clinging to an idea: they are happy in their sloth and unfitness of judging for themselves. But when the time of reflection comes, and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness.

But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge. Again, although some are enlightened, many would observe silence from fear of fanatics, who lust for blood, but look like men. And should any one muster sufficient courage, and openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts, pious simpletons would call him a mad man, and throw him aside as of no account, whilst ill-stared wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him.

Whenever, from lucky circumstances, the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people naturally look to their king, on account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of Divine wisdom,* which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it.

Men versed in foretelling the future, knew this when His Majesty was born,2 and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they

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1 the lover, and both are one. Brahmin = man; the idol = God; lamp = thought of God; house = man’s heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere ‘the bright assembly of God’s works.’

2 The text has taqīd, which means to put a collar on one’s own neck, to follow another blindly, especially in religious matters. ‘All things which refer to prophetship and revealed religion they [Abulfazl, Hakim Abulfath, &c.] called taqīdīyāt, i. e., things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A. H. 983, or A. D. 1575] a great number of Portuguese, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning.” *Baddot II. p. 281.

3 Vide Abulfazl’s preface, p. III, l. 19.

4 This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor. Akbar spoke. “From Mirzâ Shāh Muḥammad, called Ghazzin Khán, son of Shāh Begkhán, who had the title of Daurkân Khán, and was an Arghūn by birth. The author heard him say at Lāhār, in A. H. 1053, “I asked Nawâb ‘Azīz Kokhā, who has the title of Khān i ‘Azam [vide List of
have since been waiting in joyful expectation. His Majesty, however, wisely
surrounded himself for a time with a veil, as if he were an outsider, or a
stranger to their hopes. But can man counteract the will of God? His
Majesty, at first, took all such by surprise as were wedded to the prejudices
of the age; but he could not help revealing his intentions: they grew to
maturity in spite of him, and are now fully known. He now is the spiritual
guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of
pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path,
and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

But whether he checks men in their desire of becoming disciples, or
admits them at other times, he guides them in each case to the realm of
bliss. Many sincere enquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his
holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors
could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers
of those who have renounced the world, as Sannásis, Jogís, Sérás, Qálánda,
Hákíme, and Cufi, and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits, as
soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandmen, have daily their eyes
opened to insight, or have the light of their knowledge increased. Men of all
nations, young and old, friends and strangers, the far and the near, look
upon offering a vow to His Majesty as the means of solving all their diffi-
culties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire. Others again,
from the distance of their homes, or to avoid the crowds gathering at Court,
offer their vows in secret, and pass their lives in grateful praises. But
when His Majesty leaves Court, in order to settle the affairs of a province,
to conquer a kingdom, or to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, there is not a
hamlet, a town, or a city, that does not send forth crowds of men and women
with vow-offerings in their hands, and prayers on their lips, touching the
ground with their foreheads, praising the efficacy of their vows, or proclaim-
ing the accounts of the spiritual assistance received. Other multitudes ask for
lasting bliss, for an upright heart, for advice how best to act, for strength
of the body, for enlightenment, for the birth of a son, the reunion of friends,
a long life, increase of wealth, elevation in rank, and many other things.
His Majesty, who knows what is really good, gives satisfactory answers to
every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day
passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching him to breathe
upon it. He who reads the letters of the divine orders in the book of fate,
on seeing the tidings of hope, takes the water with his blessed hands, places

Grandees, second Book, Aín 30], whether
the late emperor, like the Messiah, had
really spoken with his august mother.
He replied, "His mother told me, it was
true." *Dabestán ul Mażábíb*, Calcutta

The words which Christ spoke in the
cradle, are given in the Qurán, Sur. 19,
and in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy
of Christ*, pp. 5, 111.
it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfils the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people of broken hopes, whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

A more remarkable case is the following. A simple-minded recluse had cut off his tongue, and throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said, "If that certain blissful thought, which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well; for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue." The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.

Those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and the piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs, remarkable as they may appear at first; and those who know His Majesty’s charity and love of justice, do not even see anything remarkable in them. In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection, though he is the ornament of the world. Hence he even keeps back many who declare themselves willing to become his disciples. He often says, "Why should I claim to guide men, before I myself am guided?" But when a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily enquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantel of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside conceit and selfishness,

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1 "He [Akbar] shewed himself every morning at a window, in front of which multitudes came and prostrated themselves; while women brought their sick infants for his benediction, and offered presents on their recovery." From the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1589, in Murray's Discoveries in Asia, II, p. 96.

2 His thought was this. If Akbar is a prophet, he must, from his supernatural wisdom, find out in what condition I am lying here.

3 "He [Akbar] shewed, besides, no partiality to the Mahometans; and when in straits for money, would even plunder the mosques to equip his cavalry. Yet there remained in the breast of the monarch a stronghold of idolatry, on which they [the Portuguese Missionaries] could never make any impression. Not only did he adore the sun, and make long prayers to it four times a day; he also held himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." Murray's Discoveries, II, p. 96.

4 The text has zabán i hát, and a little lower down, zabán i bezfán. Zabán i hát, or symbolical language, is opposed to zabán i magál, spoken words.

5 Or rather, from his head, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfish-
the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to enquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the Shaqt, upon which is engraved 'the Great Name,' and His Majesty's symbolical motto, 'Allāhu Akbar.' This teaches the novice the truth that

"The pure Shaqt and the pure sight never err."

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive, they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

**Ordinances of the Divine Faith.**

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allāhu Akbar;" and the other responds, "Jalla Jalālu'llah." The motive of His Majesty, in laying down this mode of speech is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction. 1 Shaqt means aim; secondly any thing round, either a ring, or a thread, as the Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor which, according to Badāoni, the members wore on their turbans.

2 The Great Name is a name of God. "Some say, it is the word Allah; others say, it is ʿimād, the eternal; others, ʿalḥayy, the living; others, ʿalqayyūn, the everlasting; others, arrahmān, arrahim, the clement and merciful; others, ʿalwahimūn, the protector. Ghīū. " Qāzī Hamīduddin of Nāgor says, the Great Name is the word ʿHu, or He (God), because it has a reference to God's nature, as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again, the word ʿHi is a root, not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it." Kāshf al-Wujūdat. These formulas remind of Akbar's name, Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar. The words Allāhu Akbar are ambiguous: they may mean, God is great, or, Akbar is God. There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the Imperial seals, and the heading of books, firmhūn, &c. His era was called the Divine era; his faith, the Divine faith; and the note at the end of this Ain shews how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the Mustafīd of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's vice regent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. " It was during these days [A. H. 983, or A. D. 1675-76] that His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words Allāhu Akbar to be cut on
of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdcatchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

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**Note by the Translator on the Religious Views of the Emperor Akbar.**

In connection with the preceding Ain, it may be of interest for the general reader, and of some value for the future historian of Akbar's reign, to collect, in form of a note, the information which we possess regarding the religious views of the Emperor Akbar. The sources from which this information is derived, is, besides Abulfazl's Ain, the *Muntakhab ut Taravirikh* by 'Abdul Qadir ibn i Muluk Shah of Badáon—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 104, and to a longer article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869—and the *Dabistán ut Mazáhil*¹, a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pársí tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese Missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolfo Aquaviva,

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¹ Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay, A. H. 1272, [A. D. 1866]. This work
Antonio de Monserrato, Francisco Enriques, &c., of whom the first is mentioned by Abulfazl under the name of Padri Raduf. There exist also two articles on Akbar's religious views, one by Captain Vans Kennedy, published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, which had originally appeared in the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Vol. I., 1824, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Badáoni, bearing on this subject, will be found in Sir H. Elliott's Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India, p. 243 ff. The Proceedings of the Portuguese Missionaries at Akbar's Court are described in Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. II.

I shall commence with extracts from Badáoni.* The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badáoni.

Abulfazl's second introduction to Akbar. His pride.


"It was during these days [end of 982 A. H.] that Abulfazl, son of Shaikh Mubârik of Nágor, came the second time to court. He is now styled 'Allámi. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the Cabáhis, 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 forms an opposition, gains power.' He laid before the Emperor a commentary on the Ayat ul-kurâ,*

has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

* Not Padre Raduf, as in Elphinstone's history, but رذلف the letter (lám) having been mistaken for a (yd).

As in the following extracts the years of the Hijrah are given, the reader may convert them according to this table:—

The year 980 A. H. commenced 14 May 1672 (Old Style).

980 — 14 May, 1672.
981 — 3 May, 1673.
982 — 23 April, 1674.
983 — 12 April, 1675.
984 — 31 March, 1676.
985 — 21 March, 1677.
986 — 10 March, 1678.
987 — 28 February, 1679.
988 — 17 February, 1680.
989 — 5 February, 1681.
990 — 26 January, 1682.
991 — 15 January, 1683.
992 — 4 January, 1684.
993 — 24 December, 1684.
994 — 13 December, 1685.
995 — 2 December, 1686.
996 — 22 November, 1687.
997 — 10 November, 1688.
998 — 31 October, 1689.
999 — 20 October, 1590.
1000 — 9 October, 1691.
1001 — 29 September, 1692.
1002 — 17 September, 1593.
1003 — 6 September, 1594.
1004 — 27 August, 1595.

* Qor. Sur. II, 256.
which contained all subtleties of the Qoran; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abulfazl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words Tafsir i Akbari (Akbar's commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abulfazl a man capable of teaching the Mullas a lesson, whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh, though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which His Majesty had placed in me.

The reason of Abulfazl'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 Habshi and others), Shaikh 'Abdunnabi and Makhdum ul mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously represented to the emperor that Shaikh Mubarik also, in as far as he pretended to be Mahdi, 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 Salim i Chishti at Fathpur, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested 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 Oujrat. Seeing that Salim took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubarak applied to Mirza 'Aziz Kokah [Akbar's foster-brother], 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 ['Aziz] 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 more favourable turn; and Abulfazl, when once in favor with the emperor, (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying His Majesty'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 servants of God, especially of Shaikhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

1 Vide p. 106, Note 5.
2 Badshah belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawi rumours for his own purposes; vide below. The extract shows that there existed before
He used to say, openly and implicitly,—

O Lord, send down a proof for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods a gnat as big as an elephant!
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up their heads;
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 'Ulamás (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following Rubá’í to them:—

I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
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 of any Mujtahid, he used to say, “Oh don’t bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller, and that cobbler, or that tanner!” He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and ‘Ulamás.”

**Comment and Disputation.** [Badóní II, p. 200.]

“During the year 983 A. H., many places of worship were built at the command of His Majesty. The cause was this. For many years previous to 983, 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 the Mu’talıyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qorán), and the word of the prophet (the Hadis, or Tradition). Questions of Qúfism, scientific discussions, enquiries into Philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names Yá ḥú and Yá ḥaddi, which had been mentioned to him,* and his

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982, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.

* That is, a man, capable of teaching the ‘Ulamás a lesson. Abūlāzl means himself.

* Nimrod, or Namrud, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of head; but at last he died from the effects of his own blows.

* A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muhammadan law. There are few Mujtahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding Rubá’í is translated by Sir H. Elliott in the Muhammadan Historians of India, p. 244.

* By some ascetic. Yá ḥú means O He (God), and Yá ḥaddi, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some faqirs repeat them several thousand times during a night.
heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, 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, and gathering the bliss of early hours."

In his religious habits the emperor was confirmed by a story which he had heard of Sulaimán, ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150 Shaiks and 'Ulamá, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mirzá Sulaimán, a prince of Qúfi tendencies, and a Qáhib i hál was coming to him from Badakhshán.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called Anúptaláö, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the 'Ulamá and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the 'Ulamá, and the heretical (Shi'itic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullá Sheri, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddád (vide Qor. Sur. 89). The result to which the discussions led, will be seen from the following extract. [Bad. II, p. 202.]

"For these discussions, which were held every Thursday* night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaikhs, 'Ulamá, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side; the Sayyids on the west side; the 'Ulamá, to the south; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries . . . . ., when 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 [Badáoní], "In future report any of the 'Ulamá that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Açaf Khán, "If I were to carry 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."

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1 The edition of Badáoni calls him Karóndí. He is sometimes called Karóndí; sometimes, Karándí. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1673.

2 Há is the state of ecstasy and close union with God, into which Qúfís bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.

* The text has Shab i Jum'á, the night of Friday; but as Muhammadans commence the day at sunset, it is our Thursday night.
Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.


"Some people mentioned that Háji Ibráhím of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes," quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick, in order to strike him, when the Háji by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."

Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the 'Ulamás and lawyers; he never pardoned pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him. From now he resolved to vex the principal 'Ulamás; and no sooner had his courtiers discovered this, than they brought all sorts of charges against them.

[Bad. II, p. 203.]

"His Majesty therefore ordered Maulána 'Abdullah of Sulánpúr, who had received the title of Makhdúm ul mulk, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Háji Ibráhím, Shaikh Abulfazl (who had lately come to court, and is at present the infallible authority in all religious matters, and also for the New Religion of His Majesty, and the guide of men to truth, and their leader in general), and several other newcomers, to oppose him. During the discussion, His Majesty took every occasion to interrupt the Múlání, when he explained anything. When the quibbling and wrangling had reached the highest point, some courtiers, according to an order previously given by His Majesty, commenced to tell rather queer stories of the Múlání, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qurán (Sur. XVI, 72), 'And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, &c.' Among other stories, Khán Jahán said that he had heard that Makhdúm 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 fatwa, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrát, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia), had to suffer injuries at the hand of the Qizilbashé (i. e., the Shi'a inhabitants of Persia), and in going by sea, they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose ship-tickets had pictures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed up.

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1 As women may use.  
2 This extract as given by Sir H. Elliott on p. 244 conveys a wrong impression.  
3 Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before 990 A. H.
Khán Jahán also related that the Mauláná had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal alms upon the wealth which he amased every year. Towards the end of each year, he used to make over all his stores to his wife, but he took them back before the year had actually run out.¹

Other tricks also, in comparison with which the tricks of the children of Móses are nothing, and rumours of his meanness and shabbiness, his open cheating and worldliness, and his cruelties said to have been practised on the Shaikhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimádárs and other deserving people of the Panjáb,—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, ‘which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection’ (Qor. LXXXVI, 9), were disclosed; all sorts of stories, calculated to ruin his character and to vilify him, were got up, till it was resolved to force him to go to Makkah.

But when people asked him whether pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances, he said No;² for Shaikh 'Abdunnábí had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mauláná was fast sinking.”

But a heavier blow was to fall on the 'Ulmáns. [Bad. II, p. 207.]

“"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many freeborn women a man was legally allowed to marry (by nikáh). 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 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, when the emperor remarked that Shaikh 'Abdunnábí had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the 'Ulmáns present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abí Laila; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qurán verse (Qor. Sur. IV, 3), “Marry whatever women ye like, two and two, three and three, and four and four;” but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abdunnábí,

¹ Alms are due on every surplus of stock or stores which a Sunni possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. If the wife, therefore, had the surplus for a part of the year, and the husband took it afterwards back, he escaped the paying of alms.

² I. e., he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.

³ Thus they got $2+2, 3+3, 4+4=18$. But the passage is usually translated, ‘Marry whatever women ye like, two, or three, or four.’ The Mujtahid who took nine unto himself, translated ‘two + three + four,’ $=9$. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the kárámádágí of Akbar's freeborn princesses was acknowledged.
who replied that he had merely wished to point out to Akbar that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a fatwa, in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. "The Shaikh," he said, "told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me." He never forgot this.

After much discussion on this point, the 'Ulamás, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, first, that by Mut'ah [not by nikáh] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and secondly, that Mut'ah marriages were allowed by Imám Málík. The Shi'áhs, as was well known, loved children born in Mut'ah wedlock more than those born by nikáh wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl i Jamá'át.

On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled Najdīturrashid [Vide note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqib Khán fetched a copy of the Muwatta of Imám Málík, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imám had cited as a proof against the legality of Mut'ah marriages.

Another night, Qázi Ya'qúb, Shaikh Abulfazl, Hájí Ibráhím, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the Anáptaloo tank. Shaikh Abulfazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding Mut'ah marriages, which his father (Shaikh Mubárik) had collected, and the discussion commenced. His Majesty then asked me, what my opinion was on this subject. I said, The conclusion which must be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarian customs, is this:—Imám Málík and the Shi'áhs are unanimous in looking upon Mut'ah marriages as legal; Imám Sháfi'i and the Great Imám (Hanífa) look upon Mut'ah marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qázi of the Máliki sect decide that Mut'ah is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Sháfí'ís and Hanafís. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much.

The unfortunate Shaikh Ya'qúb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qázi. He tried to shift the ground; but when he saw that he was discomfited, he said, "Very well, I have nothing else to say,—just as His Majesty pleases."

"The emperor then said, "I herewith appoint the Máliki Qázi Husain 'Arab as the Qázi before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Ya'qúb, are from to-day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qázi Hasan, on the spot, gave a decree which made Mut'ah marriages legal.
The veteran lawyers, as Makhdum ulmulk, Qazi Ya’qub, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

This was the commencement of ‘their sere and yellow leaf.’

The result was that, a few days later, Maulana Jalaluddin of Multan a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was ordered from Agra (to Fathpur Sikri,) and appointed Qazi of the realm. Qazi Ya’qub was sent to Gaur as District Qazi.

From this day henceforth, ‘the road of opposition and difference in opinion’ lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mujtahid of the empire.” [Here follows the extract regarding the formula ‘Allahu Akbar, given on p. 166, note 3.]

[Badouni II, p. 211.]

“During this year [983], there arrived Hakim Abulfath, Hakim Humayun (who subsequently changed his name to Humayun Quli, and lastly to Hakim Humam,) and Nuruddin, who as poet is known under the name of Qarari. They were brothers, and came from Gilan, 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 Akbar.

Soon after there came from Persia Mulla Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazidi, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the Cahabah (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imams), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shi’ah. But he was soon left behind by Bir Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abulfazl, and Hakim Abulfath, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islam, 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.

At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qazi Jalaluddin and several ‘Ulamas to write a commentary on the Qoran; but this led to great rows among them.

Deb Chand Raja Manjholah—that fool—once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter (Suraat ul baqarah) of the Qoran.

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islam read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the Cahabah. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in every thing connected with the prophet, were put down as taqlidi, or religious blindness,
and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."

[Badáoni II, p. 245.]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dipálpur in Málwah, Sharíf of Amul arrived. This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic. For some time he had studied Qúfic nonsense in the school of Maulána Muhammad Záhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Husain of Khwárizm, and had lived with derwishes. But as he had little of a derwish in himself, he talked slander, and was so full of conceit, that they hunted him away. The Maulána also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs:

There was a heretic, Sharíf by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

In his wanderings he had come to the Dak'hin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dak'hin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey and shewn about in the city. Hindustan, however, is a nice large place, where anything is allowed, and no one cares for another, and people go on as they may. He therefore made for Málwah, and settled at a place five kos distant from the Imperial camp. Every frivolous and absurd word he spoke, was full of venom, and became the general talk. Many fools, especially Persian heretics, (whom the Islám casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called Nabátis, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millenium. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him, he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer room, which had been made of cloth, and in which the emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and stood still with his arms crossed, and you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour¹ is a sign of hostility to our prophet) shed 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 sat down duzdún (vide p. 160, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty; no one dared to draw near them, but I some-

¹ Chashmi i azraaq. Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Harír and the Crusades.
times heard from a distance the word 'ilm (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths,' or 'the groundwork of things.'

A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk.
He is immersed in heresies infernal,
And prattles—God forbid!—of truth eternal.

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Mahmúd of Basakhwán (a village in Gilán), who lived at the time of Tímúr. Mahmúd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy, as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but titlél, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language.' The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Bahor o Kásháh (the Ocean and the Jug), and contains such loathsome nonsense, that on listening to it one's ear vomits. How the devil would have laughed into his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharíf—that dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled Tarashshukh i Zuhár, in which he blindly follows Mír 'Abdulawwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words misformúdan (the master said), a queer thing to look at, and a mass of ridiculous, silly nonsense. But notwithstanding his ignorance, according to the proverb, 'Worthies will meet,' he has exerted such an influence on the spirit of the age, and on the people, that he is now [in 1004] a commander of One Thousand, and His Majesty's apostle for Bengal, possessing the four degrees of faith, and calling, as the Lieutenant of the emperor, the faithful to these degrees.'

The discussions on Thursday evenings were continued for the next year. In 986, they became more violent, in so far as the elementary principles of the Islám were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The Ulamás even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other Káfirs or accursed.

[Bad. II. p. 255.]

"Makhdúm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaikh 'Abdunnabi, in which he accused him of the murder of Khízr Kháñ of Shirwán, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mír Hábshi, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with 'Abdunnabi, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaikh 'Abdunnabi called Makhdúm a fool, and cursed him. The Ulamás now
broke up into two parties, like the Sibtis and Qibtis, gathering either round the Shaikh, or round Makhduim, and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

*His Majesty till now [986] had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islam. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different.*

[Bad. II, p. 239.]

"In 984, the news arrived that Sháh Táhmasp of Persia had died, and Sháh Ismá'íl II. had succeeded him. The Táríkh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words شهید دو [ظفر ف + د + E = 984]. Sháh Ismá'íl gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer. Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment, if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose."

[Bad. II, p. 241.]

In 985, the news arrived that Sháh Ismá'íl, son of Sháh Táhmasp, had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister Pari Ján Khánun. Mir Haidar, the riddle writer, found the Táríkh of his accession in the words شاهین شاهی ران زمان [984], 'a king of the face of the earth,' and the Táríkh of his death in شاهین شاهی زن زمان [985], 'a king below the face of the earth.' At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India (p. 240), and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabriz, Shirwán, and Mázandarán. Sultán Muhammad Khúdbândah, son of Sháh Táhmasp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the Cábábah.

*But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindustán from Persia.*

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As Táhmasp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word علی [930] as the Táríkh of his accession, we have Táhmasp from 930 to 984. Ismá'íl II. 984 to 985. Prinsep's Tables (11th edition, p. 308) give, Táhmasp, 932 to 983. Ismá'íl II., from 983 to 985.
Bada'oni's Summary of the Reasons which led Akbar to renounce the Islām.

[Bad. II, p. 256.]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path. I shall not give all, but only some, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides to that which is great, and a sign of fear in a man points him out as the culprit."

The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but enquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of enquiry opposed to every [Islāmitic] principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islām, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself.

Moreover Sumanis¹ and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their

¹ Explained in Arab. Dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (lurianuh) Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.
doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islámite revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he shewed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,

"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr." "

When it was too late to profit by the lesson,

She could but frown, and hang down the head.

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Purukhotam, author of a commentary on the ... whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debl was pulled up the wall of the castle, sitting on a chárdá, till he arrived near a balcony where the emperor used to sleep. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahádev, Bishn, Kishn, Rám, and Mahámá, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though some, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels. His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a deep root in his heart, and he approved of the saying, - "There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Insincere flatterers composed treatises, in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished enquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the Abl i Kîtáb (Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed, but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence.

\[1\] Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of enquiry into other religious systems. But zephyrs are also destructive: they scatter the petals of the rose.

\[2\] The text has a few unintelligible words.

\[3\] Perhaps in order not to get polluted, or because the balcony belonged to the Harem.
Sometimes again, it was Shaikh Tājuddān of Dihli, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaikh is the son of Shaikh Zakariyā of Ajodhan. The principal 'Ulamā of the age call him Tājul'ārifīn, or crown of the Qurān. He had learned under Shaikh Zamān of Pānīpat, author of a commentary on the Lawāih, and of other very excellent works, was in Qurānic and pantheism second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabi, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the Nuzhat ularwāh. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Qurānic trifles. As the Shaikh was not overstrict in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Qurānic will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the Fūqc ulhikam, or the excellence of hope over fear, and many other things to which men incline from weakness of disposition, unmindful of cogent reasons, or distinct religious commands, to the contrary. The Shaikh is therefore one of the principal culprits, who weakened His Majesty's faith in the orders of our religion. He also said that infidels would, of course, be kept for ever in hell, but it was not likely, nor could it be proved, that the punishment in hell was eternal. His explanations of some verses of the Qurān, or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase 'Insān i kāmil (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the sijdah (prostration), which people mildly call samīnbas (kissing the ground,) he allowed to be due to the Insān i Kāmil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king Ka'bah i Murādāt, the sanctum of desires, and Qiblah i Hājdāt, the cygnus of necessities. Such blasphemies other people supported by quoting stories of no credit, and by referring to the practice followed by disciples of some heads of Indian

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1 As long as a Qurānic conforms to the Qurān, he is shari'; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the maulūm ru'aq, he is dādd, free, and becomes a heretic.

2 Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore mālūn, accused by God. But according to some books, and among them the Fūqc, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses a true prophet.

3 The Islam says, Alimān baina-l khaufī warrī: Faith stands between fear and hope. Hence it is sin to fear God's wrath more than to hope for God's mercy; and so reversely.

4 As the samīnbas, or the use of holy names as Ka'bah (the temple at Makkah) or qiblah (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).
sects. And after this, when...  

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaikh Ya’qūb of Kašmir, a well known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ‘Ain ulqazat of Hamadán, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of Alhādí (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God’s name of Almuṣīl (the tempter), that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mulla Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalifahs, called the whole Čahābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnis and the Aḥl i Jāmā’at, and represented every sect, except the Shi’ah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ‘Ulamās, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the ‘Ulamās of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imām i Ghazzālī and Imām i Rāzi,* and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ‘Ulamās, he judged those great men of the past by his contemporaries, and threw them aside.

Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of Pádre.* They have an infallible head, called Pápa. He can change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the gospel, and mentioned to the emperor their 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 Murād⁴ to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspicious-

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¹ The text has an unintelligible sentence.
² According to the Islām, God leads (ḥāḍī) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.
³ Aḥl i jāmā’at is a term which is often joined with the word Sunnī. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qorān; or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (qide) of famous Čahābah; or lastly, upon jinād, agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the Hijrah. Hence Aḥl i jāmā’at comprises all such as believe jinād binding.
⁴ Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of Imām Ghazzālī are the Iḥyā’ uṣūlūm, and the Kiniyā i Sa’dādat, which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Abkar liked.
⁵ The text has Pādera.
⁶ Prince Murād was then about eight years old. Jahāngīr (Salīm) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Rabī’ulawwal 977. Three months after him, his sister Shахzadah Khānum was born; and after her (perhaps in year the 978) Shах Murād, who got the nickname of Pahrene, as he was born in the hills of Fathpūr Sikrī. Dānīyāl was born in Ajmīr during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th the Jumā’ulawwal 979.
ness, and charged Abulfazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual
Bismillah-irrahman-irrahim, the following lines were used—

\[ Ai \text{ nám i tu Jesus o Kiristo } \]

(O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, 'O thou whose name is gracious and blessed;' and Shaikh
Faizí added another half, in order to complete the verse

\[ Subhánaka lá siwáka Yá há. \]

(We praise Thee, there is no one besides Thee, O God!)

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and
of his qualities, to Muhammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings
rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.

Bir Bay also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the
primary origin of every thing. The ripening of the grain on the fields,
of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives
of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship
and reverence this luminary; and people in praying should face towards
the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets.
For similar reasons, said Bir Bar, should men pay regard to fire and
water, stones, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their
dung, to the mark on the forehead and the Brahminical thread.

Philosophers and learned men who had been at Court, but were in
disgrace, made themselves busy in bringing proofs. They said, the sun
was 'the greatest light,' the source of benefit for the whole world, the
nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power.

This was also the cause why the Naurúz i Jaláli* was observed, on
which day, since His Majesty's accession, a great feast was given. His Majesty
also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours, each of
which was worn on a particular day of the week in honor of the seven
colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus formulæ, to reduce
the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them
mornings and evenings as a religious exercise. He also believed that
it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship; he looked upon cow-
dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?)

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1 The formula 'Bismilláh, &c.' is said by every schoolboy before he commences
to read from his text book.

The words Ai nám i tu Jesus o Kiristo
are taken from the Dabistán; the edition
of Badá'í has Ai námí wai shazho
Kiristo, which, though correct in metre
(vide my 'Prosody of the Persians, p.
33. No. 32,) is improbable. The formula
as given in the Dabistán has a common
Masnavi metre, (vide my 'Prosody,' p.
33, No. 31), and spells Jesus دیوی dezuz.
The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works
II, p. 387) has no metre.

* Vide the Tárikh i Mulkí, in the
beginning of Book III.
instead of cows. The doctors confirmed the emperor in his opinion, and
told him, it was written in their books that beef was productive of all sorts
of diseases, and was very indigestible.

Fire-worshippers also had come from Naúsári in Gujrát, and proved
to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fire-worship
' the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favorably, that he
learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Párís, and
ordered Abulfazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept
burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the
ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning;
for fire was one of the manifestations of God, and ' a ray of His rays.'

His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate
the Ḥom (a kind of fire-worship), from his affection towards the Hindu
princesses of his Harem.

From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign [988],
His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and
the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted
in the palace. On the festival of the eighth day of Virgo, he put on the
mark on the forehead, like a Hindu, and appeared in the Audience Hall,
when several Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels
on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings
by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents.
The custom of Rák'hi (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets)
became quite common.

When orders, in opposition to the Islám, were quoted by people of
other religions, they were looked upon by His Majesty as convincing, whilst
Hinduism is in reality a religion, in which every order is nonsense. The
Originator of our belief, the Arabian Saints, all were said to be adulterers,
and highway robbers, and all the Muhammadans were declared worthy
of reproof, till at length His Majesty belonged to those of whom the Qurán
says (Sur. 61, 8 : ) " They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths:
but God will perfect his light, though the infidels be averse thereto." In
fact matters went so far, that proofs were no longer required when any-
thing connected with the Islám was to be abolished."

Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.

[Bad. II, p. 268.]

In this year [987], His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person
the powers of the state and those of the Church; for he could not bear
to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the prophet, his
lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amir Timúr
Çáhibqíran, and Mirzá Ulugh Beg i Gurgán, and several others, had
themselves read the *Khutbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first Jumáda-lawwal 987, in the Jámí Masjid of Fatehpúr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khutbah. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizi had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imám (leader of the prayer) to Háfiz Muhammad Amin, the Court Kháthib. These are the verses—

The Lord has given me the empire,  
And a wise heart, and a strong arm,  
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,  
And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice.  
His praise surpasses man's understanding,  
Great is His power, Alláhu Akbar!''

[p. 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qur'án, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead. It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abulfazl, Faizi, &c.) did not like it. This wicked innovation gave general offence, and sowed the seed of evil throughout the country; but notwithstanding this, a lot of low and mean fellows put piously on their necks the collar of the Divine Faith, and called themselves disciples, either from fear, or hope of promotion, though they thought it impossible to say our creed."

[p. 270 to 272.]

"In the same year [987], a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdúm ulmulk, of Shaikh 'Abdunnabí, çadruçu'dúr, of Qází Jaláluddín of Multán, Qásilquzát, of Çadr Jahán, the mufti of the empire, of Shaikh Mubárik, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghází Khán of Badakhshán, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences.

1 As Abulfazl has done in the Áfn.  
2 But Faizi added the usual praise of the prophet (ma'it) to his Nat Daman, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends.” Baddoni.  
3 Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula ‘*Bismillah, fyc*’ had been changed to Alláhu Akbar, we also find Alláhu Akbar in the heading of books, as in the Áfn.
The object of the document was to settle the superiority of the Imam i 'Adil (just leader) over the Mujtahid, which was proved by a reference to an ill-supported authority. The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion; but the document was to do away with the possibility of disagreeing about laws, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves. But before the instrument was signed, a long discussion took place as to the meaning of ijtihad, and as to whom the term Mujtahid was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imam who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the Mujtahid, to decide, according to the requirements of the times, and the wants of the age, all such legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion. At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly, others against their convictions.

I shall copy the document verbatim.

The Document.

'Whereas Hindustán has 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 'Ulamás, 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 Qurán (Sur. IV, 62,) "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 Imam i 'Adil: whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Me; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me," and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a Sultan i 'Adil (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid. Further we declare that the king of the Islám, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, Abul Fath Jaláluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah i ghádá, 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.
Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorán, but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islám, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamás and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah.'

The draft of this document when presented to the emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárik. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaikh had added at the bottom that he had most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter, which, for several years, he had been anxiously looking forward to.

No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of intellect of the Imám was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imám became law.

But the state of Shaikh Abulfazl resembled that of the poet Hairati of Samarqand,1 who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Máwaral-nahr (Turkistán), joined the old foxes of Shi'itic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road.' You might apply the proverb to him, 'He prefers hell to shame on earth.'

On the 16th Rajab of this year, His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmir. It is now fourteen years that His Majesty has not returned to that place. On the 5th Sha'bán, at the distance of five kos from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Mu'in-uddin). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwájah of Ajmír, whilst he rejected the foundation of everything, our prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung."

[p. 273.]

"After Makhdúm ulmulk and Shaikh'Abdunnabí had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qorán, elicited

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1 The birthplace of the poet Hairati is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkestán. It is said that he was a great wine-bibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was con-

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ofvened at. At last he settled at Káshán, and became a Shi'áh. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.
their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the prophet and the imāms. He distinctly denied the existence of Jins, of angels, and of all other beings of the invisible world, as well as the miracles of the prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our faith, the proofs for the truths of the Qurān as far as they agree with man's reason, the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and future rewards and punishments in as far as they differed from metempsychosis.

Some copies of the Qurān, and a few old graves Are left as witnesses for these blind men. The graves, unfortunately, are all silent, And no one searches for truth in the Qurān. An 'Id has come again, and bright days will come—like the face of the bride. And the cupbearer will again put wine into the jar—red like blood. The reins of prayer and the muzzle of fasting—once more Will fall from these asses—alas, alas!

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 fitnahā ummat, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Quṭbuddin Muhammad Khān and Shahbāz Khān (vide List of grandees, IId book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Quṭbuddin said, "What would the kings of the West, as the Sultan of Constantinople, say, if he heard all this. Our faith is the same, whether a man hold high or broad views." His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he shewed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he once go away from India, and be a respectable man there: he might go at once. Shahbāz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bīr Bār—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shahbāz abused him roundly, and said, "You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you." It got quite uncomfortable, when His Majesty said to Shahbāz in particular, and to the others in general, "Would that a shoe-full of excrements were thrown into your faces."

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1 Badāmī bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abulfazl, &c., who threw away the means of grace of the Islām (prayers, fasts).
In this year the Tamghlt (inland tolls) and the Jazyah (tax on infidels), which brought in several krors of dāmu, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.

In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpūr, headed by Muhammad Ma'qūm of Kābul, Muhammad Ma'qūm Khán, Mu'izzul Mulk, 'Arab Bahādūr, and other grandees. They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullā Muhammad of Yazd (vide above, pp. 175, 182), who was Qāzī-Iqzāt at Jaunpūr; and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army. The course which this rebellion took, is known from general histories; vide Elphinstone, p. 511. Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, and Mu'izzulmulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Agra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnāh.

In the same year the principal 'Ulamā, as Makhdūm ul mulk, Shaikh Munawwar, Mullā 'Abdushshukh, &c., were sent as exiles to distant provinces.

Hāji Ibrāhím of Sarhind (vide above, p. 105) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaikh Ibn 'Arabi. In this book, it was said that the Qāhib i Zamán was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him, were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought a fabricated tradition that the son of a Qahibā (one who knew Muhammad) had once come before the prophet with his beard cut off, when the prophet had said that the inhabitants of Paradise looked like that young man. But as the Hāji during discussions, behaved impudently towards Abulfazl, Hakim Abulfath, and Sháh Fathullah, he was sent to Rantambhúr, where he died in 994.

Farmáns were also sent to the leading Shaikhs and 'Ulamás of the various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to enquire into their grants (vide IIId book, Ain 19) and their manner of living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving

'Qāhib i Zamán, or 'Man of the Period,' is a title frequently given to Imám Mahdí.
them private interviews, and assigned to them some lands, as he thought fit. But when he got hold of one who had disciples, or held spiritual soirées, or practised similar tricks, he confined them in forts, or exiled them to Bengal or Bhakkar. This practice became quite common.*** The poor Shaikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes.”

[p. 288.]

“In this year (988) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the Čahīb i Zamān, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islām. Sharīf of Amul brought proofs from the writings of Mahmūd of Basakhwān (vide above, p. 177), who had said that, in 990, a man would rise up who would do away with all that was wrong**. And Khwājah Maulānā of Shirāz, the heretic of Jafqdān, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharīfs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over, the promised appearance of Imām Mahdī would immediately take place. The Maulānā also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shi‘ahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with ‘Ali, and some quoted the following Rubā‘i, which is said to have been composed by Nāṣir i Khusrau, or, according to some, by another poet:—

In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and on the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.

All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.”

[p. 291.]

“At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present, to mention each the name of man who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception. Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence. Thus Ḥakīm Humām (vide above, p. 175) mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abulfazl his own father.

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1 The text here does not give a clear meaning.
2 A Persian poet of the fifth century of the Hijrah. As he was a free-thinker and Shi‘ah, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The Fakhāng i Jahangīrī is full of verses from the works of this ancient poet.
3 God.
During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honor, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree.

All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne."

[p. 299.]

"At this time (end of 989), His Majesty sent Shaikh Jamál Bakhtyár to bring Shaikh Qutbuddin of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Qutbuddin came, the emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion, the Shaikh exclaimed, 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it 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 Bhakkar, together with other faqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqirs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahár, where they were exchanged for horses. About the same time, the emperor captured a sect consisting of Shaikhs and disciples, and known under the name of Ilâhi. They professed all sorts of nonsense, and practised deceits. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, "Repentance is our Maid." And so they had invented similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islám, and for the fast. At the command of His Majesty, they were sent to Bhakkar and Qandahár, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts."

[p. 301.]

"His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islámitic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaikhs and 'Ulamás who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of the Islám, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations. The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should shew the era of the Millennium, and that a history of the one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death
of the prophet. Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the sijdah, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of sijdah, the word samindos was used. Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. Of course, people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly enquire into such a matter? It was in fact nothing else but licensing a shop for drunkards. Some people even said that pork formed a component part of this wine! Notwithstanding all restrictions, much mischief was done, and though a large number of people were daily punished, there was no sufficient check.

Similarly, according to the proverb, 'Upset, but don't spill,' the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called Shaitanpura, or Devilsville. A Droghah and a clerk also were appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it. But without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing girls to his house. If any wellknown courtier wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty, and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed. Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked.

His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were punished or censured, or confined for a long time in fortresses. Among them, His Majesty came across one whose name was Râjah Bir Bar, a member of the Divine Faith,
who had gone beyond the four degrees, and acquired the four cardinal virtues. At that time he happened to live in his jagir in the Parganah of Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogi; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from everything which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him. Hence this custom has become very general. Pan-dering pimps also expressed the opinion that the beard takes its nourishment from the testicles; for no eunuch had a beard; and one could not exactly see of what merit or importance it was to cultivate a beard. Moreover, former ascetics had looked upon carelessness in letting the beard grow, as one way of mortifying one's flesh, because such carelessness exposed them to the reproach of the world; and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islam looked upon, cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftis also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qazis' of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words kamá yaf'alu ba'zulqusát (as some Qazis have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be kamá yaf'alu ba'zulqusát (as some wicked men have done).

The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and... and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words Kufr shdi' shud, or 'heresy became com-
mon', express the Tārikh (985). Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mirzā Jānī, chief of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confessions on paper as follows:—'I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islām in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Shāh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honor and religion.' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid (Abulfazl) of the new Creed, and were considered a source of confidence or promotion. The Heavens might have parted asunder, and earth might have opened her abyss, and the mountains have crumbled to dust!

In opposition to the Islām, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily, was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed.

'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say.'

The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possesses one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets, used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustānis, followed this example, even taking the tongues of dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it.

Tell the Mīr that thou hast, within thy skin, a dog and a carcass.

A dog runs about in front of the house; don't make him a messmate.

The ceremonial ablution after emission of *semen* was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the *sperma genitalis*, which was the origin of good and bad men. It was absurd that voiding urine and excrements should not require ceremonial ablutions, whilst the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate ablution; it would be far better, if people would first bathe, and then have connexion.

Further, it was absurd to prepare a feast in honour of a dead person; for the corpse was mere matter, and could derive no pleasure from the feast. People should therefore make a grand feast on their birth-days. Such feasts were called *Ašḥāb i ḥayṭ*, food of life.

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the

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1 Faizī.  
2 *I. e., that you are a dog.*  
3 *According to the law, bathing is required after jimād, and ihtilām.*  
4 *For the poor.*  
5 *Provisions for the life to come.*
courage which these two animals possess, would be transferred to any one who fed on such meat.

It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages was weakly. The wearing of ornaments and silk dresses at the time of prayer was made obligatory. * * * *

The prayers of the Islám, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, as the son of Mulla Mubárík, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abúfazl, 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 (963). The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the Nuzābuzaghdín. Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Muslímns 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 Tarikih Idhí, or 'Divine Era.' On copper coins and gold muhurs, the era of the Millenium* 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 upon as a crime; and Muhammedan law, the exegesis of the Qurán, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, as the ث, ض, ص, ح, ع, and ى, were avoided. Thus for 'Abdullah, people wrote إبولا لل له Abúdáláh; and for إبولا لل له إبولا لل له Abúdálá, &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Sháhnámah, which Firdausí gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at court—

From eating the flesh of camels and lizards
The Arabs have made such progress,

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* The Muhammedan law enjoins Muslímns to go to the Mosques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammedans disapprove of our 'Sunday dresses' and pewage.
* The text has an unintelligible sentence.
* That is, the word alf (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with alf on it (vide Marsden, p. 590) were struck about 991.
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!

Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the ....... in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islám, whether special or general, as the prophethood, the harmony of the Islám with reason, the doctrines of Rúyát, Taklíf, and Takwín, 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 in condition is a sine qua non in arguing.

A man who will not listen, if you bring the Qurán and the Tradition, Can only be replied to by not replying to him.

Many a family was ruined by 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 presents. Thús Laţif Khvájah, who came from a noble family in Turkistán, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi's Shumá' il,* and asked how in all 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 Quraish; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the prophet thought her agreeable, &c. At night, when there were social

1 The word in the text is Sajarád (P). In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.

2 Rúyát, or didár i Iláhí dar jannát, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnás. The Shi'ás say, there will be no actual seeing.

Taklíf: A man is called mukallaf bil-shar, bound by the law, first, if he belong to the Islám; secondly, if he have 'aql or a sound mind; thirdly, if he have reached bulugh, i.e., if he be of age.

Takwín means existence between two non-existences (adamsa). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islám says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.

* The book of the famous Muhaddís (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizi, which contains all Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the prophet. The word idol is expressive of great beauty; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unsuited to Muhammad, who had abolished idols.

* This refers to the charge of adultery brought against 'Aishah, Muhammad's favorite wife. The whole story will be found in Sale's Qurán, Sur. 24, p. 288.
assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'The Forty,' and every one might say or ask what he liked. If then any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said, "You had better ask the Mullahs about that, 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 Çahábah, when historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Qiffin, &c.,—would that I were deaf! The Shi'ahs, 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 for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself.'

The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but 'AllMu Akbar', and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mulla Sheri, at this time, composed a qit'ah of ten verses, in which the following occur:

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
Will ever vanish from the earth.
I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:
'This year the emperor has claimed prophetship,
Next year, if God will, he will be God.'

At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the 'Ulamás and the pious, nay even the Qázis and the Mufti of the realm, to drink wine. And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Faizi, 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 Sharafu-lahraf, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jagirs, or horses.

1 The Chihil tanán, or 40 Abdás. After the death of Muhammad, the last of the long series of prophets, the earth complained to God, that henceforth she would no longer be honored by prophets walking on her surface. God promised her, that there should always be on earth forty (according to some, seventy-two) holy men, Abdás, for whose sake He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called Ghaus.

2 Fadak is a village not far from Makkah, which Fátimah claimed as her own; but Abú Bakr would not let her have it. Qiffin is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle took place between Alif and Mu'áwiyah. Both affairs form, even now-a-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnis and Shi'ahs. Hence the author of the Dabistán has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader will find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Dabistán.
or dresses of honor, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought."

In this year Gulbadan Begum [Akbar's aunt] and Salimah Sultan Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Sháh Abú Turáb also, and I'timád Khán of Gujrát, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant. The stone contained, according to Abú Turáb, an impression of the foot of the prophet. Akbar—though it is difficult to guess the motive—wrote four kos to meet it, and the grandees were ordered to carry the stone themselves by turns, and thus it was brought to town.

[p. 312.]

"In this year, Shaikh Mubárik of Nágór said in the presence of the emperor to Bir Bar, "Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are many in ours (Qorán); hence it is impossible to trust either."

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why at the approaching close of the Millennium, he did not make use of the sword, 'the most convincing proof,' as Sháh Ismá'íl of Persia had done. But His Majesty, at last, was convinced that 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 have easily got most of the courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets.

The following Rubá'í of Náqír i Khusrav was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahádi and that of Antichrist:
Either politics must change or religion.
I clearly see the hidden secret.

At a council meeting for renovating the religion of the empire, Rájah Bhagawán said, "I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmáns have each a bad religion; but only tell us where 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 orders of our glorious faith was continued. The Táríkh was found in the words Ihdás i bid'át, the innovation of heresy (990).

During those days also the public prayers and the azdá, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the statehall, were abolished. Names like Ahmad, Muhammad, Mu'táfa, &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 names as *Yār Muhammad, Muhammad Khan*, were altered to *Rahmat*. To call such ill-starred 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 change them, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.'

And this destructive fire broke all out in Agra, burnt down great and small families, and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!'

**[p. 315.]**

"In Rab狮子ni 990, Mir Fathullah came from the Dak'hin (ride above p. 33).* *** As he had been an immediate pupil of Mir Ghiyasuddin Manṣūr of Shirāz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fathullah would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fathullah was such a stanch Shi'a, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shi'ism. Even in the statehall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shi'a 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, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor, in Fathullah's presence,' said to Bir Bār, "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, "it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe." And that wretch (Bir Bār) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, "Yea, we believe! Yea, we trust!" This great foot-experiment was repeated over and over again. But Fathullah—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something; for he was a new-comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear."

Here Badānī mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p. 104. It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit, or from Hindi trans-

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1 As Fathullah was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Fathullah, to make a remark on the prophet's ascension (mi'rāj).
lations, or from both. Badáoni clearly states that for some translations, as as the At’hárban, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahabhárat, there may have been Hindi translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (vide p. 105, note 1) translated passages to Naqib Khán. Abulfazl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the Kín. Compare Sir H. Elliott’s Index to the Historians of India, p. 259.

[p. 321.]

“In these days (991) new orders were given. The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun; during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardín; the whole month of Abán (the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindus. This order was extended over the whole realm, and capital punishment was inflicted on every one who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

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 of 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 the ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukidárs. For the word jamáat (public prayer), His Majesty used the term jimd’ (copulation), and for hayya2 ala, he said yalád talád.

The cemetry within the town was ordered to be sequestered.”

[p. 324.]

“In the same year (991), His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindus and Muhammadans, one of them being called Khairpúrah, and the other Dharmpúrah. Some of Abulfazl’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

1 Hayya ‘ala, for ‘hayya ‘ala-ççaláh’ [the wajf form of çalát], ‘Come quick to the prayer,’ is a phrase which occurs in the Azdáq. Yalád talád is a phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth.
place was built, which got the name of Jogipūrah. His Majesty also called some of the Jogis, and gave them at night private interviews, enquiring into abstruse truths; their articles of faith; their occupations; the influence of pensive ease; 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. His Majesty even learned alchemy, and shewed in public some of the gold made by him. Once a year also during a night called Siwdt, a great meeting was held of all Jogis of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogis, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, he got quite convinced of it. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs for 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, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet, there were even now a class of Lāmāhs, or Mongolian devotees, and recluses, and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason, His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lāmāhs, limited the time he spent in the Harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs 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) under 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 Tawhid i Ilāhī, or 'Divine Monotheism.'

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1 Zuhāl, in Persian Kāvīdān, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Nizāmī says sa-wdd ː i nūdān nūmān rūpur, 'He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing.' Anār Suhkālī in praise of some physician, Zuhāl skāgīrd i ː i dar nukhtāhānī, 'Saturn in wisdom is his pupil.' Hence the famous astronomer Abūlq̣āsim has the laqab (title) of Ghulām i Zuhāl. Besides, there are several cycles of years, over which each of the seven planets reigns.

The first cycle was that of Saturn, during which the ages of men were long. The last cycle is that of the moon, during which people do not attain a very old age. It existed already at the time of Hāfiz, who says, In chīh shorast kih dar dāur i qamar mibinim, 'What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon.'

He also called, according to the manner of the Jogis, a number of special disciples Chelaís (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared, they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, 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 Hindus and Muhammadans, 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 1,001 names of the 'Greater Luminary', and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1,001 names of 'His Majesty the Sun,' and told the emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rám, Kishín, and other infádel 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 honor Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and shewed it to the emperor, who believed every word of it.

In this year also, in the state hall of Fathpúr, the ten cubit square of the Hanáfis and the Qullátain of the Shi'ís and Shi'áhs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Hanáfís was greater than that of the others.

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shi'áhs, when the Hindustánis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shi'áh side."

[ p. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullá Táhdád of Amrohah and Mullá Sherí attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to Çadrship in the Dáb of the Panjáb. Mullá Sherí presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled Hazár Shuá', or 'The Thousand Rays,' which contained 1,000 qitá'hs in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased."

At the feast of the emperor's accession in 992, numerous conversions took place. [Bad. II. p. 338.]

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1 Qullátain, two large jars containing 1,200 rapl i 'iráqi (Iráqi pounds) of water. According to the Shi'áhs and the Shi'í sect, water does not become majís, or soiled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 rapl, or the cube of 3½ spans. Hanifí fixed (10 gí) just deep enough that the hand, in passing over it, do not touch the bottom. The experiment which Akbar made had for its object to throw blame on the Hanáfí Sunnis.
They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles, and to follow the new religion. Instead of the usual tree, His Majesty gave his likeness, upon which the disciples looked as a symbol of faith and the advancement of virtue and prosperity. They used to wrap it up in cloth studded with jewels, and wore it on the top of their turbans. The phrase ‘Allahu Akbar’ was ordered to be used as the heading in all writings. Playing with dice, and taking interest, were allowed, and so in fact was every thing else admitted which is forbidden in the Islam. A play-house was even built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (vide Second book, Ain 15). Interest and shatal (money given at the end of the play to the by-standers) were looked upon as very satisfactory things.

Girls before the age of fourteen, and boys before sixteen, were not to marry, and the story of the marriage night of the Prophet with Qidiiyah was totally disapproved of. But why should I mention other blasphemies—May the attention which any one pays to them run away like Quicksilver—really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason, why people should not believe the words of the prophets. So especially in the case of David and the story of Uriah. And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastingly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor. But according to the proverb, ‘What people sow, that they shall reap,’ they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and ‘the infallible authority’ got the nick name of Abujaal. Yes, ‘If the king is bad,
the Vizier is worse.' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns; but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and every thing else was accessory.

In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the Fancy bazaars, which are held on New year's-day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of Harem people, marriage-contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.

The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office; and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could not get enough; for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindústánis nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them. For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not."

"In this year Sultán Khwájah died. He also belonged to the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him, they laid down a new rule. They put a grate over his grave in such a manner that the light of the rising sun, which cleanses from all sins, could shine on the face of the corpse. People said, they had seen fiery tongues resting over his mouth, but God knows best."

During the month of Qafar (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yúsufzais. Badhání says (p. 350):

"Nearly 8,000 men, perhaps even more, were killed. Bir Bar also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime. During the last night attack, many grandees and persons of renown were killed, as Hasán Khán,¹ and Khwájah 'Arab, paymaster (colonel) of Khán Jahán, and Mullá Sheri, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words az Khwájah 'Arab haif*¹

¹ Vide List of grandees, Text edition of the Ain, p. 227, No. 220, where for Husain read Hasán. In the MSS. of the Ain he is called بنیی بنیی or بنیی بنیی. My MS. of the Tabaqát reads یبینی بنیی افغان Patani Afghán, and calls him a Hazdrí. The edition of Badhání has wrong. His biography is not given in the Madarî ulumard. ² The letters give 993; hence one more = 994.
express the Tārīkh of the defeat, by one less. Hakīm Abulfath and Zain Khān, on the 5th Rabi‘ulawwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Aṭak.* ** But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bār. He said, "Alas! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned;" but at last, he consol ed himself with the thought, that Bir Bār was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire."

New orders were given in the beginning of 995. [Page 356.]

"No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, and one wife.' Women, on reaching the limit of their period of fertility, when their courses stop, should no longer wish for the husband. If widows liked to re-marry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindus. A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt. If, however, the Hindus thought this a hardship, they should not be prevented (from burning the girl); but then a Hindu widow should take the girl . . . ."

Again, if disciples meet each other, one should say 'Allāhu Akbar,' and the other should respond 'Jalla Jallaulu.' These formulas were to take the place of our salām, and the answer to the salām. The beginning of counting Hindu months should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramjīt. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmāns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujarāt and Bengal.

Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmins, and not by Musalmani Qāžis. If it were necessary to have recourse to oaths, they should put heated irons into the hands of the accused, who was guilty if his hands were burnt, but innocent if not; or they should put the hands of the accused into hot, liquid butter; or the accused should jump into water, and if he came to the surface before an arrow had returned to the ground, which had been shot off when the man jumped into the water, he was guilty.

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1 The text has was not against the ideas of the Hindus (?).
2 The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Maulawi Agha Ahmad 'Ali had in editing Badāonī, give no sense.
People should be buried with their heads towards the east, and their feet towards the west.¹ His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position."

[p. 363.]

"In the same year the prohibition of the study of Arabic was extended to all. People should learn Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, and Philosophy. The Tárikh of this order is *Fasád i fazl* (995).*

On the 10th day of Muharram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khán Khánán, and Mán Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahár, Hájípúr and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Mán Singh. He said without reserve, "If Your Majesty mean by the term of membership, willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have given pretty clear proofs, and Your Majesty might dispense with examining me; but if the term has another meaning, and refers to religion, surely I am a Hindu. And if I am to become a Muhammadan, Your Majesty ought to say so—but besides Hinduism and Islám, I know of no other religion." The emperor then gave up urging him.

During the month of *Ca'far* 996, Mírzá Fúlád Beg Barlás managed to get one night Múllá Ahmad of Thát'hah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed at him, because the Múllá openly reviled [as Shi'ahs do] the companions of the prophet. The Tárikh of this event is expressed by the words *Zihe khanjar i Fúlád,* 'Hail, steel of Fúlád,' or by *Khák i saqari,* 'hellish hog!' And really, when this dog of the age was in his agony, I saw that his face looked just like the head of a pig,¹ and others too witnessed it—O God! we take refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mírzá Fúlád tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Láhor; for when Hakim Abulfath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Múllá, whether he had stabbed at the Múllá from religious hatred, he had said, "If religious hatred had been my motive, it would have been better to kill a greater one than the Múllá." The Hakim reported these words to His Majesty, who said, "This fellow is a scoundrel; he must not be allowed to remain alive," and ordered his execution, though the people of the Harem asked the emperor to spare him for his general bravery and courage. The Múllá outlived

¹ This was an insult, because the Muhammadans in India face the west during prayer. *Vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal* for 1868, p. 56.

² Sunnis assert that this transfiguration into an animal (*másk*¹) happens very often to Shí'ahs, because they revile the *Cáhábah*. *Fa'izi*, according to Ba-dáoni, looked and barked like a dog, when dying. Another thing which the Sunnis all over India quote as a great proof of the correctness of their *másháb*, is that no Shí'ah can ever become a *hífz*, i. e., no Shí'ah can commit the Qurán to memory.

³ Either Akbar, or Abulfazl.
the Mirzá three or four days. The Shi'ahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the anus, and plunged him several times into the river.¹ After his burial, Shaikh Faizi and Shaikh Abulfazl put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmir, the people of Láhor, one night, took the hideous corpse of the Mullá from the grave, and burned it.”

[pp. 375, 376, 380.]

“In 999, the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats, horses, and camels, was forbidden. If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced. Circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve, and was then to be left to the will of the boys. If any one was seen eating together with a butcher, he was to lose his hand, or if he belonged to the butcher’s relations, the fingers which he used in eating.

In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced.”

In 1002, special orders were given to the kotcals to carry out Akbar’s commands. They will be found in the Third book of the Ain, Aín 5. The following are new:

If any of the darsaniyyah* disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was. But this order is based upon a fundamental rule, which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her, and if a young girl was found running about town, whether veiled or not, or if a woman was bad, or quarrelled with her husband, she should be sent to the quarter of the prostitutes, to do there what she liked.”

[p. 391.]

“At the time of famines and distress, parents were allowed to sell their children, but they might again buy them, if they acquired means to repay their price. Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musal-máns, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked. If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him

¹ This was done to clean the intestines of succos, which were thrown into the river from which the Sunnis got their

water.

² From darsan, for which vide p. 157, l. 1.
by force, and be given back to her family. People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples."

[p. 398.]

"In this year A'zam Khán returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharifs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the sijlah 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 the Reverend Master Abulfazl, and got Gházipúr and Hájípúr as jágir."

[p. 404.]

"During the Muharram of 1004, Čadr Jahán, mufti of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandship of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the Shafát of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his Hazáriship. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day, Mullá Taqí of Shushtar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Sháhnámah into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase jallat 'azmatu ku 'azza shánuhu,* wherever the word Sun occurs. Among others that joined were Shaikhzádah Gosálah Khán of Banáras; Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád,* and Čúfi Ahmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muhammad Ghaus. They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words mütárúsh i chand, or 'several shavers', express the táríkh of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan,* or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them, 'My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islám will still remain on your neck. This Ahmad, the little Čúfi', is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaikh Ahmad 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 commit an

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* This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
* Shafát, which has been explained on p. 166, also means a fish hook.
* Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
* That is, over-zealous.
error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case.”

So far Badáoni. We have, therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith. With the exception of Bîr Bâr, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badáoni’s remarks, the number of those that took the Shâqt, must have been much larger.

1. Abulfazl.
2. Faizi, his brother, Akbar’s court-poet.
3. Shaikh Mubârik, of Nâgor, their father.
4. Ja’far Beg Açaf Khán, of Qazwín, a historian and poet.
5. Qâsim i Kâhi, a poet.
6. ’Abduccamad, Akbar’s court-painter; also a poet.
7. A’zam Khán Kokah, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhágád, a historian.
9. Çûfi Ahmad.
10 to 12. Çadr Jahán, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
14. Sultán Khwâjah, a çadr.
15. Mîrzá Jâni, chief of T’hat’hah.
16. Taqi of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaikhzâdah Gosâlah of Banâras.
18. Bîr Bâr.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the Aín; the others are mentioned in the above extracts from Badáoni. The literary element is well represented in the list.

The above extracts from Badáoni possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar’s views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islâm to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsîs. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Aín, nor to the longer article in the Dabistán.

As the author of the latter work has used Badáoni, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new.

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar’s birth.

[Dabistán, p. 390.]

1 Vide also Shea and Troyers’ English Translation of the Dabistán, III, p. 49.
"Khwájah Mas'úd, son of Khwájah Mahmúd, son of Khwájah Murshid-ulhaq, who was a gifted Čákib i ḫáli," said to the writer of this book, "My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world 'reveals himself.' I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jaláuddin Akbar, the august son of Humáyún Padisháh and Hamidah Bání Begum."

The second miracle has been related above, on p. 163, note 3. These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author of the Dabistán has divided his article on the "Divine Faith." The second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badáoni, which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shea's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tátárs. The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Kitáb.

P. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Irán, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher."*

P. 412. Abulfazl wrote, as a counterpart to his commentary on the Ayatul-kursi (p. 169), a preface to the translation of the Mahábharat (vide p. 105) of two juz.

P. 413. "When Sultan Khwájah, who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, he said that he hoped, His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man. He was therefore buried in a grave with a peculiar lamp, and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him." **

Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islam, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; but so should also a Mosalmán woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism."***

P. 414. "I heard from Mullá Tarson of Badakhshán, who was a Hanafi

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* Vide p. 171, note 2.

* The author of the Dabistán gives much prominence to the idea that the power and success of the Tátárs was in some way mysteriously connected with their sun and star worship, and that their conversion to the Islam was looked upon as the beginning of their decline. It looks as if the writer wished to connect this idea with Akbar's successes and sun-worship.


* Vide above, p. 204.

* The words in Italics are not in Badáoni. The object of the order was evidently to prevent a woman from doing what she liked; for, according to the Muhammadans, women are looked upon as nadíq ut-aql.
by sect, that once during the year 1058, he had gone on a pilgrimage to Sikandrah, the burial place of Akbar. "One of my companions," he said, "declined to enter the pure mausoleum, and even abused the Representative of God [Akbar]. My other companions said, "If Akbar possesses hidden knowledge, that man will certainly come to grief." Soon after a piece of a broken stone fell down, and crushed his toe."

P. 431. "In Multán, I saw Sháh Salámmulláh, who has renounced the world, and is a muháhid (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline, and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jaláluddin Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, "Had I formerly possessed the knowledge which I now have, I would never have chosen a wife for myself; for upon old women I look as mothers, on women of my age as sisters, and on girls as daughters." A friend of mine said, he had heard Nawáb Abul Hasán, called Lashkar Khán of Mashhad, report the same as having been said by Akbar.

Salámmulláh also said that God's Representative (Akbar) had often wept and said, "O that my body were larger than all bodies together, so that the people of the world could feed on it without hurting other living animals."

A sign of the sagacity of this king is this, that he employed in his service people of all classes, Jews, Persians, Túránis, &c., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbashés (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Sháh 'Abbáš, son of Sultán Khudábandah i Çáfawi, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gujús (Georgians). Akbar paid likewise no regard to hereditary power, or genealogy and fame, but favoured those whom he thought to excel in knowledge and manoms."

The passages in the Ain which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 48; 49; 54; 57; 58, l. 4 from below; Ain 26, p. 61; p. 90, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Badáoni, vide above p. 180, l. 18; p. 91, note 3; p. 103, note 3; 10‡, 105, 106; p. 108 l. 22, because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islám, as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Ain 72, p. 153; 159; Ain 77, p. 162; Ain 81, p. 216. In the Second Book, Ains 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25; in the IIIrd book, end of 'Ain 1 (Táríkh Iláhi); Ains 2, 5, 9, 10; and lastly, the greater part of the fifth book.

It will be observed that the remarks on Akbar's religious views do not extend beyond the year 1596, when the greater part of the Ain had

1 Vide the notes to Ain 30 of the Second Book.
been completed. Badáoni’s history ends with A. H. 1004, or A. D. 1595; but his remarks on Akbar’s religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahángír in his ‘Memoirs’, are almost entirely silent on the religious ideas of the emperor, we have no means of following them up after 1596. Akbar, in all probability, continued worshipping the sun, and retained all other peculiarities of his monotheistic Pársí-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahángír’s Memoirs which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musalmán, and ‘repented’ on his death-bed, is most untrustworthy, as every other particular of that narrative.

With Akbar’s death, the Divine Faith died out. Akbar, solely relying on his influence and example, had established no priesthood, and had appointed no proper person for propagating his faith. If we except the influence which his spirit of toleration exerted, the masses had remained passive. Most of the members, mentioned on p. 209, had died before Akbar; such as were still alive, asSharif of Amul took

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1 The story of Akbar’s ‘conversion’ is also repeated in Elphinstone’s History. Second edition, p. 531. The Mullá whom Akbar, according to Price’s Memoirs, is said to have called, is Qádr Jahán who, as remarked above on p. 209 was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Tuzuk i Jahángír, as published by Sayyid Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqbalnáma, a poor production (though written in beautiful Yání Persian), or Kháfí Khán, allude to the conversion, which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Kháfí Khán especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Badáoni, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (vide Kháfí Khán, I., p. 106). The silence of the author of the Dabistán is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullá Tarson, and the abuse uttered by his companion against Akbar (p. 210), are proofs that Akbar did not ‘repent.’ To this we have to add that Jahángír, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls Hazrat Náyír-i A’ram; he also continued the sijdah, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar’s Solar Era, though it involved a loss to the revenue, because for every 33 lunar years, the state only received taxes for 32 solar years; he allowed some Hindu customs at Court, as the Rák’hi (vide above p. 184), and passed an order, not to force Hindus to join the Islám (Tuzuk, p. 100).

2 Akbar died on the Shab i Chahárshambih, 12th Jumáda-l-ukhra 1014 A. H., which, according to note 3 of p. 171, is our Tuesday night [not Wednesday, as in Price, and all European Historians], the 16th October, 1596, old style. Hence Akbar would have died in the night which followed the day on which he celebrated his sixty-third birth-day, if we adopt our mode of reckoning; vide p. 62, note 1.

There is some confusion in the Histories regarding the exact day of Akbar’s death. The Pádisháh-náma (Vol. I, p. 66) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the Chahárshambih (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th Jumáda-l-ukhra, corresponding to the 2d Abán of Akbar’s Era. The Mir-i and Kháfí Khán (I, p. 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight. The Pádisháh-náma (p. 69) and Kháfí Khán (p. 246) fix the júlis, or accession, of Jahángír for Thursday the 20th Jumá-
again to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahangir. As Jahangir did not trouble himself about any religion, Akbar's spirit of toleration soon changed to indifference, and gradually died out, when a reaction in favour of bigotry set in under Aurangzeb. But people still talked of the Divine Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistán collected his notes on Akbar's religion.¹

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THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The Khäuser elephants with their furniture and ornaments are the first which are daily brought before His Majesty, namely, ten on the first day of every solar month. After this, the Halghah elephants are mustered according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitikchi, during the muster, must be ready to answer any questions as to the name of each animal (there are more than five thousand elephants, each having a different name. His Majesty knows to which section most of the elephants belong—ten elephants form a section of ten (dañd), and are in charge of an experienced officer); as to how each elephant came into the possession of His Majesty; the price; the quantity of food; the age of the animal; where it was born; the period of heat, and the duration of that state each time; the date when an elephant was made Khäuser; its promotion in the Halghah; the time when

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Jahangir, it was customary for courtiers on meeting their Majesties, or on receiving a present, to prostrate themselves, placing the forehead on the ground.* * * This custom had also obtained in antiquity, but had been abolished by the Islam.** When His Majesty [Shâhjâhân] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to the re-introduction of the customs of the Islam, the strict observance of which had died away, and turned his august zeal to re-building the edifice of the law of the prophet, which had all but decayed. Hence on the very day of accession, His Majesty ordered that putting the forehead on the ground should be restricted to God. Mahbât Khân, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, &c. His Majesty would not even allow the Zamânbor, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Taâlîm [Akbar had fixed three, vide p. 158, l. 5].” Pādishâh-nâmâh 1, p. 110.
the tusks are cut; how many times His Majesty has mounted it; how many times it was brought for riding out; the time of the last muster; the condition of the keepers; the name of the Amir in charge. For all other elephants eight things are to be reported, viz., the change of its name (?); the repetition of it; its price; how it came into the possession of His Majesty; whether it is fit for riding, or for carrying burdens; its rank; whether it has plain furniture or not; which rank the Faujdár has assigned to it. The rule is, that every Faujdár divides his elephants into four classes, separating those that are best from those that are worst, whether they are to remain with him, or whether he has to give some to other Faujdárs.

Each day five tahwilí (transferable) elephants are inspected by an experienced man. The following custom is observed: When new elephants arrive for the government, they are handed over in fifties or hundreds to experienced officers, who fix their ranks. Such elephants are called Tahwilí elephants. When His Majesty inspects them, their rank is finally settled, and the elephants are transferred to the proper sections. Every Sunday one elephant is brought before His Majesty, to be given away as a present to some deserving servant. Several halqahs are set apart for this purpose. The rank of the khāṣah elephants formerly depended on the number of times they had been inspected by His Majesty; but now their precedence is fixed by the number of times His Majesty has mounted them. In the halqahs, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the khāṣah elephants are again examined, ten every day. Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves. After them come the halqahs. As they are arranged in sections according to the price, some elephants have, at every muster, their value either enhanced or lowered, and are then put among their equals. For this reason, many Faujdárs are anxious to complete their sets, and place themselves for this purpose in a row at the time of the musters. His Majesty then gives the elephants to whomsoever he likes. If the number of the elephants of any Faujdár is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Faujdárs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Faujdár receives some, provided he musters all his elephants. The Mushrif (accountant) receives orders where to keep the elephants.

The elephants of the grandees also, though not belonging to the fixed establishment, are almost daily brought before His Majesty, who settles their rank, and orders them to be branded with a peculiar mark. Elephants of dealers also are brought before His Majesty, who fixes their rank and value.
THE MUSTER OF HORSES.

They begin with the stables of forty; then come the stables of the princes; then the khāḍāḥ courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten muhur horses have been inspected, they bring the Gūṭs, Qiirdāqs, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the Bārgir horses (vide p. 133, l. 12; p. 135, l. 10 from below, and Aīn 54, p. 139). The place of the horses at the musters, is determined by their value, and in the case of horses of the same value, the precedence is determined by the time of service. Before the musters, the horses are inspected by clever officers, who again fix their value, and divide them into three classes. When the rank of a horse has been put higher or lower, it is placed among his proper class-fellows. Those horses which belong to the third class, form separate stables, and are given away as presents. If horses have their value raised, they are given over to such keepers as bring to the musters either the full complement of their horses, or at least a complement not more deficient than by two. Incomplete stables are daily filled up during the musters; or if not filled up, they are put in charge of separate keepers. Twenty horses are daily mustered. On Sundays, horses are the first that are mustered. Double the usual number are then inspected. Several horses are also kept in waiting at Court, viz., one from each of the sixty to the forty muhur stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten muhur stables. They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries. The precedence at musters of bāzār-horses is fixed according to the price. According to the number of horses available, from twenty to a hundred are daily mustered. Before the musters, experienced officers fix the prices, which are generally enhanced at the time of the parades. Horses above thirty muhurs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty. A cash-keeper attached to the State-hall is entrusted with money, so that horse-dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims. When horses have been bought, they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange.

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three Rupees for every 'Irāqī, Muyiannas (vide p. 140, note 2), and Arab, imported from Kābul and Persia; two and a half Rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahār; and two for Kābul horses, and Indian Arab breed.
THE MUSTERS OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five qatárs are daily inspected. Those pançadis (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dárogah has the permission to parade before His Majesty a qatár of excellent Bughdis and Jammázhahs. Then come the Bughdis, and after them the Jammázhahs, the G'hurds, the Loks, and all other camels. The commencement of the musters takes place on Fridays, on which day double the usual number marches past. The precedence of camels is determined by their value.

THE MUSTER OF CATTLE.

Cattle are mustered according to their value, ten yokes daily. The muster commences on Wednesdays, on which day double the usual number is inspected.

On the day of the Dhwáli—an old festival of this country, on which the Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shewn to cows as worship—several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty. People are very fond of this custom.

THE MUSTERS OF MULES.

The musters of this beast of burden commence on Thursdays, when six qatárs are inspected in order of their value. Mules are mustered once a year.

Formerly all musters took place as above described. But now horses are inspected on Sundays; camels, cows, and mules, on Mondays; the soldiers, on Tuesdays; on Wednesdays, His Majesty transacts matters of Finance; on Thursdays, all judicial matters are settled; Fridays His Majesty spends in the Harem; on Saturdays, the elephants are mustered.
THE PAGOSHT REGULATION.\(^1\)

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores, teaches equity, reveals the excellent, and stimulates the lazy man. Experienced people saw their wisdom increased, and such as inquired into this secret, obtained their desires.

His Majesty first determined the quantity of daily food for each domestic animal, and secondly determined the results, which different quanta of food produce in the strength of an animal. In his practical wisdom and from his desire of teaching people, His Majesty classifies the dishonest practices of men. This is done by the Pagosht regulation. From time to time an experienced man is sent to the stables of these dumb creatures. He inspects them, and measures their fatness and leanness. At the time of the musters also the degrees of fatness or leanness are first examined into, and reports are made accordingly. His Majesty then inspects the animals himself, and decreases or increases the degrees of their fatness or leanness as reported, fixing at the same time the fine for leanness. If, for some reason, the allowance of grain or grass of an animal had been lessened, proper account is taken of such a decrease. The leanness of an elephant has been divided into thirteen classes. * * * *

\(^1\) The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily quanta of food supplied to the animals had been fixed by minute rules (Ains 43, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Darogahs (store-keepers) entered into their roznámeháhs, or day-books, the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fatness of each animal, and compared it with the food it had been receiving since the last muster, as shown in the day-book. Akbar determined a maximum fatness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food (a). Similarly, he determined a fatness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (b), though Abulfazl does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, &c. were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as\(\frac{8\text{A}}{8}, \frac{7\text{A}}{8}, \frac{6\text{A}}{8}, \text{&c.} \) Thus in the case of elephants, the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees. Pagosht means a quarter of flesh, and evidently expresses that the food a only produced \(\frac{A}{2}\), instead of \(\frac{A}{4}\). The name was then transferred to the regulation. We do not know how the mustering officers applied Akbar's rule, whether by measuring the circumference of an animal, or by weighing them. The rule may appear fanciful and unpractical; but it shews how determined Akbar was to fathom the dishonesty of his Darogahs. Hence the carefulness which he shewed in assessing fines (Ains 48, 57), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men, in reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by 'Aláuddín Khilji and Sher Sháh, in fixing the perquisites, in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, &c.

\(^2\) The text (p. 163, l. 19) enumerates several fractions, or degrees of leanness, but they give no sense. The confusion of the MSS. is due to the want of interpunctuation.
For all other animals beside the elephant, six degrees have been laid down, viz. the second, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth [degrees of the thirteen for the elephant]. And as it is the custom of the Faujdār, to mark, at the time of the musters of the halqahs, one halqah which is the best in their opinion, and to put separate that which is the worst, the officers who inquire into the leanness and fatness, deduct fifty per cent. from the degree of the former, and count one half for the latter halqah. If the Faujdār works in concert with the Dāroghah, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Faujdār is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dāroghah for the remaining part of the food. The leanness of old elephants is fixed by the condition of the whole halqah. In the horse stables the grooms, water-carriers, and sweepers are fined one-fourth of the wages. In the case of camels, the Dāroghah is fined the amount of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass. In the case of oxen used for carriages, the Dāroghah is fined for the part of the grass and the grain; but the driver is not liable. In case of heavy carriages, half the fine is remitted.

ON ANIMAL FIGHTS. REGULATIONS FOR BETTING.

His Majesty is desirous of establishing harmony among people of different classes. He wishes to arrange feasts of friendship and union, so that every thing may be done with propriety and order. But as all men do not possess a mind capable of selecting that which is true, and as every ear is not fit to listen to wisdom, His Majesty holds social meetings for amusement, to which he invites a large number of people. Through the careful arrangements of His Majesty, the court has been changed from a field of ambitious strife to a temple of a higher world, and the egotism and conceit of men have been directed to the worship of God. Even superficial, worldly people thus learn zeal and attachment, and are induced by these gatherings to enquire after the road of salvation.¹

¹ To join Akbar's Divine Faith.

Deer-fights.

The manner of fighting of this animal is very interesting, and its method of stooping down and rising up again is a source of great amusement. Hence His Majesty pays much attention to this animal, and has succeeded in training this stubborn and timid creature. One hundred and one deer are khāqāh; each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer,
first, those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild ones; secondly, such as fight best with tame ones; and thirdly, such as fiercely attack wild deer. The fights are conducted in three different ways. First, according to number, the first fighting with the second, the third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole. At the second go, the first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. If a deer runs away, it is placed last; and if it is known to have run away three times, it ceases to be khāçah. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 dāms. Secondly, with those belonging to the princes. Five khāçah pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two khāçah pair from His Majesty's hunting-ground; then five other khāçah pair. At the same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five khāçah deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen khāçah pair engage with each other, and fight afterwards with the deer of the prince, till the fight with the deer of the prince is finished. Upon this, the deer of princes fight with each other, and then khāçah deer. The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhur. Thirdly, with the deer of other people.

His Majesty selects forty-two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets. The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven. To every set a Mal, a water-buffalo, a cow, a qeçqâr (fighting ram), a goat, and a cock, are given. Fights between cows and goats are rarely mentioned to have been held in ancient times. Before the fighting commences, two khâqak deer are brought in trimmed up, and are set against two deer belonging to people of various sets. First, with a deer belonging to a powerful grandee, and then the fight takes place before His Majesty. If a general assembly is announced, the fight may also take place, if the deer belongs to a commander of One Thousand. The betting on khâçah deer is eight muhurs, and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhurs, if it be an Atkal; and four, if an Anin. As deer have not equal strength and impetuousity of attack, the rule among deer-keepers is, once to select each of their deer in turn and take it to the arena. Such deer are called Anin. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called Atkal. In case of Mal, the betting is five muhurs; for water buffaloes and cocks, four; for cows and fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhurs on a khāçah deer; and with one of his own rank, 3½ muhurs, if the bet is on an Atkal; and three on an Anin; and so also in the same
proportion on *Malu*, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows, fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a *khāqah* deer 50 Rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30½ R. on an *Atkal*, and 25 R. on an *Anin*; on a *Mal* 3½ muhurs; on a water-buffalo and a cock 3½ M.; and on all other animals, 1½ M. A commander of Eight Hundred is allowed to bet 48 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his rank, 30 R. on an *Atkal*; and 24 R. on an *Anin*; on a *Mal* 3½ M.; on a water-buffalo and cock, 2½ M., and on other animals, as before. A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank on an *Atkal* 27½ R.; on an *Anin* 22 R.; on a *Mal* 3 M.; on other animals as before. A Commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank, 25 R. on an *Atkal*; 20 R. on an *Anin*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 M. [36 R.] on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 2½ M. on an *Atkal*, and 2 M. on an *Anin*; on other animals, as the preceding. A Commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 21½ R. on an *Atkal*; 17 R. on an *Anin*; on a *Mal* 2½ M.; on a water-buffalo and cock, 2 M.; on a cow, a fighting ram, and goat, 1 M. A Commander of Three Hundred may bet 30 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank, 18½ R. on an *Atkal*; 15 R. on an *Anin*; 2½ M. on a *Mal*; on other animals as the preceding. A Commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 15 R. on an *Atkal*, 12 R. on an *Anin*, and on other animals as before. A Commander of One Hundred may bet 2 M. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 1½ M. on an *Atkal*; 1 M. on an *Anin*; and on other animals as before. A Commander of Eighty may bet 16 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 10 R. on an *Atkal*; 8 R. on an *Anin*; 17 R. on a *Mal*; 1¼ M. on a water-buffalo and a cock; on other animals as before. A Commander of Forty may bet 12 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of his own rank 7½ R. on an *Atkal*; 6 R. on an *Anin*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Twenty may bet 10 R. on a *khāqah* deer; 6½ R. with one of his own rank on an *Atkal*; 5 R. on an *Anin*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Ten may bet 8 R. on a *khāqah* deer, and 5 R. on an *Atkal*, with one of his own rank; 4 R. on an *Anin*; on other animals as before. People who hold no *manqabs*, bet 4 R. on a *khāqah* deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ R. on an *Atkal*; 2 R. on an *Anin*; 15 R. on a *Mal*; on other animals as before.

But if the opponent hold a less rank, the amount of the bet is determined according to the amount which the opponent is allowed to bet on an *Anin*. When the last pair comes, the betting is everywhere on the deer. A fourth part of what people take from each other in *Mal* fights, is given to the victorious wrestler. The presents which His Majesty makes on such occasions, have no limits.
The rule is that every one of such as keep animals brings on the fourteenth night of the moon one deer to the fight. The Bitikchi of this department appoints half the number of deer as Anims, and the other half as Atkals. He then writes the names of the Atkals on paper slips, folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an Anin. As such nights are clear, fights are generally announced for that time.

Besides, there are two other classes of deer, kotal, and half kotal. The number of each is fixed. As often the number of khâcâh deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the kotal deer; and the deficiency in the number of kotal is made up from half kotal. One pair of kotal also is brought to the fight, so that they may be tried. Hunters supply continually wild deer, and bring them to His Majesty, who fixes the price. A fat superior deer costs 2 M.; a thin superior one, 1 M. to 15 R.; a fat middling one, 12 R.; Do. lean, 8 R.; a third class fat one, 7 R.; Do. thin, 5 R.; a fourth class fat one, 4 R.; Do. lean, 2½ to 2 R.

Deer are kept and fed as follows: Khâcâh deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 s. grain, ½ s. boiled flour, ½ s. butter, and 1 d. for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty's hunting-grounds, kotal, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1½ s. of grain, and flour and butter as before. The grass is supplied by each amateur himself. All khâcâh, home-bred, kotal deer, and those of His Majesty's hunting-ground, have each one keeper. The fighting deer of the sets have one keeper for every two; the single last one has a keeper for itself. Nothing is given for grass. Deer which are given to people to have them fattened, get 1½ s. grain, and ½ d. for grass. They have one keeper for every four; but one for every two, if they are fit to become khâcâh. Some deer are also sent to other towns; they get 1½ s. grain, and have each one keeper. If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get ½ s. of grain for a fortnight. They then get 1 s., and when one month is over, 1½ s.

In the deer park, Mançabârs, Ahadis, and other soldiers are on staff-employ. The pay of foot-soldiers varies from 80 to 400 d. His Majesty has 12,000 deer; they are divided into different classes, and proper regulations are made for each of them. There is also a stud for deer, in which new results are obtained. A large female gets 1½ s. grain, and ½ d. for grass. A new born deer drinks the milk of the dam for four months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ½ s. of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter sér of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, ½ d. is given from the seventh to the tenth month. Young male ones also get weaned after two months, when they get ½ s. of grain, which is increased
by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2½ s. From the fifth to the eighth month, they get ½ d. for grass, after which period they get ¼ d. for grass.

I have given a short description of animal fights as announced for general assemblies. His Majesty announces them also for day time; but as often a more important act of worship is to be performed, he announces them for the night. Or else His Majesty thinks of God, and seeks for wisdom in self-examination; he cares neither for cold nor heat; he spends the time which others idle away in sleep, for the welfare of the people, and prefers labour to comfort.

AtN 85.

ON BUILDINGS.

Regulations for house-building in general are necessary; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for worldly power.

Everywhere also Sardis have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells are being dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and places of worship are being founded, and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned.

His Majesty has enquired into every detail connected with this department, which is so difficult to be managed, and requires such large sums. He has passed new regulations, kindled the lamp of honesty, and put a stock of practical knowledge into the hands of simple and inexperienced men.

AtN 86.

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, &c.

Many people are desirous of building houses; but honesty and conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders. His Majesty has
carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied.

**Red sandstone costs 3 d. per man.** It is obtainable in the hills of Fatehpur Sikri, His Majesty’s residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skillfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture book of Hāni [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red sandstone (sang i gulūlah), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the p'harti, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 gas long, 2½ g. broad, and 1 g. high. Such a heap contains 172 mans, and has a value of 250 d., i. e., at the rate of 1 d. 11½ j. per man.

**Bricks** are of three kinds: burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three sers, and cost 30 d. per mille. The second class cost 24 d., and the third 10 d. per thousand.¹

**Wood.** Eight kinds of wood are in general use. 1. Sisaung, unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 Ilāhi gas long, and 8 Τασσάμes broad and high, costs 15 d. 6 j. But if the height be only 5 or 6 Τ., 11 d–10½ j. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. Nazhū, called in Hindi Jiḍh.¹ A beam, 10 Τ. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 13½ j.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 Τ. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 3½ j. 3. Dasang (?), called in Hindi Kārī; a beam 3 Τ. broad, and 4 gaz long, costs 5 d. 17½ j. 4. Ber,² 1 Τ. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 13½ j.; and so also Tāt, or Mulbery. 5. Mughūlūn (Babūl), of the same cubic content as No. 4, 5 d. 2 j. 6. Sirs, size as before, 10 d. 4 j. 7. Dayāl, same size, first quality 8 d. 22½ j.; second quality, 8 d. 6½ j. 8. Bakāyīn, same size, 5 d. 2 j.

**Gajī Shīrin,** or sweet limestone. There is a quarry near Bahirah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 R. per three mans; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 d. Sangīn qal’ī, per man 5 d. 5 j. Čadašt 5 d. Chūnāh, or quick lime, 2 d. per man; it is mostly boiled out of kangur, a kind a solid earth resembling stone in hardness.

**Iron cramps,** if tinned, 13 for 18 d.; plain ones, for 6 d.

**Iron door-knockers,** from Persia and Turān, tinned; large ones, 8 d. per pair; small ones, 4 d. Indian do., tinned, 5½ d.; plain ones, 4 d. 12 j.

**Gul Mekh** (large nails with broad heads), 12 d. per ser. Dindrinails, 5 d. per ser. Gogah, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 d. for one hundred; second quality, 5 d.; smallest, 4 d.

¹ This word is spelt Čidh in Aín 90, No. 69.

² “The Ber was in great request in Akbar’s time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood.” Balfour’s Timber Trees of India.
Screws and nuts, chiefly used for doors and boxes. Tinned, 12 d. per ser; plain, 4 d.

Rings, tinned, 6 d. per ser; plain, 4 d.

K'haprel, or tiles. They are one hand long and ten fingers broad, are burnt, and are used for the roofs of houses, as a protection against heat and cold. Plain ones, 86 d. per wille; enamelled, 30 d. for ten.

Qulbah, or spouts, to lead off water. Three for 2 d.

Bdus, or bamboo. It is used for spears. First quality, 15 d. for twenty pieces; second quality, 12 d. for do.; third quality, 10 d. for do. The price of some kinds of bamboo is much higher. Thus a peculiar kind is sold at 8 Ashraflas [Muhurs] per piece. They are used for making thrones. Bamboo, at a rupee per piece, is common. Patal is made of the reed which is used for qalam (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ d. per square gas; second quality, 1 d. Sometimes they sell patal at 2 d. for pieces 2 gas long, and 1½ g. broad. Sirki is made of very fine qalam reeds, looks well, and is very smooth; it is sold at the rate of 1½ d. per pair, 1½ g. long, and 16 girihs broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

K'has is the sweet-smelling root of a kind of grass, which grows along the banks of rivers. During summer, they make screens of it, which are placed before the door and sprinkled with water. This renders the air cool and perfumed. Price, 1½ R. per man.

Kāh i chappar (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindi pūlah, per ser from 100 to 10 d.

Bhus, or wheat straw, used for mixing with mortar, 3 d. per man.

Kāh i Dāb'h, straw, &c., which is put on roofs, 4 d. for a load of 2 mans.

Māni, the bark of qalam reeds, used for making ropes to fasten the thatching, 20 d. per man.

San is a plant. Peasants mix it with quicklime. People also make ropes of it for well buckets, &c., 3 d. per man.

Gum, of an inferior quantity, is mixed with quicklime, 70 d. per man.

Sirish i kāhl, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 d. per ser.

Luk is the flower-bunch of the reed which is used for matting. People burn it, and use it as a candle. It is also mixed with quicklime and Qal'i. Price, 1 R. per man.

Singil (silver clay) is a white and greasy clay, 1 d. per man. It is used for white-washing houses. It keeps a house cool and looks well. Gil i surkh, or red clay, called in Hindi gerú, 40 d. per man. There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwálíár.

Glass is used for windows; price, 1 R. for 1½ s., or one pane for 4 d.
ON THE WAGES OF LABOURERS.

Gilkar (workers in lime), first class workmen, 7 d.; second class, 6 d.; third class, 5 d.

Sangtarash (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 d. for each gaz; one who does plain work, 5 d. A labourer employed in quarries gets for every man he breaks, 22 j.

Carpenters, first class, 7 d.; second do., 6 d.; third do., 4 d.; fourth do., 3 d.; fifth do., 2 d. For plain job-work, a first class carpenter gets 1 d. 17 j. for one gaz; second class do., 1 d. 6 j.; third class do., 21 j.

Pinjarah at (Lattice work and wicker work). First, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 d. for every square gaz; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 d.; when hexagonal, 18 d.; when ja'fari [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical the other horizontal], 16 d.; when shafranj [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 d. for every square gaz.

Secondly, when the work is ghair waqil (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 d. per square gaz; for second class do., 40 d.

Arrakhkash (one who saws beams). For job-work, per square gaz 2½ d., if sisam wood; if nasli wood, 2 d. A labourer employed for the day, 2 d. There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Bildaras (bricklayers), first class, daily 3½ d.; second class do., 3 d. If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 d. per gaz; for laying foundations, 2½ d.; for all other walls, 2 d. For digging ditches, ¼ d. per gaz.

The gaz of a labourer contains 32 fansijes.

Chah-kan, or well diggers, first class work men, 2 d. per gaz; second class do., 1½ d.; third class do., 1¼ d.

Ghauftah khur, or well-divers. They clean wells. In the cold season, 4 d. per diem; in the hot season, 3 d. By the job, 2 R. for cleaning a depth of one gaz.

Khiest tarush, or tile makers, for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 d.

Surkhikob (pounders of old bricks), 1½ d. for a heap of 8 mans.

Glass-cutters, 100 d. per gaz.

Bamboo-cutters, 2 d. per diem.

Chapparband, or thatchers, 3 d. per diem; if done by the job, 24 d. for 100 gaz.

Patalband (vide p. 224), 1 d. for 4 gaz.

Lakhirah. They varnish reeds, &c., with lac. Wages, 2 d. per diem.
Anhosh, or water-carriers. First class, 3 d. per diem; second class do., 2 d. Such water-carriers as are used for furnishing house-builders with water for mortar and quicklime, get 2 d. per diem.

ON ESTIMATES OF HOUSE BUILDING.

Stone-buildings. For 12 gaz, one p'ha (vide above An 86) is required; also 75 mans ch'nah; but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 mans ch'nah are required per gaz.

Brick-buildings. For every gaz, there are required 250 bricks of three ser each, 8 mans ch'nah, and 2 m. 27 s. pounded brick (surkhī).

Clay-buildings. 300 bricks are required for the same; each brick-mould contains 1 s. of earth and ½ s. of water.

Astaṅkāri work. For every gaz, 1 man ch'nah, 10 s. gāl'i, 14 s. surkhī, and ¼ s. san (vide p. 224) are required.

Candalākāri work. For every gaz, 7 s. of gāl'i, and 3 s. surkhī are required.

Sulatākāri work. 10 s. of gāl'i are required per gaz.

Gajkāri work (white-washing). For walls and ceilings, 10 s. per gaz; for pantries, 6 s.; chimneys, 10 s.

Windows require 24 s. of lime, 2½ s. of glass, 4 s. of sirish i kāhi (putty).

Plaster for walls, for 14 gaz 1 m. of straw, and 20 m. earth; for roofs and floors, do. for 10 gaz. For ceilings, and the inside of walls, do. for 15 gaz.

Lac (varnish work) used for chighs [sliced bamboo sticks, placed horizontally, and joined by strings, with narrow interstices between the sticks. They are painted, and are used as screens]. If red, 4 s. of lac, and 1 s. of vermilion; if yellow, 4 s. of lac, 1 s. of zarnīkh (auripigment). If green, ¼ s. of indigo is mixed with the lac, and zarnīkh is added; if black, 4 s. of lac and 8 s. of indigo.

RULES FOR ESTIMATING THE LOSS IN WOOD CHIPS.¹

One gaz = 24 ṭassājes
1 ṭassāj = 24 taswānsahs
1 taswānsah = 24 khāms
1 khām = 24 zarrah.

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at

¹ I am not sure whether this An has been correctly translated.
one-eighth (?). In Sisaun wood, per tassiy, 26½ sers, 15 tank; Babul wood 23½ s. 5 d.; Sira wood, 21½ s. 15 tank; Nashù wood, 20 s.; Ber wood, 18½ s.; Dayûl wood, 17 s. 20 tank.

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ATN 90.

THE WEIGHT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOOD.

His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has for several reasons experimented on the weight of different kinds of wood, and has thus adorned the market place of the world. One cubic gaz of dry wood of every kind has been weighed, and their differences have thus been established. Khanjak wood has been found to be the heaviest, and Safidar the lightest wood. I shall mention 72 kinds of wood.

The weight of one cubic gaz of

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<tr>
<td>Khanjak, ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambli (Tamarindus Indica)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zaitun (Gyrocarpus Avacinus, 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balut (Oak), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>K'er (Acacia catechu), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>K'hirni (Mimosaops), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parsiddh, ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abnus (Ebony), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sain (Acacia Suma), ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baqqam (Casalpina sappan), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>K'harhar, ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahwa (Bassia latifolia), ..........</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chandani, ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phulahi, ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'ther sandal, in Hindi Rakt Chandan, (Pterocarpus Santalinus), ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisam Patang (cide No. 40), ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sàndan, ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamahad (Buzus Sempervirens), ..........</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his Hortus Bengalensis says, the wood of Zaitun, or Gyrocarpus, is very light, and is used for boats. Abulfazl puts Zaitun among the heaviest woods.
22. D'hau (*Grisela tomentosa*), ............................................. 16 1 10
23. Kmlah, Hind. Anwlah, (*Emblica officinalis*), .......................... 16 1,1 1
24. Karil (*Sterculia setida*), .................................................... 16 1 10
25. Sandal wood, ................................................................. 15 17 20
26. Sál (*Shorea robusta*), ...................................................... 15 4,1 7
27. Banaus.  His Majesty calls this tree Sháh Alá; but in Kábul and Persian it is called Alá Bálá (Cherry), 14 36,1 10
28. Kailás (Cherry tree). .......................................................... 14 35,1 —
29. Niúb (*Azadirachta Indica*), .................................................. 14 32,1 31
30. Dárhard (*Berberis aristata*), .............................................. 14 32,1 19
31. Main, .......................................................... 14 22,1 —
32. Babúl (*Acacia Arabica*), .....................................................
33. Ságaun, .......................................................... 13 10 20
34. Bijaisár, .......................................................... 13 34 —
35. Pilú, .......................................................... 13 28,1 15
36. Mulberry, .......................................................... 13 25 20
37. D'háman, .......................................................... 13 10 29
38. Bán Barás, .......................................................... 12 38 21
39. Sírs (*Acacia odoratomisima*), ............................................. 12 34,1 5
40. Sisaun (*Dalbergia sissoo; vide No. 19*), .................................. 12 26 4
41. Finduq, .......................................................... 12 17,1 22
42. Chhaukar, .......................................................... 12 13,1 32
43. Dudd'hí, .......................................................... 12 12,1 30
44. Haldí. .......................................................... 12 8 20
45. Kaim (*Nauclea parviflora*), .................................................. 12 31 5
46. Jáman (*Jambos*), .......................................................... 11 29 —
47. Farás, .......................................................... 11 9,1 17
48. Bar (*Ficus Indica*), ...........................................................
49. K'handú, .......................................................... 11 8 20
50. Chanár, .......................................................... 11 4 —
51. Chármaghz (Walnut tree), ................................................... 11 2 20
52. Champá (*Michelia champaca*), .............................................. 10 20 —
53. Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*), ..................................................... 10 19,1 22
54. Amb (Mango, *Mangifera Indica*), ......................................... 10 10,1 21
61. Kat'hal (Jacktree, *Artocarpus integrifolia*), ..........} 10 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) 34
62. Gurdain, ........................................... 10 7 30
63. Kherá (Terminalia bekerica), .......................... 9 34 —
64. Palás (Butea frondosa), ................................ 8 25 20
65. Surkh Bed, .............................................. 8 19\(\frac{1}{2}\) 25
66. Ak (Calotropis gigantea), ............................... 8 13 34
67. Senbal (Cotton tree), .................................... 8 9 30
68. Bakáyin (Melia composita), .............................. 8 9 20
69. Lhasorá (Cordia mixa), .................................. 7 7 31
70. Padmák'h (Cerasus caproniana), ......................... 6 7 22\(\frac{1}{2}\)

In the above weights, the *ser* has been taken at 28 dāms.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 \text{ dām} & = 10 \text{ (as)} \times 1000 \\
1 \text{ as} & = 2.1 \text{ ( vá)} \\
1 \text{ vá} & = 10 \text{ (kāla)}
\end{align*}
\]

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

AYN 1.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY.

His Majesty guides the Imperial Army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.

With some tribes, His Majesty is content, if they submit; he does not exact much service from them, and thus leads many wild races towards civilization.

The Zamindars of the country furnish more than four millions, four hundred thousand men, as shall be detailed below (Third Book).

Some troopers are compelled by His Majesty to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. They are subject to divisions into ranks, and to musters.

Some soldiers are placed under the care and guidance of one commander. They are called Ahadis, because they are fit for a harmonious unity. His Majesty believes some capable of commanding, and appoints them as commanders.

A large number are worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. Turanis and Persians get 25 Rupees; and Hindustanis, 20 R. If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 R. Such troopers are called Bardwardi.

Some Commanders who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called Dakhilis.

In the contingent of a Commander (manzabdar) of Ten Thousand, other manzabdira as high as Hazaris (Commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Eight Thousand, Manzabdiras up to Hashtcadis (Commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Seven Thousand, Manzabdiras up to Haftcadis (Commanders of Seven
Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Five Thousand, other Mançabédars as high Pançadís (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a Pançadí, Mançabédars as high as Çadís (Commanders of One Hundred) serve. Mançabédars of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Mançabédars.

Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called Kamakis.

At the present time, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand. This class of soldiers is superior to others. His Majesty's chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses (for the time of musters), or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses; for he knows that avarice makes men so short-sighted, that they look upon a loss as a gain. In the beginning of the present reign, when His Majesty was still 'behind the veil,' many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged, from want of honour, in the comforts of married life. Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot-soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a tatoo that looked more like an ass. They were magniloquent in their dishonesty and greediness of pay, and even expressed dissatisfaction, or rebelled. Hence His Majesty had to introduce the Descriptive Roll System, and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls (vide below Ain 7). This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty; hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was then the order of the day. His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System. Easy-minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, low men were taught honorable-ness and manliness. The unfeeling and avaricious learned the luxury of magnanimity. The army resembled a newly irrigated garden. Even for the Treasury the new regulations proved beneficial. Such are the results which wisdom and practical knowledge can produce! Branding a horse may indeed inflict pain; but when viewed from a higher point, it is the cause of much satisfaction to the thinking man.
ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [vide p. 140, note 11]. The ranks of the men were also laid down in the best manner, and the classification of the animals belonging to the army was attended to. The requirements for each were noted down, and excellent regulations were issued. The maximum and minimum prices were enquired into by His Majesty, and average prices were fixed. A proper check by accounts was enforced, and regulations on this subject were laid down. The Bakhshis were also freed from the heavy responsibility of bringing new men, and every thing went on smoothly.

1. Horses. They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are Arab, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turkî horses, Yâbûl, Tâûs, and Janglah horses.

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 dámas per mensem; and get daily 6 s. of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 d. per man), 2½ d. of g’hi, 2 d. for sugar, and 3 d. for grass. Also, for a jîl, artak, yâlpesh, girth (His Majesty does not call it tang, but farâkhi), gaddi, nakhtahband, qaizah (which the vulgar pronounces qâizah), magârân, curry, comb, hatt’hi (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, pdiband, nails, &c., [vide p. 136], 70 d. per mensem, which outlay is called kharj i yarâq i asp (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 d. for the saddle, and an apchi (?) every second month; 7 d. per mensem for shoes; and 63 d. for a groom, who gets double this allowance, if he takes charge of two horses. Total, 479 d. But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and enquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 d. by 81 d.; and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 dámas, His Majesty granted a second additional allowance of 80 d. This coin [the Rupee] is always counted at 40 d. in salaries. Afterwards, a third additional allowance of 2 R. (80 d.) was ordered to be given for each class of horses, except Janglahs, which horses are now-a-days entirely left out in the accounts.

The second class are horses bred in Persia, or such as resemble Persian horses in shape and bearing. Monthly allowance, 680 d. Of this, 458 d. are necessary expenses, being 21 d. less than the former, viz. 10 d. for the yarâq, 10 d. for saddle and bridle, and 1 d. for shoes. The first increase which was given, amounted to 67 d.; the second, to 75 d.; the third to 80 d. Total 680 d.

The third class, or Mujannas horses, resemble Persian horses [vide p. 140, note 2], and are mostly Turkî, or Persian geldings. Monthly cost
560 d. Of this, 358 d. are for necessaries. The allowance for these horses is 100 d. less than the preceding; viz., 30 d. less for sugar; 30 d. less for saddle, bridle, &c.; 15 d. less in g’hi; 3 d. less for the groom; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 d.; second, 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fourth class are horses imported from Túrán; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 d. Of this, 298 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 d. less than for Mújánnás horses, viz., 30 d. less for sugar, 30 d. less for grass; 10 d. less for the yaráq; 4 d. less for the saddle, bridle, &c.; 2 d. less for shoeing; 2 d. less for g’hi. But the daily allowance of grain was increased by 2 sera (which amounts to 18 d. per mensum), as the sugar had been left out. First increase 52 d.; second 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fifth class (yábú horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Túrkí horses with an inferior breed. Monthly cost 400 d. Of this, 239 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 59 d. less than the preceding; viz., 28 d. for g’hi; 15 d. less for the groom; 10 d. less for the yaráq; and 6 d. less for the saddle, bridle, &c. First increase, 41 d.; second increase, 40 d.; third, 80 d.

The last two classes also are mostly Indian breed. The best kind is called Túzis; middling ones, Janglahe; inferior ones, Tátuís.

Good mares are reckoned as Túzis; if not, they are counted as Janglahe.

1. Túzis. Monthly cost, 320 d., of which 188 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 51 d. less than for the Yábú, viz., 18 d. less for grain, as they only got 6 sera per diem; 15 d. less for grain; 10 d. less for g’hi and sugar; 8 d. less for yaráq. First increase, 22 d.; second, 30 d.; third, 60 d.

2. Janglahe. Monthly cost, 240 d., of which 145 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 42 d. less than for Túzis. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at 5 sera. Hence there are 15 d. less for grass; 9 d. less for grain; 6 d. less for g’hi and molasses; 4½ d. less for the yaráq; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ d.; second 25 d.; third, 40 d.

Formerly, mules were reckoned as Túzí horses; but now-a-days, as Janglahe.

For Tátuís the monthly expenditure is 160 d.; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abúfázíl’s items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badbání, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindustán was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwás responsible for it; vide Bad. II, p. 390, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a Mançabddár, brought horses
with them, for which the Manṣabdār received from the Treasury an allowance according to the following table.

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<th></th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>VI.</th>
<th>VII.</th>
<th>VIII.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<td>Pārsi Horses</td>
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<td>Mughal Horses</td>
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<td>Turk Horses</td>
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<td>Yādās</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jangla (Horse)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
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<td>G’hi</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<td>10 d.</td>
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<td>Sugar</td>
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<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grass</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yarāq</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saddle, &amp;c.</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
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<td>2 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
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</table>

Original Allowance:

1st Increase: 81 d. 67 d. 72 d. 52 d. 41 d. 22 d. 29 d. Not specified.

2nd Ditto: 80 d. 75 d. 80 d. 50 d. 40 d. 30 d. 25 d. Not specified.

3rd Ditto: 80 d. 80 d. 80 d. 80 d. 40 d. 40 d. 40 d. Not specified.

Total monthly cost in dáms: 720 d. 680 d. 660 d. 660 d. 400 d. 320 d. 240 d. 160 d.

The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Abulfazl ceases from Class IV.; but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. G’hi and molasses were generally given together; vide p. 135.

2. Elephants. The branded elephants of the army are divided into seven classes: Masti, Shergrī, Sādāh, Manjhola, Karha, P’handurkiya, and Mokal, elephants; but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty’s elephant stables [vide p. 124, l. 17].

The monthly allowance for Mast elephants is 1320 dáms [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ muns. No elephant has more than three servants, a Mahāwat, a Bhoi, and a Meth, of whom the first gets 120 d., and the two last 90 d. An increase of 120 d. was given. From the beginning elephants were branded; but now certain differences are made.

Shergrī Elephants. Monthly cost, 1100 d., which is 220 d. less than the former. Grain, 2 m. per diem, which makes 180 d. less per mense; also 15 d. less for the Mahāwat and the Bhoi. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 d.

Sādāh Elephants. Monthly cost, 800 d., which is 300 d. less than the preceding. Grain 1½ m. per diem, which gives 180 d. less per month. Besides
30 d. less for the Meth, and 15 d. less for the Maháwat and the Bhoi. An increase of 50 d. was sanctioned.

*Manjholah* Elephants. Monthly cost, 600 d. Grain 1 m. The decrease is the same as in the preceding; but an additional allowance of 90 d. was sanctioned.

*Karha* Elephants. Monthly cost, 420 d. Grain, 30 s. Hence there is a decrease of 30 d. on this account, and of 15 d. for the Maháwat. No Bhoi is allowed. The additional grant is 60 d.

*Phundurkiya* Elephants. Monthly cost, 300 d. Grain, 15 s. *per diem*, which gives a decrease of 135 d. *per mensem*. Only one servant is allowed, at 60 d. *per month*. An additional grant of 105 d. was sanctioned.

*Mokal* elephants were formerly not counted. Now they are considered worthy of entering the classes. Monthly allowance, 280 d.

In all payments on account of elephants, dáms are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation.

3. *Camels*. Monthly cost, 240 d. Grain, 6 s.; grass, 1 d.; furniture, 20 d.; the driver, 60 d. An addition of 58 d. was sanctioned; and when the value of the Rupee was fixed at 40 dáms, 20 d. more were allowed.

4. *Oxen*. Monthly allowance, 120 d. Grain, 4 s.; grass 1 d.; furniture, 6 d. Additional grant, 38 d. At the time when the value of the rupee was raised, 10 d. more were given.

5. *Oxen for the wagons*. For each waggon, the monthly expenditure is 600 d., *viz.*, 480 d. for four oxen; 120 d. for grease, repairs, and additional comforts.

Elephants and wagons are only allowed to Mançabdárs, and 'to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

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**ATN 3.**

**THE MANÇABDÁRS.**

Wise inquirers follow out the same principles, and the people of the present age do not differ in opinion from those of ancient times. They all agree that if that which is numerous be not pervaded by a principle of harmony, the dust of disturbances will not settle down, and the troubles of lawlessness will not cease to rise. It is so with the elements: as long as the uniting principle is absent, they are dead, and incapable of exhibiting the wonders of the kingdoms of nature. Even animals form unions among

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1 The Arabians say *mançib*; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced *mançib*. It means a post, an office, hence *mançab-| dár*, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.
themselves, and avoid wilful violence; hence they live comfortably, and watch over their advantages and disadvantages. But men, from the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in need of a just leader, round whom they may rally; in fact their social existence depends upon their being ruled by a monarch; for the extraordinary wickedness of men, and their inclination to that which is evil, teach their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even cause them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command. To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favor. That man will quell the strife among men by his experience, intrepidity, and magnanimity, and thus infuse into them new vigour.

But as the strength of one man is scarcely adequate to such an arduous undertaking, he selects, guided by the light of his knowledge, some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them. For this cause did His Majesty establish the ranks of the Manqabādārs, from the Dahdahi (Commander often) to the Dah Hasāri (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand, to his august sons.

The deep-sighted saw a sign, and enquirers got a hint from above, when they found the value of the letters of God's holy name; they read in it glad tiding for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Manqabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of Allah, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

* Jalālah. This curious word is, according to Bahār i 'Ajām, an abbreviation of the phrase Jalla jalālahu, 'May His glory shine forth.' It is then used in the sense of God; thus the dual jalālah, saying Allah! Allah!; and khatm i jalālah saying the word Allah 125,000 times. Similarly here; the 66 manqabs correspond to the value of the letter of Jalālah, i. e. 4[U] = 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66. Abulfazl makes much of the coincidence; for Akbar's name was Jalāl ud din, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say coincidence, because of the sixty-six manqabs only one half existed.

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1 "When the collector of the Dīwān asks them (the Hindus) to pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission. And if the Collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination (taqazzuz), so that the Collector may do so. In this state [with their mouths open], they should stand before the Collector. The object of such humiliations and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of Infidel subjects under protection, and to promote the glory of the Islam, the true religion, and to show contempt to false religions. God himself orders us to despise them; for He says (Sur. 9, 29), 'Out of hand, whilst they are reduced low.' To treat the Hindus contemptuously is a religious duty, because they are the greatest enemies of Mustafā (Muhammad), because Mustafā, regarding the killing, and plundering of Hindus, and making slaves of them, has ordered, 'They must either accept the Islam, or be killed or be made slaves, and their property must be plundered;' and
In selecting his officers, His Majesty is assisted by his knowledge of the spirit of the age, a knowledge which sheds a peculiar light on the jewel of his wisdom. His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance, and confers upon them high rank. Sometimes he increases the mançab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Mançabdárs vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his mançab, is put into the first class of his rank; if his contingent is one half and upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class; the third class contains those contingents which are still less, as is shown in the table below.

Yázbúshís (Commanders of One Hundred) are of eleven classes. The first class contains such as furnish one hundred troopers. Their monthly salary is 700 Rupees. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops of their own in accordance with the statement made above, that Dúkhíli troops are now-a-days preferred. This class gets 500 Rupees. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from 700 Rupees by 20 Rupees for every ten troopers which they furnish less.

In the live stock accounts of the Dúkhistís, the fixed number of Turkí and Janglah horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned, generally Myúnnás, rarely Yáhús; and Dúkhubúshís are excused the Turkí horse, though their salaries remain as before.

**Note by the Translator on the Mançabs.**

The sixty-six Mançabs, detailed by Abulfazl in the following table appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Mançabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar’s plan; but the list of grandees, as given by Abulfazl himself in the 30th Ain of this Book, only mentions thirty-three—the three commands of the three Princes from 10000 to 7000; and thirty commands of the Mançabdárs, namely commands of 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1250, 1000, 900?, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300?, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. Of the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Ain, though the List of Grandees of Sháh Jahan’s time (Pádisháhánámah, II. p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Mançabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

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1 Abulfazl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Badaúní says, | Akbar learnt the art from the Jogís.
Abulfazl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Manqabdar of 500; he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list. Of the Commanders below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, viz.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Commanders</th>
<th>150</th>
<th>120</th>
<th>100 (Yūzbāshīs)</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| In all               | 1388 Commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Manqabdar from 5000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abulfazl made his list.

As Abulfazl's List (Ain 30), according to the testimony of Nizám i Harawi is a complete list, it is certain that of the 66 Manqabs of the following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shāhjahān's grandees in the Pādīshāhnāmah, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the Pādīshāhnāmah are:—Four commands of the princes (Dārā Shikoh, 20,000; Shāh Shuja', 15,000; Aurangzeb, 15,000; Murad Bakhsh, 12,000) and commands of 9000, 7000, 6000, 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500.

From the fact that Abulfazl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the Pādīshāhnāmah up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Manqabs under 200, and at Shāhjahān's time, Manqabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of Amīr. To judge from Nizám's Tabaqāt and the Madāsir i Rahimi, Manqabdar from the Hazārī (Commander of 1000) were, at Akbar's time, styled 'umarā-i-

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1 Nizám says in the introduction to his List of the principal grandees of Akbar's Court, that it was unnecessary for him to specify all, because taqūfī 'asāmi' i har yek rā ḥafizilpandākh Shaikh Abulfazl dar kitāb i Akbarnāmah maraqān i qalam i badā'iraqām gardanidāh.
kibár, or .umará.-i-'izám, great Amírs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amír is not restricted to Mançabdrás from the Hazáriús upwards. Nizám does restrict his phrases ba martabah i imárát raskl, or dar jargah (or silk, or zünrah) i umará muntazim gasht, to commanders from Hazáriús.

The title Amír ul Umará (the Amír of the Amírs, principal Amír), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Nizám gives this title to Adham Khán, Khízr Khwájah Khán, Mír Muhammad Khán Atkáh, Muzáffar Khán, Quţbuddín Muhammad Khán, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bairám Khán, Mun‘ím Khán, and Mírzá 'Abdurrahím, the three latter being styled Khán Khánán,1 or Khán Khánán o Sipahsálár.

In the Pádísíháñamáh, however, the title of Amír ul Umará is restricted to the first living grandee (‘Ali Mardán Khán).

It is noticeable that Nizám only mentions commanders of 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, and 1000—for lower Mançabs he does not specify names. Abúlfażl gives three intermediate Mançabs of 4500, 3500, and 1250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks, we may conclude that these Mançabs were unusual. This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders; for if we leave out the commands of 4500, 3500, and 1250, we have, according to Aín 30, twelve steps from 5000 to 500, and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs. 2500) is the twelfth part of the salary of a commander of 5000 (Rs. 30,000). The Pádísíháñamáh gives fourteen steps between the commanders of 7000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a Commander of 7000 at one kror of dáms per annum, or 250000 Rs., stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled Ghiás ullughát, states that the salary of a commander of 5000 is 1 kror, or 250,000 Rs., and that the salary of a Pançádí, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. per annum, the 124th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Mançabdrás, as given by Abúlfażl in the following table, are somewhat higher than those given in the Pádísíháñamáh and the Ghiás, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be

1 For Khán i Khánán, the Khán of the Kháns. In such titles the Persian | Izafat is left out.
considerably reduced, if each Mançabdár had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, &c., which Abulfazl specifies for each rank. Taking the preceding Ain and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, &c., mentioned in the following table, would amount for a Commander of 5000 (monthly salary 30,000 R.) to 10637 R.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>8200 R. to 3015½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>700 R. to 313 R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three classes which Abulfazl mentions for each Mançab differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p. 238, l. 7.

A commander of 5000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5000 men. In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Mançabdár. Thus Nizám says of Todar Mall and Qutbuddín Muhammad Kháñ, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4000 cavalry, and the latter 5000 naukars, or servants, i. e., soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4000 (Nizám says 5000), and Qutbuddín a commander of 5000. Of 'Abdul Majíd Akčaf Kháñ, a commander of 3000 (vide Ain 30, No. 49), Nizám says, 'he reached a point when he had 20,000.' In the Pádisháhnámah, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 Commanders of 500 under Sháhjahán only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers. This also explains the use of the word wáż sát after the titles of Mançabdárs; as panj házárí i wáž siiházár suwár, "a Commander of 5000, personally (sát, or by rank), and in actual command of 3000 cavalry." Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as Sháístah Kháñ panj hazárí, panj hazár suwár i duaspah siihspah, "Sháístah Kháñ, a Commander of 5000, contingent 5000 cavalry, with two horses, with three horses." A trooper is called duaspah, if he has two horses, and siihspah, if three, in order to change horses during elghárs or forced marches. But keeping duashpah siihspah troopers was a distinction, as in the Pádisháhnámah only the senior Mançabdárs of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhaázárís; 1 Cháhárazáí; 2 Siiházárí; 2 Duházáí; 2 Hazár o pançadi; 1 Hazárí; and 1 Haftçadí.

The higher Mançabdárs were mostly governors of Cúbahs. The governors were at first called sipashtása; towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hákims, and afterwards, Çúbhib Cúbah or
Çabahdārs, and still later merely Gūbahs. The other Manṣabdārs held Jāgirs, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Manṣabdārs are also called ta'innātiyān (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called tābīnāt (followers); hence tābīnbāshi, the Manṣabdār himself, or his Bakhshi (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Manṣabdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general, or the local treasuries; vide Kins 6, 7, 8. Akbar had much trouble with these musters, as fraudulent practices were quite common. The reform of the army dates from the time when Shahbāz Khān (vide pp. 140, 188) was appointed Mīr Bakhshi. The following passage from Badāoni (II, p. 190) is interesting:

"The whole country, with the exception of the Khādiqāsh lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as jāgīr; 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 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 really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbāz Khān, the Mīr Bakhshi, introduced the custom and rule of the dāgh o mahallī, which had been the rule of A'Lāuddin Khilji, and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every Amir should commence as a commander of twenty (bāstī), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and... 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 Qāḍī, or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Manqabs, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the musters their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of Hādhrī, Dhūhādhrī, and even Panjhabādhrī, which is the highest Manşab; but if they did not do well at the musters, they were to be put down. But notwithstanding this new regulation, the condition of the soldiers got worse, because the Amirs did what they liked; for they put most of their own servants and mounted haps to read yād dahāndah, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for tābdīn, read tābīnān; for panah Khud, read panah ba Khudā; for an ham, read an hamah.

The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For kih read Kambū; for baū dāhanīdah, we have per- haps to read yād dahāndah, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for tābdīn, read tābīnān; for panah Khud, read panah ba Khudā; for an ham, read an hamah.

The Tārīkh i Firāz Shāhī says but little regarding it. The words dāgh o mahallī occur very often together.

Ojdr o maljdr (?) . For ojdr, a Turkish word, vide Vullers.
attendants into soldiers' clothes (libás i sipáhi), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their jágírs, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them again away, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the Mancabdár remained in statu quo, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless 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 (naddaf), carpenters, and grocers, Hindu and Musalmán, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Mançab, or were made Króts (vide p. 13, l. 5 from below), or Ahadís, or Dkhilis to some one (vide p. 231); 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 the Diwan-khánah i khác, 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 all were 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 Ahadís into duaspah, yakaspah (having one horse), and nimaspah (having half a share in a horse), in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees.

Weigh well these facts, but put no question! These were things of daily occurrence, . . . . . . ; but notwithstanding all this, His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amirs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants."

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men, and of animals, carts, &c.; the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the Aín; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (p. 217, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (kasrat), in order to understand the whole (wahdat)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success.¹

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's army. We may, however, quote a statement in

¹ So according to one MS. The passage is not quite clear. ² Here follows a sentence which I do not know how to translate. ³ Vide p. 11, note.
the *Pádīsháh-náma* regarding the strength of Sháhjahán’s army; *vide* *Pádīsháhn*. II, p. 715.

“The paid army of the present reign consists of 200,000 cavalry, according to the rule of branding the fourth part, as has been mentioned above. This is exclusive of the soldiers that are allowed to the Faujdárs, Kroris, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganahs. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows—

8000 Mançabdárs.

7000 mounted Ahadis and mounted *Bargandázes*.

185,000 Cavalry, consisting of the contingents (*tábinán*) of the Princes, the Chief grandees, and the other Mançabdárs.

“Besides these 200,000 cavalry, there are 40,000 foot, musketeers, artillery, and rocket-bearers. Of these 40,000, 10,000 accompany the emperor, and the remaining 30,000* are in the Çübahs and the forts.”

The ‘Rule of branding the fourth part’ is described among the events of the year 1056, as follows (II, p. 506) :

“The following law was made during the present reign (Sháhjahán). If a Mançabdár holds a jágir in the same çubab, in which he holds his mançab, he has to muster one-third of the force indicated by his rank. Accordingly a *Sih Hazárd* i zát siihazár *suwdr* (a Commander of 3000, personal rank; contingent, 3000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another çubab, he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly, a *Chahár hazárd* chahár hazár *suwdr* (a Commander of 4000; contingent, 4000) has only to muster 1000 cavalry.

At the time when the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055], His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Mançabdár should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a *Panj hazárd* panj-hazár *suwdr* (a commander of 5000; contingent, 5000) mustered only 1000, viz., 300 *Sihaspah* troopers, 600 *Duaaspah* troopers, 100 *yakaspah* troopers [*i. e., 1000 men with 2200 horses*], provided the income (*háqil*) of his jágir was fixed at 12 months; or 250 *Sihaspah* troopers, 500 *duaaspah* troopers, and 250 yakaspah troopers [*i. e., 1000 men with 2000 horses*], provided the income of his jágir was fixed at 11 months; or 800 duaaspah troopers, and 200 yakaspah troopers [*i. e., 1000 men and 1800 horses*], if the income of his jágir was fixed at 9 months; or 600 duaaspah troopers and 400 yakaspah, if at 9 months; or 450 duaaspah and 550 yakaspah troopers, if at 8 months;

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1 The edition of the *Pádīsháh-náma* has wrongly 3000.
2 Literally, he has to bring his follow-
or 250 duaspah and 750 yakaspah troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 duaspah and 900 yakaspah troopers, if at 6 months; or 1000 yakaspah, if at 5 months.

But if the troopers to a mançab had all been fixed as sihaspah duaspah [in other words, if the Commander was not a Panj hazârî, panj hazâr suwâr, but a Panj hazârî panj hazâr suwâr i duaspah sihaspah] he musters, as his proportion of duaspah and sihaspah troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mançab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a Panj hazârî panj hazâr suwâr i duaspah sihaspah (a Commander of 5000; contingent, only duaspah and sihaspah), would muster 600 troopers with three horses, 1200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [i.e., 2000 men with 4400 horses], provided the income of his jâgir be fixed at 12 months, and so on."

From this important passage, it is clear that one-fourth of that number of troopers, which is indicated by the title of a Mançabdâr, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shâhjahân. Thus if a Commander of 1000 troopers had the title of Hazârî hazâr suwâr, the strength of his contingent was 1/4 = 250 men with 650 horses, viz. 75 sihaspah, 150 duaspah, and 25 yakaspah; and if his title was Hazârî hazâr suwâr i duaspah sihaspah, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1300 horses, viz. 150 sihaspah, 300 duaspah, and 50 yakaspah, if the income of his jâgir was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of sihaspah, and duaspah, and yakaspah troopers was for all mançâbs as 300 : 600 : 100, or as 3 : 6 : 1.

As the author of the Padishâhnamâh does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Mançabdârs drew the income, we may assume that the difference in strength of the contingents mentioned after the name of each grandee depended on the value of their jâgirs.

From an incidental remark (Padishâhnamâh, I. p. 113), we see that the pay of a Commander of sihashpah duaspah troopers was double the pay allowed to a Commander of yakaspahs. This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter.

The strength also of Aurangzeb's army, on a statement by Bernier, was conjectured to have been 200,000 cavalry, vide Elphinstone's History, Second Edition, p. 546, last line.

Akbar's army must have been smaller. It is impossible to compute the strength of the contingents, which was continually fluctuating, and depended rather on emergencies. We can, however, guess at the
strength of Akbar's standing army. At the end of Ā'in 30, Abulfazl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the Ā'in

250 Commanders of 100 (Yūzbāshīs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>204</th>
<th>60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As these numbers are very uniform, the regular army could not have been larger than \(250 \times 100\), or 25,000 men (troopers, musketeers, and artillery). The Imperial stables contained 12,000 horses \(\textit{vide}\) p. 132, l. 6 from below), which were under the immediate charge of Mirzā Abdurrahim Khān Khānān, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In Ā'in 6, Abulfazl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Ahadis, of which Sháhjahān had 7000, cannot have been very large. Many of them were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders. They were, at Akbar's time, gentlemen rather than common soldiers, as they had to buy their own horse on joining. Badānī mentions an Ahadi of the name of Khwājah Ibrāhīm Husain as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Manṣābdtārs, which under Sháhjahān amounted to 8000, was also much less. Of the 415 Manṣābdtārs, whose names are given in Ā'in 30, about 150 were dead, when Abulfazl wrote it,\(^1\) so that there would be about 250 higher Manṣābdtārs, to which we have to add 1388 lower Manṣābdtārs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1600 Manṣābdtārs.

But Akbar's Manṣābdtārs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Manṣābdtārs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks \(\textit{zāt}\) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Manṣābdtārs had even to furnish men with four horses \(\textit{chahāraspāh}\). A Dabhāshi, or Commander

\(^1\) The list of grandees in Ā'in 30 is quoted in Nizām's Ībāqāt which do not go beyond A. H. 1002, as the author died in October 1694; but it may be still older, as Nizām assigns to several Manṣābdtārs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abulfazl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 993, when the three princes \(\textit{Bad}.\ II, p. 342\) were appointed Commanders of 12000, 9000, and 7000 respectively, whilst in Abulfazl's List, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) is still put down as a Commander of 10000, Murād as Commander of 8000, and Dānīyāl as of 7000.
of Ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (vide Xín 5) the Chaháraspahs were discontinued, and a Dahbáshi furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazáris would have had to bring 1800 horses, whilst a Hazári at the time of Shahjáhán only furnished 650.

Of Non-Commissioned officers a Mírdahah is mentioned; vide note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mírdahah of matchlock-bearers varied from 7½ to 6½ R. per mensem. Common matchlock-bearers received from 6½ to 2½ R. As they were standing (household) troops, Abulfazl has put them into the first Book of this work (Xíns 36 to 40); and generally, the reader will have to bear in mind that the second book, relating to the army, treats chiefly of the contingents of the Mançabdárs.

Badáoni, in the above extract, p. 243, speaks of a lúbás i sipáhi, or soldier's uniform (armour?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Mançabdárs consisted in certain flags (vide p. 50, l. 6, from below), and the gharyál or gong (vide in the beginning of the Fourth Book, Ain i Gharyál).
Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Mançabddars.1

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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Commanders of Horses</th>
<th>Commanders of Elephants</th>
<th>Commanders of Burden and Carts</th>
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1 For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 186.
There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Mançab, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. As it is the aim of His Majesty to confer a spiritual meaning on that which is external, he confers such persons (from **ahad**, one). They are thus reminded of the unity of God.

A new regulation regarding rank was given. For the sake of the convenience of the Ahadis, a separate Diwán and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amirs is their chief. A fit person has also been selected to introduce to His Majesty such as are candidates for Ahadiships. Without partiality or accepting bribes, he takes daily several before His Majesty, who examines them. When they have been approved of, they pass through the **Yiddish**, the **Ta'likah**, the descriptive roll, and accounts [vide **Ain 10**]. The paymaster then takes security, and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally
increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths.¹ Many Ahadis have indeed more than 500 Rupees per mensam.² He then gets the number nīnas as his brand [vide Aîn 7]. In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Ahadis mustered eight horses; but now, the limit is five. On his sarkhad [vide Aîn 11] each receives a farmānchāh (rank and pay certificate), on which year after year the treasurer makes payments.

Ahadis are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Diwân and the Bakhshāi, which is called now-a-days Tā'kīkāh,³ the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be countersigned by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps, and pays the claim. Before the period (of four months) is over, he gets one month’s salary in advance. In the course of the year, he receives cash for ten months, after deducting from it one-twentieth of the sum, the total stoppage being made on account of his horses and other expenses. On joining the service, an Ahadi generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called Saqāţmānah,⁴ explains the reason why the horse is not forthcoming, he is held indemnified for his dead horse, but does not receive the money for keeping a horse until he gets a new one. But if he has no Saqāţmānah to show, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster. Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one-half being reckoned as irmās money,⁵ and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or if the Ahadi be in debt, in eight instalments.

At 5.

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Manṣabdārs and the Ahadis, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers.

¹ Or as we would say, by 75 or even 85½ per cent. Vide note 4 p. 88.
² This agrees with a statement which I have seen in some historian of Akbar’s reign that a senior Ahadi was promoted to a Yābāshkīshīp, as the next step. Vide p. 20, note 1.
³ The Tā’kīkāh corresponds therefore to a ‘life certificate.’ Arabic infinitives take in modern Persian a final ū; thus ta’līqāh [vide below Aîn 10], takh-
⁴ From saqāţa he fell.
⁵ Or irmās money. The word (may be Inf.IV., or plural of rams, a grave. Badonî evidently reads irmās, because in II, p. 202, he explains irmās by zawdī i duwānī the burying, or destruction, of the foes, ‘which word the grandees used instead of fašāi i ajāndī, requesting stores, &c.’ Hence irmās, a request made for military supplies or for salary.
The horse-dealer fixes the quality of the horses, which are carefully inspected by the Bakhshis. The description of the man is then taken down in writing. If a trooper has more than one horse, they add to his establishment a camel or an ox, for which he gets half the allowance usually given to troopers of a superior class; or if this be not given, he gets an addition of two-fifths.

A *Yakaspah* trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his horse be an 'Irāqi, he gets 30 R. *per annum*; if *mujannas*, 25 R.; if Turkī, 20 R.; if a *Yübā*, 18 R.; if a *Tūsī*, 15 R.; if a *Janglāh*, 12 R.

The Revenue collectors of domain lands got formerly 25 R., but now only 15 R.

Troopers of this kind mustered formerly up to four horses, but now the order is not to exceed three.

Every *Dahbāshi* had to muster 2 *chahāraaspah*, 3 *sihaspah*, 3 *duaspah*, and 2 *yakaspah* troopers [*i.e., 10 troopers with 25 horses*], and the other *Mançabdārs* in the same proportion. But now a *Dahbāshi*’s contingent consists of 3 *sihaspah*, 4 *duaspah*, and 3 *yakaspah* troopers [*i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses*].

### ANN 6.

**THE INFANTRY.**

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers. They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

The writer of these... is the *Awdrānwālī*. Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry. There are several classes of them. The first class gets 500 *dāms*; the second 400 d.; the third, 300 d.; the fourth, 240 d.

*The Bandūqchis or Matchlock-bearers.*

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchi*, an honest treasurer, and an active Dārogah. A few *Bandūqchis* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks. Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal, and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these [non-commissioned] officers is of four grades: *first*, 300 d.; *second*, 280 d.; *third*, 270 d.; *fourth*, 260 d.

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1 The text has a word which does not suit.
Common Bandûqchis are divided into five classes, and each class into three subdivisions. First class, 250, 240, and 230 d. Second class, 220, 210, 200 d. Third class, 190, 180, and 170 d. Fourth class, 160, 150, and 140 d. Fifth class, 130, 120, and 110 d.

The Darbâns, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the Mîrdâhâhs is fivefold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 d. Common Darbâns have from 100 to 120 d.

The Khîdmatiyyahs.

The Khîdmatiyyahs also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. Panjâbis to Bîtis have 200 d.; and a Dakhâshî gets 180 and 140 d. The others get 120, 110, and 100 d.

The caste to which they belong was notorious for highway robbery and theft; former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty have led them to honesty: they are now famous for their trustworthiness. They were formerly called Mûcîs. Their chief has received the title of Khîdmat Râî. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khîdmatiyyahs.¹

The Mewrâhs.

They are natives of Mewât, and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies, and will perform the most intricate duties. There are likewise one thousand of them, ready to carry out orders. Their wages are the same as the preceding.

The Shamsherbâns, or gladiators.

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they shew much swiftness and agility, and join courage to skill in stooping down and rising up again. Some of them use shields in fighting, others use cudgels. The latter are called Lakrâît. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called yak-hât'h. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call chirwah. Those who come from the southern districts, make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call tilwah.

¹ They are called in the Tuzuk i Jahângîrî and Khîdmatiyyah. The name of their chief under Jahângîr was Râî Mîn. He once picked up the young Shâh Shuja’, who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. Tuzuk i Jahângîrî, p. 303.

² “Among the innovations made by Akbar are the Dâk-Mewrâhs, of whom some were stationed at every place.” Khâfî Khân I, p. 243. Hence the Mewrâhs were chiefly postmen.
Another class goes by the name of P'hnviits. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a gas broad.

Some again are called Bandits. They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a gas long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of Bankulis are likewise famous. They use a peculiar sword which, though bent towards the point, is straight near the handle. But they do not make use of a shield. The skill which they exhibit passes all description. Others make various kinds of daggers and knives, and perform with them the most extraordinary feats. Each class of these men has a different name; they also differ in their performances. But it is really impossible to give a mere description of them; nor would mere listening to my descriptions be sufficient.

There are more than a hundred thousand of them. At Court one thousand of them are always in readiness. Their Çadi (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ahadi, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 d.

The Pahluváns, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Túrání wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindústán, clever Mals from Gujrat, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 d. Every day two well-matched men fight with each other. Many presents are made to them on such occasions. The following belong to the best wrestlers of the age—Mirzá Khán of Gilán; Muhammad Quli of Tabriz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of Sher hamlah, or Lion-attacker; Çádiq of Bukhárá; 'Ali of Tabriz; Murád of Turkistán; Muhammad 'Ali of Túrán; Fúlád of Tabriz; Qásim of Tabriz; Mirzá Kuhnahsuwar of Tabriz; Sháh Quli of Kurdistán; Hilál of Abyssinia; Sadhú Dayál; 'Ali; Súri Rám; Kanhyá; Mangol; Gáneš; Anbá; Nánká; Balbhadr; Bajrnát’h.

The Chelahs, or Slaves.

His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name bandah, or slave; for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men Chelahs, which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple. Through His Majesty’s kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.¹

¹ The word Chelah is the same as the Arab. muršid, a disciple who places implicit belief in his muršid or pir, the head of the sect. “And many of His Majesty’s special disciples, in 991, called themselves chelahs in imitation of the use of this term among Jogis.” Batddóni II, p. 325.

The author of the pretty Tazkirah, entitled Kallimáshahnu ard, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called Cheláh. His real name is Mirzá Muhammad Afzal; as a poet he is known as Sarkhush.²

² By joining the Divine Faith.
Various meanings attach to the term *slave*. **First**, that which people in general mean by a slave. Some men obtain power over such as do not belong to their sect, and sell and buy them. The wise look upon this as abominable. **Secondly**, he is called a slave, who leaves the path of selfishness, and chooses the road of spiritual obedience. **Thirdly**, one's child. **Fourthly**, one who kills a man, in order to inherit his property. **Fifthly**, a robber who repents and attaches himself to the man whom he had robbed. **Sixthly**, a murderer whose guilt has been atoned by payment of money, in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him. **Seventhly**, he who cheerfully and freely prefers to live as a slave.

The pay of Chelahs varies from 1 *R.* to 1 *d.* per *diem*. His Majesty has divided them into several sections, and has handed them over to active and experienced people, who give them instruction in several things. Thus they acquire knowledge, elevate their position, and learn to perform their duties with propriety.

His Majesty who encourages everything which is excellent, and knows the value of talent, honors people of various classes with appointments in the ranks of the army; and raises them from the position of a common soldier to the dignity of a grandee.

**The Kuhárs, or Páltí bearers.**

They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders, and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *páltí*, *singhásans*, *chaudola*, and *dúlí*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenience by any jolting. There are many in this country; but the best came from the Dák'hin and Bengal. At Court, several thousands of them are kept. The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *d.*. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *d*.

**Dákhili troops.**

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Mançábdárs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nímah suadrán*, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dákhili troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.

A non-commissioned officer of the matchlock-bearers receives 160 *d.*, or 4 *R.*; common matchlock-bearers get 140 *d.* The Mirdahahs of the archers get from 120 to 180 *d.*; common archers from 100 to 120 *d*.

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1 Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his *pir*.
I could say much more on this subject, but I must content myself with having described the principal classes. I have also given some details in speaking of the several workshops and offices of the Household.

ATN 7.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS.

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright Bitikhls should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A Dárogah also was appointed, whose duty it is to see that the men are not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations.

Every one who wishes to join the army, is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the Tā'liqāh [vide A'in 10].

Dákhilí troops are admitted on the signature of the Manqabdhārs.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is countersigned by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Dárogah. He takes them in the manner described above [vide A'in 4.] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay. He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge.' When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the Wāqī'ah Nawis (A'in 10), the Mir 'Arz, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Dárogah of the dāgh (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter śin [i.e. like this, r], and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse. For some time, it was made in shape of two alifs intersecting at right angles, the heads of the alif being made heavy, as in this
and put on the right thigh. For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which then best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh. Formerly, each horse on being mustered for the first time, was marked with a 1; the second time with a 2, and so on; but now His Majesty has ordered that separate numerals should be used for the horses of the princes, the Mançabdârs, the governors of the provinces, and all other dignitaries attached to the Court.

The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses; for when a soldier, after the introduction of the system of repeated marks (cide next Ain), brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhshi commenced to count from the day he brought his (exchanged) horse. But since the present mark was introduced, the rule was made that each horse with which, instead of with his old one, a trooper came to the muster, should be described, and should get the same mark as the dead one; the Bakhshis, at the subsequent musters held for repeating the marks, were to inspect it and go by the brand. Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest.

**AIN 8.**

**ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK.**

The servants (Mançabdârs) of His Majesty have their horses every year newly marked, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavours, unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty. If a Mançabdâr delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jagir (aqtd') is withheld. Formerly when the mark was repeated, they put the number on the muster of the horse, marking, for example, a horse with a 2, when it was mustered the second time, and so on; but now, as each class of soldiers has a particular mark, the mark is merely repeated at the

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1 Properly iqtd', Inf. IV. of qata'a; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as aqtd'. The king is therefore called muqtfı', one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. muqtf'ı the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Moghul Historians accuse Sher Sháh. *Titre* end of Ain 10, Third Book. *Muqta',* past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the *Túrikh i Firuz Sháhí*. From the times of Akbar the words *aqtd' and jagir* are used as synonyms; before his time we only find *aqtd' used*; but *jagir*, or *jâgir*, occurs in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word *aqtd' is but rarely met with.
subsequent musters. In the case of Ahadis, the former custom was retained. Some Bitikchis, and near servants of His Majesty who have no leisure to look after jāgirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jāgirs are very remote, do not bring their horses to muster before twelve years have elapsed; but when six years have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income is retrenched. And if a Mančâbdâr has been promoted to a higher Mančâb, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal increase of salary, but draws the allowance for the increased number of his men after the first muster. His old and his new men then get their assignments. If at the renewal of the mark at subsequent musters, any soldier brings a superior horse in exchange for his old one, he is taken before His Majesty, who inspects and accepts it.

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD.

Mounting guard is called in Hindi chauki. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mančâbdâr. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mir 'Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue. In the evening, the Imperial Qur (ride p. 110) is taken to the State hall. The mounting guards stand on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved are drawn up on the other side. His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. Both ranks salute His Majesty. If His Majesty be prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties, as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays much attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.

The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court, and to partake of the liberality of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact
condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

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ATN 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WAQPA'AINAWIS.¹

Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government; it is even necessary for every rank of society. Though a trace of this office may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were but recognized in the present reign. His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight.² Some other suitable men are selected as supernumeraries, each of whom is appointed for one day; and if any of the fourteen be detained by an important business, this additional person acts for him. Hence they are called kotal (supernumeraries).

Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; what His Majesty eats and drinks; when he sleeps, and when he rises; the etiquette in the State hall; the time His Majesty spends in the Harem; when he goes to the general and private assemblies; the nature of hunting-parties; the slaying of animals;¹ when he marches, and when he halts; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; vows made to him; his remarks (vide Fifth Book); what books he has read out to him; what alms he bestows; what presents he makes; the daily and monthly exercises which he imposes on himself; appointments to manças; contingents of troops; salaries; jágirs; Irmás money (vide above, p. 250, note 5); sayárgháš (rentfree land); the increase or decrease of taxes; contracts; sales; money transfers; poshásh (tribute receipts); despatch; the issue of orders; the

¹ From wağía'ah an event, and nawís a writer. Instead of wağía'ah nawís we also find maffis nawís.
² Hence the arrangement must have been as follows—first day, first and second writers; second day, first and third writers; third day, third and fourth writers, and so on.
³ Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals. Vide above, p. 200, l. 9.
⁴ Especially fasts.
papers which are signed by His Majesty; the arrival of reports; the minutes thereon; the arrivals of courtiers; their departures; the fixing of periods; the inspection of the guards; battles, victories, and peace; obituaries of well-known persons; animal-fights and the bettings on them; the dying of horses; capital punishments; pardons granted by His Majesty; the proceedings of the general assemblies; marriages, births; changes in games (vide Alm 29); chaupar, nard, chess, card games, &c.; extraordinary phenomena; the harvests of the year; the reports on events.

After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the Farvochar, by the Mir 'Arz, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called wddasht, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the wddasht when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the wddasht, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the Wadi'ahnaus, and the Risdalahdar, the Mir 'Arz, and the Diragah. The abridgment, thus completed, is called Ta'ilqah, and the writer is called Ta'ilqahnawir.

The Ta'ilqah is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State.

His Majesty's object is, that every duty be properly performed; that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department; that dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem; and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check.

ATN 11.

ON SANADS.

Every money matter will be satisfactorily settled, when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen, and write down the statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a sanad. All classes of men adopt such a practice.

1 Ta'in i muddat, the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. beta'ini amadán to come at times not appointed before hand, unexpectedly.

2 The text has risaláh, which stands for risaláhadár, as, in later times, Gábah for Gábahrádár.

For Mir 'Arz we find in the early Historians 'áriz.
The sanad is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims. Honest experienced officers, upon whose forehead the stamp of correctness shines, write the agreement upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction cannot be forgotten. These loose sheets into which all sanads are entered, are called the Daftar.¹

His Majesty has made himself acquainted with this department and brought it into proper working order. He has appointed clever, honest, incorruptible, experienced writers, and entrusts the daftar to impartial officers, who are under his immediate control.

The Daftar of the empire is divided into three parts:—

1. The Abwdbulmál, or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the Daftar explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)

2. The Arbáb uttaháwil.² This part explains the manner in which the sums for the Household have been expended; it contains the debits and credits entered on account of the cashkeepers employed at Court; and lastly, contains the accounts of daily expenditure, &c., for things bought or sold.

3. The Taujih.³ This part contains all entries referring to the pay of the army, and shows the manner in which the pay is given out.

Some sanads are merely sealed with the imperial seal. Other sanads are first signed and sealed by the ministers of State, and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature. Many sanads, however, are only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court. This will be explained in the following.

The Farmán i sabtí.

Farmán i sabtí are issued for three purposes:—

1. For appointments to a Mançab; to the Vakilship; to the post of Sipahsálár (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief); to the tutorship of the princes; to the rank of Amírulumará (vide p. 240); to a Náhíátí, or

¹ English writers of the last century often refer to this system of keeping all documents in loose sheets, instead of bound books. The sheets were kept together by a string drawn through them. This custom, I am informed, is still in use in Persia; and suits eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word daftar is the Greek ἱμέρα, a tanned hide, parchment. Çâhib i daftar, Minister of Finance, the same as Diwán and Vâzír. Daftarí means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, &c.

² The men who get transfer receipts on the Treasury. This part of the Daftar contained all Household accounts, as specified above. Though all MSS. read Arbáb, it is probable that abwdb is the more usual expression.

³ Or, the giving of wajh (pay) to the army; hence taujih military accounts. For taujih, some MSS. read taujihākh.
districtship; to the post of Vazir, or Finance Minister; to the Bakhshi-
ship, (Pay master and Adjutant General); to the post of a Ċadr, or a judge.
2. For appointments to jāgirs, without military service;¹ for taking
charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes . . . . ²
3. For conferring Sayārghdāl (vide Kīn 19); for grants on account of daily
subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the Ta'liqah has been made out, the Diwān i Jāgir (who
keeps the Jāgir accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jāgir is
given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster,
the grant is once more sent to the Bakhshīs for inspection, when the following
words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—khāygh, o
mardum bardaward numāyand; kārgarān i in shughl chihrahnasī kunand (this
is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper
officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls). When the horses are then
branded at the time of the muster, the Bakhshī general takes the Ta'liqah,
keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the
monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the Bakhshī grants instead of the Ta'liqah, is called
Sarkhāt.

The Sarkhāts are entered in the daftars of all Sub-Bakhshīs, and are
distinguished by particular marks. The Diwān then keeps the Sarkhāt
with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on
it, and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order
to confer a jāgir on the person specified in the Sarkhāt, the following words
are entered on the top of the report: Ta'liqah i tan qalamī numāyand (they
are to write out a Ta'liqah i tan (certificate of salary). This order suffices
for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect.
The draft is then inspected by the Diwān, who verifies it by writing on it
the words sabt numāyand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar,
and the seal of the Diwān, the Bakhshī, and the Accountant the Diwān, are
put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside.
The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwān.

The Čāhib i Tāujīh, or Military accountant, keeps the former Ta'liqah
with himself, writes its details on the Fīrmān, and seals and signs it. It is

¹ Jāgirs, to which no military service
attaches, appear to be called bedāgh o
mahālī, i. e., the holder had nothing to
do with the army and the musters, at
which the Mančabdāns drew the salaries
of their contingents, nor with the collect-
tion of the taxes of the several Mahālīs
or Parganahs. Thus Fatadhlla Mahd of Shīrāz
(vide p. 199) received Basāwar as his jāgir
bedāgh o mahālī. Buḍōnī, p. 315. Buḍōnī also had a jāgir of 1000 Big'has,
at which he often grumbles, calling himself by way of joke Ḥazārī, or
Commander of One Thousand.
² The text has 'āde (sometimes?) ba
'unrīn i mulk (mulk ?) ḏḏḏan—which I
do not understand.
then inspected by the Mustanfî, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nâzîr and the Bakhsîs do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwan, his Accountant, and the Valî of the State.

If His Majesty's order specifies a cash payment, the farmân is made out in the same manner, but is generally called barât (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the Nâzîr, the Diwan i Buâyât signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhsîs and the Diwan, it is sealed and signed by the Khân Sâmân. The receipts and expenditure of the Imperial workshops, the deposits and payments of salaries to the workmen (of whom some draw their pay on [military] descriptive rolls, and others according to the services performed by them, as the men engaged in the Imperial elephant and horse stables, and in the waggon department) are all made by barâts. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two barâts, one for the six months from Farvardin (February—March) to Shahrivar, and the other from Mîhr (September) to Isfandijârmaez. He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, &c., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement. The Diwan i Buâyât inspects them, passes the order for payment, enquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin az tabarî i fitânî barât sawîand, 'Let a barât be made out shewing the amount to be deposited with such and such a Mushrif.' The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it. In all cash payments, one-fourth is deducted, as another sewad is given for this amount. The Diwan i Buâyât then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the barât and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the Military Accountant, the Nâzîr, the Diwan i Buâyât, the Diwan i Kul, the Khân Sâmân, the Mushrif of the Diwan, and the Vâkîl, who signs and seals it. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake. When it has been laid before His Majesty, the Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several daftars. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz. one-fourth is to be paid in gold (ashrafîs); one-half in silver (rupîs) and one part in copper (dâms), according to the fixed values of the coins.

The Farmáns in favor of Mançâbdârs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of Sugnîghuls (vide Âin 19), the farmáns, after having been signed by the Mustanfî, are entered in the daftars of the Diwan i Sa'âdat (vide Âin 19); they are then signed and sealed by the Qâdr, and the Diwan i Kul.
Farmáns are sometimes written in ғchargá character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmán is called a Parwánccháh.

Parwánccháhs are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the Diwán i Sa‘ddat (vide Aín 19); the salaries of the Ahadís, Chelahs, and of some officers in the workshops; and for the allowances on account of the food of Bárgir horses (vide p. 139, Aín 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new sanad, but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the ministers of the State. The Mushrif (accountant) writes out the receipt, which is signed by the recipient, and is then sent to the Diwán for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustaft, the Názír i Buyútát, the Diwán i Kul, the Khán-Sámán, the Mushrif of the Diwán. In the Parwánccháhs given to Ahadís, the signature, seal, and orders of the Ahadíbáshí, or Commander of the Ahadís, are required after those of the Mustaft, the Diwán, and the Bakhshí, because His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Parwánccháhs need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign sarkhsá, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, 'arzmánccháhs (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains) qarár múnáns (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the muqásá (statements of account which Tahvildárs take from the Mustaft, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

AÍN 12.

THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmáns, Parwánccháhs, and Baráts, are made into several folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Diwán puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Qadr. But when Shaikh 'Abdunnabi and Sultán Khwájah were Qadr (vide note to Aín 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakil. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khán did at the time of Mun’im Khán, and Adham Khán. The Mir Mál, the Khán Sámán, the Parwánchí, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwán, and the Bakhshí do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diwán i juz, the Bakhshí i juz, and the Diwán i Buyútát put their seals on the third
fold. The Mustaflu puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhib i Tanjîh on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Ṭughrâ lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in Ta'ilqahs.

AYN 13.

THE FARMÂN I BAYAZĪ.

Some matters connected with the Government do not admit of delay, or must not to be known to everyone. Such an order receives only the Imperial seal, and is called a Farmân i Bayazî.1 The farmân is folded up, and two edges are made to meet, when a knot of paper is put over them, which is sealed up, in such manner, that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum of the Kunâr, the Bañ, the Pipal, and other trees. Like wax, it gets warm when exposed to fire, but gets afterwards cool and hard. When thus sealed, the farmân is put into a golden cover; for His Majesty looks upon the use of external signs of grandeur as an act of divine worship. Such farmâns are carried by Mâncabalârs, Ahadis, or common foot-soldiers, to the parties concerned.

When an officer receives such an order he proceeds a proper distance to meet it, performs various acts of obeisance, puts it on the crown of his head, makes the sîjdah, and rewards the messenger according to the favour conferred upon himself, or according to his circumstances. According to His Majesty's wishes, the bags in which reports are sent, are secured in the same manner as a Farmân i Bayazî, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

AYN 14.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH SALARIES ARE PAID.

When any one has the good fortune of joining the army, he receives, on bringing his horses to the muster, a proper sanad without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in dâms; but at the time of making out the estimate, he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight dâms2 each. Half of the remainder is paid in mOhurs at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in dâms for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty dâms, the soldiers, through His Majesty's kindness, received dâms at the same rate. Every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is

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1 That is, a blank farmân. 2 The MSS. have forty-eight.
raised fifty per cent. above prime cost, and for accoutrements; but as much care is shewn in buying horses, this increase is not productive of any loss for the soldier. Besides, Ahadis are continually employed for affairs of importance, and are permitted to carry the orders of His Majesty; and whatever is given to them as an acknowledgment for their services by the recipients of the orders, is allowed to be kept by the Ahadis as a present, if they bear a good character; but if not, a part of it is reckoned as monthly pay.

With the view of teaching zeal and removing the stamp of laziness, His Majesty fines soldiers for absence from guard: an Ahadi loses fifteen days' pay, and other soldiers one week's.

The Commander of every contingent (Ṭābūnbaši) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

AIN 15.

MUSĀ'ADAT, OR LOANS TO OFFICERS.

Higher Officers, who receive lands or monthly salaries may occasionally come into difficulties when it would be against the rules of the government for them to ask for a present. For this reason His Majesty appointed a treasurer and a separate Ṭūr 'Arz, and those who wish to borrow money, may now do so without prejudice to their honour, or annoyance of delay. For the first year, nothing is charged; in the second, the loan is increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in the fourth year, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year, by three-fourths; from the tenth year and longer, double the original loan is charged, after which there is no further increase.

His Majesty's only object is to teach propriety in transactions; else mutual esteem will never increase among men from the nature of their mercantile affairs.

This regulation brought unprincipled usurers to the proper path, and thus prevented much impropriety.

AIN 16.

ON DONATIONS.

His Majesty, from his knowledge of man's nature, gives donations in various ways. It looks as if he lends, but in his heart, he makes a present;

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1 It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law. But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.
or he calls the donation a loan, but never asks it back. The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality. He gives away elephants, horses, and other valuable articles. The Bakshis read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.

AIN 17.

ON ALMS.

His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries, winning the hearts of all in public or private. Many enjoy daily, monthly, or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. It is impossible for me to detail the sums which some people receive in consequence of representations having been made of their circumstances by such as stand near the throne; and it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars, or the eating houses which have been established for the poor.

There is a treasurer always in waiting at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief.

AIN 18.

THE CEREMONY OF WEIGHING HIS MAJESTY.

From reasons of auspiciousness, and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor, His Majesty is weighed twice a year. Various articles are put into the scales.

On the first day of the month of Abán [15th October], which is the solar anniversary of the emperor, His Majesty is weighed twelve times against the following articles: gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, ṭútiyā, drugs, g'hi, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt; the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals. A great number of small animals are also set at liberty.

His Majesty is weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab, the lunar birthday of the emperor, against eight articles, viz., silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables.

* Vide p. 200, l. 5 from below.
* Vide p. 15, l. 1.
* The lunar birthday of the emperor.

As this was the Muhammadan birthday, the articles were of course fewer, and less valuable.
On both occasions the festival of Sdligirh (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks. The Imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of His Majesty, are weighed once in every solar year. They are for the first time weighed, when two years old, but only against one thing. Every year, however, a new additional thing is put on the scales. When grown up, they are generally weighed against seven or eight things, but not against more than twelve. Animals are set free as usual.

A separate treasurer and an accountant are appointed for this purpose, so that the expenditure may be made with every propriety.1

1 According to the Tuzuk i Jahangiri (p. 163) and Pādisahánamah (I, p. 243), the weighing of the Royal person was introduced by Akbar. It is an old Hindu custom. At first, the weighing took place once a year, on the birthday of the emperor; but with the introduction of Akbar’s Divine (solar) Era, we find in the history of every year the record of a wazn i shemsi, or solar weighing, and a wazn i qamari, or lunar weighing. There was, of course, a jashn, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers, on the same day, were promoted to higher Manzabs, or presented their peakhkash. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (vide Pādisahánamah, p. 243) that the articles against which the royal person was weighed, were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor. Jahangir, according to several remarks in the Tuzuk (pp. 69, 70, 276, &c.) was even weighed in the palace of his august mother, to whom the Tuzuk gives the title of Maryam Zamddñ, the Mary of the age, as Akbar’s mother had been styled Maryam Makdñ (vide p. 48, note 1). The solar wazn was even retained by Aurangzeb; vide ‘Alamgirnámah, p. 229.

The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as there the string was kept, which numbered as many knots, as the emperor numbered years; hence also Sdligirh (or saligirah, as the word is pronounced all over India) ‘the year’s knot,’ or birthday.

Tying knots, or bits of string or ribbon to the tombs of saints is considered by barren women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of Sālim i Chishti is Fathpur Sikri, in whose house Jahangir was born, is even now a-days visited by Hindu and Musalmán women, who tie bits of string to the marble trellise surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar’s tomb in Sikandrah, near Agra.

Akbar’s regulation, as given in the above Ain, appears to have been continued under Jahangir. Shāhjahān made some alterations, in as far as he was weighed on each feast first against gold, and silver, and then against other articles. The articles themselves were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men, and beggars, as a means of keeping the royal person from all bodily and mental harm. The gold and the silver against which Jahangir was once weighed, amounted to Rs. 33,000; but according to the Tuzuk, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (Tuzuk, p. 163), Jahangir was found to weigh 66l4 tolnhs. Taking the tolah at 186 grains (Prinsep’s useful Tables, by E. Thomas, p. 111), Jahangir, at the age of forty-seven, would have weighed 210½ lbs Troy.

Akbar, in accordance with his Hindu tendencies, used to give the money to Brahmans. “On the fifth of Rajab 973, which is the day on which the Emperor was born, the feast of weighing His Majesty was held at Nizamabad, a town belonging to the Sirkār of Jaunpūr; for according to established custom, the emperor is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, against gold, silver, &c., which is given as a present to the Brahmans of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems.” Baddonī, II, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahangir had once his Court doctor Rūhullāh weighed in silver (Tuzuk, p. 238), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as Jūgir.
His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considers doing so an act of divine worship.

His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers lands and subsistence allowances on the following four classes of men, _first_, on enquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching after true knowledge; _secondly_, on such as toil and practise self-denial, and while engaged in the struggle with the selfish passions of human nature, have renounced the society of men; _thirdly_, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for enquiry; _fourthly_, on honorable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge, are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade.

Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called _Wazifah_; lands conferred are called _Majlis_ or _Mudaf i ma'ash_. In this way, krors are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called _Cadr_. The _Qazi_ and the _Mir 'Adl_ are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is now-a-days styled _Divan i Sa'adat_.

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire.

When His Majesty commenced to enquire into this department, it was discovered that the former _Cads_ had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaikh 'Abdunnabi to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afgáns and Chaudris, were taken away, and became domain lands (_khalsa_); whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaikh who enquired into, and certified, their grants. After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near _khaliqah_ lands or

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1 Vide the note at the end of this Aín.

2 This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian _khaliqah_.

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near the jágirs of Mançabdárs, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties. The officers of the government, on receiving this order, told off certain villages for this purpose: those who were weak were protected, and the encroachments of the unprincipled were put a stop to.

But when Time, according to his custom, commenced to tear the veil of secrets, rumours also regarding this Čadr [ʿAbdunnabi] came to the ears of His Majesty. An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred big'hahs should lay their farmáns personally before His Majesty, and in default, should lose their lands. As, however, the practices of these grant-holders did not come up to the wise counsels of His Majesty, the order was passed, that the excess of all lands above one hundred big'hahs, if left unspecified in the farmáns, should be reduced to two-fifths of it, three-fifths of the excess being annexed to the domain lands. Irání and Túrání women alone were excepted from this rule.

As it was reported that impudent, avaricious people used to leave their old grounds, and take possession of new places, it was ordered that every one who should leave his place, should lose one-fourth of his lands and receive a new grant.

Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qázís were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men [the Qázís], who wear a turban as a sign of respectability, but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense. He examined into the whole matter, and dismissed all Qázís, except those who had been appointed during the Čadrship of Sultán Khwájah. The Irání and Túrání women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred big'hahs held by them, should be enquired into, whether it was correctly held or not.

During the Čadrship of 'Azaduddaulah [Mir Fathullah of Shíláz] the following order was given:—If any one held a Sayúrghál together with a partner, and the farmán contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the Čadr should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further enquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the Crown and remaining domain land, till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty. The new Čadr was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen big'hahs.

On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the Government
officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for Sayurghal-
holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who
commanded that such profits should not be interfered with.

Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred big'hahs
and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Cadr
Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it
was determined that the Cadr with the concurrence of the writer of this
work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed
is this, that all Sayurghal land should consist of one-half of tilled land, and
of one-half of land capable of cultivation; if the latter half be not so [i.e.,
if the whole be tilled land], one-fourth of the whole should be taken away
and a new grant be issued for the remainder.

The revenue derived from each big'hah varies in the several districts,
but is never less than one rupee.

His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and promoting true
piety, pays much attention to this department, and appoints disinterested
men as Cadrs of districts and Cadr of the realm.

Note by the Translator on the Cadrs of Akbar's reign.

In this Ain—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the
Chagatâi word sayurghal is translated by the Arabic madad ul ma'âsh,
in Persian madad i ma'âsh, for which we often find in MSS. madad o
ma'âsh. The latter term signifies 'assistance of livelihood,' and, like its
equivalent milk, or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent pur-
poses, as specified by Abulfazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ
for this reason from jâjir or tuyûl lands, which were conferred, for a
specified time, on Mançâbdârs in lieu of salaries.

This Ain proves that Akbar considerably interfered with Sayurghal
lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the
domain, or khâliqah, lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghân)
family. He also completely broke the power of the Cadr, whose dignity,
especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the
Cadr, or as he was then generally styled, Cadr i Jahân, whose edict
legalized the Julius, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar
also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (vide end of Ain 30).
Their power was immense. They were the highest law-officers, and had
the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in

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1 Regarding the turning out of Al-
tamghâ and Madad i ma'âsh holders, vide Elliot's Glossary, under Altamghâ
p. 18.
charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. Thus 'Abdunnabi, during his Čadtrship, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (vide p. 177, l. 4 from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms īdṛārāt, wazāf, mīlāk, in'ām i dehhā, in'ām i zamīnhā, &c., occur for the word sāyūrghāl (or sīyūrgāl, or sughūrghāl, as some dictionaries spell it.)

Among the former kings, 'Aláuddin i Khilji is notorious for the disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers. He resumed the greater part of the madad i ma'āsh tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Čadr by appointing his keybearer to this high office (Tārikh i Firuzshāhī, p. 353). Qutbuddin Mubārikshāh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom 'Aláuddin had deprived (T. F., p. 382). Firūz Shāh is still more praised for his liberality in conferring lands (T. F., p. 558).

That Sher Shāh has often been accused by Moghul Historians for his bounty in conferring lands, has been mentioned above (p. 256, note); and this may have been one of the reasons why Akbar shewed such an unexpected severity towards the grant-holders of his time.

Each Čūbāh had a Ćadr i juz, or Provincial Ćadr, who was under the orders of the Chief Ćadr (Čadr i Jahān, or Ćadr i kul, or Ćadr i Ćudār).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the Ćadrs. The land specified in the farmān of a holder rarely corresponded in extent to the land which he actually held; or the language of the farmān was ambiguously worded, to enable the holder to take possession of as much as he could, and keep it as long as he bribed the Qāzīs and provincial Ćadrs. Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated enquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers. The religious views of the emperor (vide p. 167), and the hatred which he shewed to the 'Ulamā, most of whom held lands, furnished him with a personal, and therefore stronger, reason to resume their grants, and drive them away to Bhakkar in Sind, or to Bengal, the climate of which, in those days, was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gomroon. After the fall of 'Abdunnabī—a man whom Akbar used once to honor by holding the slippers before his feet,—Sultān Khwājah,
a member of the Divine Faith, (vide p. 204) was appointed as Çadr; and the Çadrs after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Badānī to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar’s Çadrs:—

1. Shaikh Gadāī, a Shi’ah, appointed at the recommendation of Bairám Khán, till 968.
2. Khwájah Muhammad Čálih, till 971.
5. Amir Fathullah of Shíráz, till 997.
6. Çadr Jahán, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abulfazl also mentions a Çadr Mauláná ’Abdul Báqí; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Badānī.

Page 29. Shaikh Gadāī cancelled the Madad i ma’āsh lands, and took away the legacies of the Khánzúdahs (Afghánis), and gave a Sayúrghál to any one that would bear up with humiliating treatment, but not otherwise. Nevertheless, in comparison with the present time, when obstacles are raised to the possession of every jarib of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaikh an ’Alambakkh (one who gives away a world).

Page 52. After Shaikh Gadāī, Khájagí Muhammad Čálih was, in 968, appointed Çadr; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as madañ i ma’āsh, because he was dependent on the Díváns.

Page 71. In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaikh ’Abdunnabī was made Çadr. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muzaffar Khán, at that time Vazír and Vakíl. But soon after, the Shaikh acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistence allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if you place the grants of all former kings of Hindústán in one scale, and those of the Shaikh into the other, his scale would weigh more. But several years later the scale went up, as it had been under former kings, and matters took an adverse turn.

Page 204. In 983, His Majesty gave the order that the Aimahs of the whole empire should not be let off by the kroris of each Perganah, unless they brought the farmáns in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Çadr for inspection and verification. For this reason, a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts

1 Augáf. The text of Badānī has wrongly augát. For bdr read bárak.
up to Bhakkar on the Indus, came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the grandees or near friends of His Majesty, he could manage to have his affair settled; but those who were destitute of such recommendations, had to bribe Sayyid 'Abdurraalil, the Shaikh's head man, or make presents to his farrāshes, darbāns (porters), syces (grooms), and mehtem (sweepers), 'in order to get their blanket out of the mire.' Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the Aimahas, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his masnad (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaikh received them in his filthy way, paid respect to no one, and after much asking, begging, and exaggerating, he allowed, for example, a teacher of the Hidddyah (a book on law) and other college books 100 Big’hahs, more or less; and though such a man might have been for 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 gave primitive lands as marks of personal favor. Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation.

At no time had a Cadr, for so long a time, exercised more tyrannical powers.

The fate of Abdunnabi has been related above. Akbar gave him money for the poor of Makkah, and sent him on a pilgrimage. When he came back, he was called to account for the money, was put in prison, and murdered by some scoundrel in 992.

The next Cadr was Sulṭán Khwájah. Matters relating to Sayúrgháls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Islám, and the new Cadr, who had just returned from Makkah, become a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty enquired personally into all grants (ride p. 189, last para.). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Badáoni, who had managed to get 1000

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1 Badáoni says that even in the State hall, when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt water on the grandees standing near him.

2 For batafzil in the text (p. 205), one MS. of Badáoni reads zamin i štiddá batafazul az khúd middá.

3 The same happened afterwards to Mírzá 'Azíz Kokah. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned so disappointed and 'fleeced' from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Islám. There is a proverb current in the East, Al-shaitán fi-tharamain, 'The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madīnah.'
big’hahs, at first to the great disgust of ’Abdunnabi, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 903, Fathullah of Shiráz (vide p. 38) was appointed Çadr. As the Sayûrghâl duties, and with them the dignity of the Çadr, had dwindled down to nothing, Fathullah, though Çadr, could be spared for missions to the Dak’hin, Bad. p. 343.

“His Shirázi servant Kamál officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Aimahdârs, who had a few spots here and there; for the dignity of the Çadr had approached its kamál (perfection). Fathullah had not even the power of conferring five big’hahs: in fact he was an imaginary Çadr, as all lands had been withdrawn. And yet, the lands which had been withdrawn became the dwelling-places of wild animals, and thus belonged neither to the Aimahdâr, nor to farmers. However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the Çadr, though of the office of the Çadr the name only is left.

Page 368. Fathullah [the Çadr himself] laid before His Majesty a bag containing the sum of Rs. 1,000, which his collector by means of oppression, or under the pretext that an Aimahdâr was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Parganah of Basâwar [which was his jâgîr], and said, “My collectors have this much collected from the Aimahdârs as a kifâyat (i.e. because the collectors thought the Sáyûrghâl holders had more than sufficient to live upon).” But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next Çadr, Çadr Jahán, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed Çadr immediately after the death of Fathullah, Badânî continues calling him Muftî i mamâlik i mahrisah, the Muftî of the empire, which had been his title before. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the Çadrship. Çadr Jahán continued to serve under Jahângîr.

A great portion of the Sayûrghâl lands is specified by Abulfazl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

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1 Maqtû’ulardzi, a pun reminding of muqta’ (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and muqti (part. act. IV) one who confers lands. Observe that Badânî uses the word aimah not only in the plural sense of aimahdârs, but as an equivalent of those who hold a Sayûrghâl.

Regarding the punishments which grasping Çads were subject to, vide Elliot’s Index, p. 253, note, of which, however, the first para. ought to be expunged as unhistorical.
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AYN 20.

ON THE CARRIAGES, &c., INVENTED BY HIS MAJESTY.

His Majesty has invented an extraordinary carriage, which has proved a source of much comfort for various people. When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn.1

His Majesty also invented a large cart, which is drawn by one elephant. It is made sufficiently large so as to hold several bath-rooms, and thus serves as a travelling bath. It is also easily drawn by cattle.

Camels and horses also are used for pulling carriages, and thus contribute to the comfort of mankind. Finely built carriages are called bahals; if used on even ground, several may sit together and travel on.

Water wheels and carts have also been so constructed, that water may be fetched from far, low places. Two oxen may pull four such wheels at the same time, or one ox two.

Another machine exists which conveys water from a well, and moves at the same time a millstone.

AYN 21.

THE TEN SER TAX (DAHSERI).

His Majesty takes from each big'ah of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty. Storehouses have been constructed in every district. They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bázárs. These stores prove at the same time of great use for the people; for poor cultivators may receive grain for sowing purposes, or people may buy cheap grain at the time of famines. But the stores are only used to supply necessities. They are also used for benevolent purposes; for His Majesty has established in his empire many houses for the poor, where indigent people may get something to eat. He also appoints everywhere experienced people to look after these store-houses, and selects for this purpose active Dárogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

1 This was, according to Nizám's Tabqát, an invention of Fathullah of Shíráz (vide p. 38, note). Nizám says, "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn. He also invented a looking-glass which, whether seen near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures.

Also a wheel, which cleaned at once twelve barrels." The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abúlázal to Akbar; vide Book 1. Ain 38, p. 115.

Regarding English carriages (rat'h i angrezi) brought to India under Jahán-gír, vide Tuzuk pp. 167, 168.

* Vide pp. 200 and 201.
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AIN 22.
ON FEASTS.

His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus, when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsbreds, and the festivals of the Pārsī priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. 1. The New Year's day feast. It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month [Farwardin]. Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents: the first day of the month of Farwardin, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the Sharaf. Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pārsis, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month. The following are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farwardin; 3rd Urdibihisht; 6th Khúrdád; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahríwar; 16th Mihr; 10th A'bán; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd, Dái; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandíarmuz. Feasts, are actually and ideally, held on each of these days. People in their happiness raise the strain of inward joy. In the beginning of each pahr the nāqqárahs (vide p. 51, 1. 1.) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights: on the second for one night, and the joy is general.

I have given a few particulars in the first Book (Ain 18).

AIN 23.
THE KHUSHROZ OR DAY OF FANCY BAZARS.

On the third feast-day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assembly for the purpose of enquiring into the many wonderful things found in this world. The merchants of the age are eager to attend, and lay out articles from all countries. The people of His Majesty's Harem come, and the women of other men also are invited, and buying and selling is quite general. His Majesty uses such days to select any articles which he wishes to buy, or to

1 Badámí generally calls this day Nauriz i Jalálit; vide p. 183, note 2.
2 Thus A'bán was the name of the eighth month (October-November): but the tenth day also of every month had the same name.
fix the price of things, and thus add to his knowledge. The secrets of the empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office and workshop, will then appear. His Majesty gives to such days the name of Khushrūz, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.

After the Fancy bázárs for women, bázárs for the men are held. Merchants of all countries then sell their wares. His Majesty watches the transactions, and such as are admitted to Court indulge in the pleasure of buying. Bázár people, on such occasions, may lay their grievances before His Majesty, without being prevented by the mace-bearers, and may use the opportunity of laying out their stores, in order to explain their circumstances. For those who are good, the dawn of success rises, whilst wicked bázár people are called to account.

His Majesty has appointed for this purpose a separate treasurer and an accountant, so that the sellers may get paid without delay. The profit made by tradesmen on such occasions is very great.¹

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ATN 24.

REGULATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGES.

Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world; it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign, watches over great and small, and imbues men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful; for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they dislike having connexion, and their home is desolate.

Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts.

Marriage between near relations His Majesty thinks highly improper. He says, "The fact that, in ancient times (?) even, a girl was not given to her twin brother, ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted

¹ Regarding these Fancy bázárs, vide above Badáoni's remarks on p. 204, l. 4.
followers of Muhammad's religion as wrong; for the beginning of a religion resembles, in this regard, the beginning of the creation of mankind."

His Majesty disapproves of high doweries; for as they are rarely ever paid, they are mere sham; but he admits that the fixing of high doweries is a preventive against rash divorces. Nor does His Majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man's health, and disturbs the peace of the home. He censures old women that take young husbands, and says that doing so is against all modesty.

He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom enquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of Tālibī, or masters of marriages. In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mānqābdārs commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Muhurs; do. from one thousand to five hundred, 4 M.; do. to Commanders of one hundred, 2 M.; do. to Commanders of forty, 1 M.; do. to Commanders of ten, 4 R. The latter fee is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 R., and common people 1 dām. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

ATN 25.

REGULATIONS REGARDING EDUCATION.

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken

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1 "The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwāl, and were stared at by the kotwāl's men, who had to take down their respective ages; and you may imagine what advantages and fine opportunities the officers thus had, especially the people of the kotwāl, and the khānū i kalāl (?), and their other low assistants outside." Bad. II, p. 391. Vide also Third Book, Ain 5.

2 Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copy slips (qiṭ'ahār).
that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist
him a little. He then ought for some time be daily practised in writing
a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The
teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters;
meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this
method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a
day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will
get quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic,
the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry,
astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government,
medicine, logic, the tabi‘i, ri‘yāṣi, and ʿilāḥi, sciences, and history; all of
which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayākaran, Niyā, Bedanta, and Pātanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things
which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright
lustre over Madrasahs.

ATN 26.

THE ADMIRALTY.

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the
army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of
obtaining things of value, provides for agriculture, and His Majesty’s
household. His Majesty, in fostering this source of power, keeps four
objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department
as an act of divine worship.

First.—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants.
Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest
of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses
and dromedaries, and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially
in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty’s empire,
ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and That’hah (Sind)
they are the pivot of all commerce. His Majesty had the sterns of
the boats made in shape of wonderful animals, and thus combines
terror with amusement. Turrets and pleasing kiosks, markets, and
beautiful flower-beds, have likewise been constructed on the rivers. Along

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1 This is the three-fold division of


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sciences, ʿilāḥi, or divine, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God.</th>
<th>quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics. Tabi‘i sciences comprehend physical sciences.</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences ʿaba‘i, instead of tabi‘i. |  }
the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Hâhâbâs and Lâhor, and are then sent to the coast. In Kashmir, a model of a ship was made which was much admired.

Secondly.—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the title of their vessel, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind hearted, hard working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient; in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen come from Malîbâr (Malabar).

Boatmen also bring men and their things from one side of the river to the other.

The number of sailors in a ship varies according to the size of the vessel. In large ships there are twelve classes. 1. The Nâkhudâ, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of Nâkhudâ. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The Mu'allîm, or Captain. He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers. 3. The Tândil, or chief of the khâlûqis, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen's language, are called khâlûqis or khûrwahs. 4. The Nâkhudâ-khâshah. He supplies the passengers with firewood and straw, and assists in shipping and unloading the cargo. 5. The Sarhang, or mate, superintends the docking and landing of the ship, and often acts for the Mu'allîm. 6. The Bhândârî has the charge of the stores. 7. The Kârrâni1 is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The Sükkaqâ'ir, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the Mu'allîm. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The Panjârî looks out from the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land, or a ship, or a coming storm, &c. 10. The Guqantî belongs to the class of khâlûqis. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The Topandáiz, or gunner, is required in naval fights; their number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The Khûrwah, or common sailor. They set and furl the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set the anchor free when it sticks fast. The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or kâh, as seamen call it. In the harbour of Sâtyânu (Hâghîlî) a Nâkhudâ gets 400 R.; besides

1 This word is now-a-days pronounced Kirâni, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.
he is allowed four *malikhs*, or cabins, which he fills with wares for his own profit. Every ship is divided into several divisions, for the accommodation of passengers and the stowage of goods, each of the divisions being called a *malikh*. The *Mu'āllim* gets 200 R. and two *malikhs*; the *Tandil*, 120 R.; the *Karrānī*, 50 R. and one *malikh*; the *Nākhudā khashab*, 30 R.; the *Sarhang*, 25 R.; the *Sukkāngīr*, Ḍānjarī and *Bhandāri*, each 15 R.; each *Khudrawī*, or common sailor, 40 R., and his daily food in addition; the *Degandī*, or gunner, 12 R.

In *Kambhāyat* (Cambay), a *Nākhudā* gets 800 R., and the other men in the same proportion.

In *Lāhāri*, a *nākhudā* gets 300 R., and the rest in proportion.

In *Achīn* he gets half as much again as in southern harbours; in Portugal, two and a half as much again; and in Malacca, twice as much again. In *Pegu*, and *Dahnasari*, he gets half as much again as in Cambay. All these rates vary according to the place and the length of the voyage. But it would take me too long to give more details.

Boatmen on rivers have wages varying from 100 to 500 d. per mensem.

Thirdly, an experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers. He must be an imposing and fearless man, must have a loud voice, must be capable of bearing fatigue, active, zealous, kind, fond of travelling, a good swimmer. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are passed over gratis. He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night, unless in cases of necessity.

Fourthly, the remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The state takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed two and a half per cent., which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, that merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

The following sums are levied as river tolls. For every boat, 1 R. per *kos* at the rate of 1000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 R. for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10 d. for crossing; a laden cart, 4 d.; do. empty, 2 d.; a laden camel, 1 d.; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, ½ d.; do. empty, ¼ d. Other beasts of burden pay ½ d., which
includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1 d. for crossing; but they are often taken gratis.

The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the State (the other half goes to the boatmen).

Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.

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**AIN 27.**

OF HUNTING.

Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance strive about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep enquirers see in hunting a means of acquisition of knowledge, and the temple of their worship derives from it a peculiar lustre. This is the case with His Majesty. He always makes hunting a means of increasing his knowledge, and besides, uses hunting parties as occasions to enquire, without having first given notice of his coming, into the condition of the people and the army. He travels inequitably, and examines into matters referring to taxation, or to Sayyirahil lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shows himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active Qarawals [men employed by the Mir Shi'kar, or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting ground, the Qur (p. 110) remaining at a distance of about five kos from it. Near the Qur, the grandees and other people await the arrival of His Majesty. The men who look after the things sit down and watch. About a yard behind them the Mir Tuzak stands ready for service, and about a kos and one-half behind them stand some of the Khidmatiyah (p. 225) and other servants of His Majesty. The Khidmatiyah are told off to watch at that place. At about the same distance, there stands a vigilant officer with some of His Majesty's servants. He advances very slowly, and guards the private hunting ground. Behind them an experienced officer is stationed to superintend the whole. Several near servants of His Majesty have admission to this place; but generally only such are allowed to come as are required to render services at the chase.

When a certain distance has been passed over, His Majesty selects a few to accompany him, and then moves on; and after having gone over
another distance, he generally goes alone, or accompanied by one or two. When the hour of rest comes, both parties which had been left behind, again join His Majesty.

As I have stated the views of His Majesty regarding the chase, and have written down some remarks on the arrangements which are made during hunting parties, I shall give a few particulars as to the several modes of chasing, and the wonderful contrivances which people have recourse to.

1. **Tiger hunting.**

They make a large cage, and having fastened it (on the ground) with strong iron ties, they put it in places frequented by tigers. The door is left open; but it is arranged in such a manner that the slightest shaking will cause it to close. Within the cage they put a goat, which is protected by a screen so constructed that the tiger can see the goat, but not get hold of it. Hunger will lead the tiger to the cage. As soon as he enters, he is caught.

Another method. They put a poisoned arrow on a bow, painted green, in such a manner that a slight movement will cause the arrow to go off. The bow is hung upon a tree, and when the tiger passes, and shakes it a little, the arrow will hit the animal and kill it.

Another method. They tie a sheep to a place in a road frequented by tigers, putting round about the sheep on the ground small stalks of hay covered with glue. The tiger comes rushing forward, and gets his claws full of the glue. The more he tries to get rid of it, the more will the glue stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him. Or they catch him alive, and tame him.

His Majesty, from his straightforwardness, dislikes having recourse to such tricks, and prefers with bows or matchlocks openly to attack this brute, which destroys so many lives.

Another method. An intrepid experienced hunter gets on the back of a male buffalo, and makes it attack the tiger. The buffalo will quickly get hold of the tiger with its horns, and fling him violently upwards, so that he dies. It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger. One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo.

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bāri. His Majesty got on the elephant Nāhir Khān, and went into the jungle. The brute was stirred up; and striking its claws into the forehead of the elephant, it pulled the head of the animal to the ground, when the tiger was killed by the men. This occurrence astonished the most intrepid and experienced hunters.

On another occasion, His Majesty hunted near Todah. The tiger had
stretched one of the party to the ground. His Majesty aimed at the brute, killed it, and thus saved the life of the man.

Once during a qamarghah\(^1\) chase, a large tiger was stirred up. The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head, and killed it.

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man. All who witnessed it, despaired of his life. His Majesty shot the brute right through the body, and released the unfortunate man.

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mut'hra. Shujá'at Khán (vide Kín 30, No. 51), who had advanced very far, got suddenly timid. His Majesty remained standing where he was, and looked furiously at the tiger. The brute cowered\(^2\) down before that divine glance, and turned right about trembling all over. In a short time it was killed.

The feats of His Majesty are too numerous to be imagined; much less can a Hindustání, as I am, describe them in a dignified style.

He slays lions, but would not hurt an ant.

He girds himself for the fray; but the lion drops his claws from fear.\(^3\)

**Elephant-hunts.**

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. **Kh'kedah.** The hunters are both on horseback and on foot. They go during summer to the grazing places of this wonderful animal, and commence to beat drums and blow the pipes, the noise of which makes the elephants quite frightened. They commence to rush about, till from their heaviness and exertions no strength is left in them. They are then sure to run under a tree for shade, when some experienced hunters throw a rope, made of hemp or bark, round their feet or necks, and thus tie them to the trees. They are afterwards led off in company with some trained elephants, and gradually get tame. One-fourth of the value of an elephant thus caught is given to the hunters as wages.

2. **Chor kh'kedah.** They take a tame female elephant to the grazing place of wild elephants, the driver stretching himself on the back of the elephant, without moving or giving any other sign of his presence. The elephants then commence to fight, when the driver manages to secure one by throwing a rope round the foot.

3. **Gdd.** A deep pit is constructed in a place frequented by elephants, which is covered up with grass. As soon as the elephants come near it,

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\(^1\) Qamarghah is a chase for which drivers are employed.
\(^2\) These two verses are taken from Faidt's *Nat Daman*; vide p. 106, note 4.
\(^3\) This is one of Akbar's miracles.
\(^4\) Hence our elephant kheddas.
the hunters from their ambush commence to make a great noise. The elephants get confused, and losing their habitual cautiousness, they fall rapidly and noisily into the hole. They are then starved and kept without water, when they soon get tame.

4. **Bbar.** They dig a ditch round the resting place of elephants, leaving only one road open, before which they put up a door, which is fastened with ropes. The door is left open, but closes when the rope is cut. The hunters then put both inside and outside the door such food as elephants like. The elephants eat it up greedily; their voraciousness makes them forget all cautiousness, and without fear they enter at the door. A fearless hunter, who has been lying concealed, then cuts the rope, and the door closes. The elephants start up, and in their fury try to break the door. They are all in commotion. The hunters then kindle fires and make much noise. The elephants run about till they get tired, and no strength is left in them. Tame females are then brought to the place, by whose means the wild elephants are caught. They soon get tame.

From times of old, people have enjoyed elephant hunts by any of the above modes; His Majesty has invented a new manner, which admits of remarkable finesse. In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty. A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open. At it several female elephants are stationed. From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females. The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow. They are now caught as shown above.

**Leopard hunting.**

Leopards, when wild, select three places. In one part of the country they hunt; in another part they rest and sleep; and in a third district they play and amuse themselves. They mostly sleep on the top of a hill. The shade of a tree is sufficient for the leopard. He rubs himself against

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2 "A large number of people had surrounded the whole jungle, outside of which, on a small empty space, a throne made of wood had been put on a tree, as a seat for the emperor [Jahángîr], and on the neighbouring trees beams had been put, upon which the courtiers were to sit and enjoy the sight. About two hundred male elephants with strong nooses, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the Jhârij-yak caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gûrât] with elephant hunting. The plan was to drive the wild elephants from all parts of the jungle near the place where the emperor sat, so that he might enjoy the sight of this exciting scene. When the drivers closed up from all sides of the jungle, their ring unfortunately broke on account of the density and impenetrability of the wood, and the arrangements of the drivers partially failed. The wild elephants ran about as if mad; but twelve male and female elephants were caught before the eyes of the emperor." *Iqâlahnâmeh*, p. 113.
the trunk. Round about the tree, they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindi āk'har.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called odī. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet in pieces, or managed by jumping to get out again. Nor could you catch more than one in each pit. His Majesty therefore invented a new method, which has astonished the most experienced hunters. He made a pit only two or three gaz deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other,—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

Another method is to fasten nooses to the foot of the above mentioned tree. When the animal comes to scratch itself, it gets entangled.

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty kos from Agra, especially in the districts of Bāri, Simāwali, Alāpūr, Sunnām, Bhaṭīndah, Bhaṭmīr, Paṭān in the Panjāb, Fathpur, Jhinjhanū, Nāgor, Mīr'tha, Jodhpūr, Jaisalmīr, Amrsarnāyin; but several other more remote spots have been selected as hunting grounds. His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers. He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little; but before he had done so, good news were brought from some other hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser.

In former times, people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained, in an excellent manner, in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had
their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.¹

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the khāḍah leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

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**AIN 28.**

**THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.**

First class leopards get 5 s. of meat every day; second class, 4½ s.; third class, 4 s.; fourth class, 3½ s.; fifth class, 3¼ s.; sixth class, 3⅛ s.; seventh class, 3 s.; eighth class, 2⅛ s. The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed, double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four *sers* of butter and one-tenth of a *ser* of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also were appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 R. to 5 R. *per mensem*; but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle, are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The seniors get 300 d., 260 d., 220 d., 200 d., and 180 d., which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 d., 140 d., 120 d., 110 d., and 100 d. For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths, chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and *Gushkān*² carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a *Misl* or *Taraf* (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows.

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¹ Two more miracles of Akbar's.
² According to the order mentioned on p. 200, l. 10.
³ In my text edition, p. 208, l. 8. This should perhaps be *gushkān*, Goshkān, (in Arabic *Goshkān*), being a town in Iran, famous for its carpets.
One thousand leopards are kept in His Majesty's park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are khāqah; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (mihāfjah) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for a prey. Litters are also put on camels, horses, and mules. Carts even are made for the leopards, and are drawn by horses or cattle; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesty has, goes by the name of Samand mánik; he is carried on a Chaudol, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants, fully equipped, run at his side; the naqqārah (a large drum) is beaten in front, and sometimes he is carried by two men on horseback, the two ends of the pole of the Chaudol resting on the necks of their horses. Formerly two horses were kept for every leopard; but now three horses are given to two leopards. Others have a dooly, or a cart drawn by four oxen. Many travel alone on one and the same dooly. A tame, trained leopard has the dooly carried by three men, others by two.

Skill exhibited by hunting leopards.

Leopards will go against the wind, and thus they get scent of a prey, or come to hear its voice. They then plan an attack, and give the hunters notice where the prey is. The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. Uparghāti. The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws.

2. Righāni. The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer from a distance. The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer.

3. Muhārī. The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer, when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it, and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language

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1 "Among the curious events which happened during the present [Jahāngir's] reign, I must mention that a leopard in captivity covered a female leopard, which gave birth to three cubs. The late emperor [Akbār], during his youth, was passionately fond of leopards and hunting with leopards. He had about 9000 leopards collected during his reign, and tried much to pair them, so as to get cubs, but in vain. He even allowed some leopards to run about in the gardens without collars, letting them walk about and hunt after their fashion: but they would not pair. During this year a male leopard broke its collar, and covered a female, which after a space of two months and a half gave birth to three cubs. They went on well, and grew big." Iqbdīnāmah, p. 70.
fails to express his skill and cunning. Thus he will raise up the dust with his forefeet and hind legs, in order to conceal himself; or he will lie down so flat, that you cannot distinguish him from the surface of the ground.

Formerly a leopard would not kill more than three deer at one and the same chase; but now he will hunt as many as twelve.

His Majesty has also invented a method called *chattrandal*. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place, as if it was a *gamaryah* hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards, receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shown by His Majesty, a deer made friendship with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer, would pounce upon them as any other leopard.

In former times leopards were never allowed to remain loose towards the close of the day; for people were afraid of their stubbornness and anxiety to run away. But now, in consequence of the practical rules made by His Majesty, they are let loose in the evenings, and yet remain obedient. Formerly leopards were also kept blind-folded, except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But now-a-days they are kept without covers for their heads. The Grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty *khágah* leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his *Doríyah* gets five rupees from his equals. The Grandees in charge of the *khágah* leopards, Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha,* gets one mukhar from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a Grandee lays before His Majesty twenty pair of deer horns,* he takes an *Ashrafí* from each of his equals. So also do the *Taráfídárs* and *Qaráwal*; bat; in fact every

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1 The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.
2 He was a *Dukházári*; *vide* Kín 30, No. 91.
3 Akbar required the horns of deer.
4 "In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Agrah to Ajmír. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (dargah) of Mu'in i Chishti at Ajmír; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every *kós* a tower (manár), and had a well made near it. The towers were studded with several hundred thousand horns of deer which His Majesty had killed during his lifetime. The words *mít i shikk* contain the *Túrik* (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and *sárás* for travellers instead." *Bádáínt*, II, p. 173. Vide also Elliot's Index, p. 243, note.
5 *Taráfídárs*, the men in charge of a *taraf*, which word Abúfazl above used in the same sense as *míst*, or set. *Taráfídár* means also a Zánmíndar. A *Qaráwal* is a driver.
one shews his zeal in trying to get as many deer as possible. The skins of the deer are often given to poor people as part of money presents.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays.  

_The Siyagosh._

His Majesty is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black deer. It eats daily 1 s. of meat. Each has a separate keeper, who gets 100 d. _per mensem._

_Dogs._

His Majesty likes this animal very much for his excellent qualities, and imports dogs from all countries. Excellent dogs come from Kábul, especially from the Hazaráh district [north of Rául Pindi]. They even ornament dogs, and give them names. Dogs will attack every kind of animals, and more remarkable still, they will attack a tiger. Several also will join, and hunt down the enemy. _Kháçah_ dogs get daily 2 s. of meat; others get 1½ s. There is one keeper for every two _Tisí_ (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 d. _per mensem._

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*"It was at this time, [1027 A. H. or A. D. 1618], that Sháhzádah Shujá, son of Sháhjahán, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the insensibility in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a favor. During the prayer, it occurred to me that I had already made a contract with my God and had promised Him to give up hunting after reaching the age of fifty, not to touch after that an arrow or a gun, and never again to slay an animal with my own hands; and I thought that if I should carry into effect my former vow from the present time, which would prevent so many animals from being killed, God might grant my prayer for the prince's recovery. I then made this contract with God, and promised, in all singleness of intention and true belief, never again to harm an animal with my own hand. Through God's mercy the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed. When I was in the womb of my mother, it happened one day that I did not quicken as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father [Akbar]. In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view of making God inclined to preserve me, made a vow never again, to the end of his life, to hunt on Fridays. I have followed the practice of my father, and have never hunted with leopards on a Friday." _Tuzuk i Jahángírī_, p. 249.

Jahángír's self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahángír was fifty years of age!

* _Or black ear_, the Persian translation of the Turkish _qara-golaq_, whence our _Felis caracal_.

"This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered unclean animals by Muhammadans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Now-a-days we hear occasionally names, as _kallú_, _bakhú_; or English names as _fenti_ (Fanny), _bulldog_ (bull dog), &c.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahángír once said to Roe 'I only desire you to help me to a horse of the greatest size, and a male and female of mastiffs, and the tall Irish greyhounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your lands.' Regarding European dogs in India, vide also _Tuzuk_, p. 138, l. 3 from below."
Hunting Deer with Deer.

This timid animal also may be tamed and trained. They put a net over his horns, and let it off against wild deer, which from fear will fight with them. During the struggle, the horn, or the foot, or the ears of the wild deer will get entangled in the net; the hunters, who have been lying in ambush, will then run up to it, and catch it. The deer thus caught passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net on it, or sends out a fresh deer.

Sultán Firúz i Khílji used to indulge in this sport; but His Majesty reduced this manner of hunting to a proper system.

Sometimes it happens that a wild deer will carry on the struggle from morning till evening, defeating as many as four tamed deer; but at last it will succumb to the fifth. Deer are now-a-days rendered so perfectly obedient as to hunt at night; of their own accord they will return to their keepers, should the net break, or the wild deer run away; on hearing the call, they will discontinue a fight, come back, and then again engage, if ordered to do so.

In former times deer were never let loose at night time; for people were afraid, lest they should run away. Hence they attached a heavy ball to one of their feet, when the deer were let loose.

Many stories are related of the sagacity and faithfulness of trained deer. Only lately a deer created much sensation. It had run away from Iláhábád, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjáb, its home, and rejoined its former keeper.

In former times, two persons at most enjoyed together the pleasures of deer hunting. They would even, from fear of the timidity of the deer, alter the style of their dress, and lie concealed among shrubs. Nor would they employ other than wild deer; they caught them somehow, and taught them to hunt. His Majesty has introduced a new way, according to which more than two hundred may at the same time go deer hunting. They drive slowly about forty cattle towards a place where deer are; the hunters are thus concealed, and when arrived enjoy the chase.

There are now-a-days also deer-studs; the deer born in captivity are employed as hunting deer.

The keepers will also bend forward, and allow the trained deer to jump on them from behind. Wild deer, on seeing this, will think that they are in the act of copulation, and come near to fight. This way of hunting is disapproved of by His Majesty, who uses female deer as a means of making wild deer fight.
Once a deer caught a leopard, whose foot had got entangled in the net. Both were brought together from Gujrat, as mentioned above (?).

*Ghanatarah* is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The hunter takes a shield, or a basket, the concave side being turned from him. He then lights a lamp, which being put in the concavity of the shield, will conceal him, and commences to ring bells. Other hunters lie at the same time in wait. The light of the lamp, and the sound of the bells, will attract the animals towards the place, when they are shot by the hunters in ambush. The sound of musical instruments will so enchant deer, that they are easily caught; or sometimes hunters will charm them with a song, and when the deer approach, will rise up, and cruelly slay them. From a long time His Majesty has disapproved of these two methods.

*Thungti*. The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer; and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes. The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him. At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it.

*Baukdrah*. The hunters lie in ambush, against the scent, at a good distance from each other. Some others drive the deer towards them, each of the drivers swinging a white sheet above his head. The deer naturally will take fright, and run towards the hunters in ambush, who kill them.

*Daflucan*. Two good shots, dressed in green, place themselves as before, and have the deer driven towards themselves. This manner of hunting yields much amusement, as the deer get quite perplexed.

*Ajorah*. The hunters tie green twigs round their bodies from head to foot, and similarly conceal their bows and arrows. They then move boldly to a place where deer generally pass, and enjoy the chase. Or they make ropes of deer skin, and attach them to trees, or let them hang down from poles all round about the place where wild deer sleep. They then lay down some nooses at a place situate against the wind. When the hunters shew themselves from the side, the deer are compelled to run towards the spot where the nooses lie, and thus get caught. Sometimes the hunter will take his place behind a tree, and imitate the voice of deer. As soon as deer approach him, he kills them. Or, they tie a female deer to a place in a plain, or they let a trained deer go to the pasture place of wild deer. The latter will soon come near it, and get entangled with their feet.

*T'hati*. The hunter....' walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with pān juice, and the man himself acts as if he

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* The text has *dar khdnah i zīn*, in the hollow of a saddle (P).
were wounded. Wild animals and others will soon gather round him, waiting for his death; but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction.

**Buffalo Hunts.**

At a place where buffaloes sleep, a rope is laid in the ground; but the end forming a loop is left outside. Another long rope is attached to it. To this they tie a female buffalo that wants the male. A courageous active man lies in ambush. As soon as a wild male buffalo comes to the spot, and covers the female, the hunter makes use of the opportunity, and fastens the foot of the male; but it frequently happens that the man loses courage, and has to pay for the attempt with his life.

Another mode of catching them is to go near the ponds which they frequent. They put snares round the ponds; and sitting on tame buffaloes, the hunters go into the water with spears in their hands. Some buffaloes are then killed with spears, others are caught in the snares. A similar method may be adopted, when buffaloes are attacked on their pastures.

**On Hunting with Hawks.**

His Majesty is very fond of these remarkable animals, and often uses them for hunting purposes. Though he trains the bás, sháhin, shungár, and burkat falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the básah, to which class of hawks he gives various names.

As I am compelled to hurry on, and must restrict myself to summary accounts, it is impossible to say much about this matter, or about the skill of the several birds, especially as I know little about it, being by nature averse to destroying life. I shall, however, give a few details, and lead enquirers to the retired spot of knowledge.

In the middle of spring the birds are inspected; after this they are allowed to moult, and are sent into the country. As soon as the time of moultmg is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the khasah falcons (bás), which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of jurráhs is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the básahs, the sháhins, the kelahs, the chappak básahs, the bahris, the young bahris, the shikarahs, the chappak shikarahs, the turmatis, the rekis, the bearahs, the dhotis, the chargis, the chargilahs, the lagars, and the jhagars (which His Majesty calls the chappak kind of the lagar). The molchins also are inspected—the molchin is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the sháhin; it will kill a kulang crane. People say that, whilst flying, it will break the wing of the kulang, and others maintain that it pierces its eyes;
but this cannot be proved. *Odhpapars* also are brought from Kashmir. This *bird* has a bluish (sabs) colour and is smaller than a parrot; its beak is red, straight, and long; its tail is rather elongated. It brings down small birds, and returns to the hand of the keeper.

Many other birds can be trained for the chase, though I cannot specify all. Thus the *crow*, the sparrow, the *bodnah*, and the *sdrú* will learn to attack.

His Majesty, from motives of generosity and from a wish to add splendour to his Court, is fond of hunting with falcons, though superficial observers think that merely hunting is his object.

In this department many *Mançabdhrs*, *Ahadis*, and other soldiers are employed. The footmen are mostly Kashmiris or Hindústánís. Their pay is as follows. *First class* of the former, first grade, 7½ R.; second, 7 R.; third, 6½ R. *Second class*, first grade, 6¼ R.; second, 6½ R.; third, 5¾ R. *Third class*, first grade, 5½ R.; second, 5 R.; third, 4¾ R. *First class* of the latter (Hindústání), first grade, 5 R.; second, 4½ R.; third, 4¼ R. *Second class*, first grade, 4½ R.; second, 4 R.; third 3½ R. *Third class*, first grade, 3½ R.; second, 3½ R.; third, 3 R.

**Allowance of Food.**

In Kashmir and in the aviaries of Indian amateurs, the birds are generally fed once a day; but at Court they are fed twice. A *bás* falcon gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 dáms; the *jurráh*, 6 d.; the *bahri, láchin*, and *k'elah*, 5 d.; the *báshah*, 3 d.; the *chappak báshah, shikarah, chappak shikarah, besrah, dhotis, &c.*, 2 d. Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the *báz, jurráh*, and *bahri*, get each seven; the *láchin*, five; the *báshah*, three; others, two. *Charghs* and *lagars* get at the same time meat. *Shungárs, shibbázes, burkats,* get one *ser*. On the hunting grounds they feed them on the game they take.

**Prices of Falcons.**

From eagerness to purchase, and from inexperience, people pay high sums for falcons. His Majesty allows dealers every reasonable profit; but from motives of equity, he has limited the prices. The dealers are to get their gain, but buyers ought not to be cheated. In purchasing falcons people should see to which of the following three classes birds belong. *First, khánah kuris* birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. *Second, chos* birds; they have not yet moulted. *Third, Terinák* birds; they have moulted before they were...
captured. First class, a superior bāz costs 12 muhurs; second grade do., 9 M.; third do., 6 M. Second class, first, 10 M.; second, 7 M.; third, 4 M.

A third class bāz is somewhat cheaper than second class ones.

Jurrahs. First class, 8 5, 2, 1 M. Second class, 6, 4, 1 4, 1 M., 5 R.

Bāshahs. First class, 3, 2, 1 M., 4 R. Second class, 2, 1 M., 5 R.

Shāhins of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 M.

Bahris, 2, 1 4, 1 M. Young Bahris a little less.

Khelahs, 1 4, 1, 1 4 M.

Charghs, 2 4 R., 2, 1 4 R.

Chappak bāshahs, 1 R.; 1 4, 1 R.

Shikarahs, 1 4 R., 1, 1 4 R.

Besarahs, 2 R., 1 4, 1 R.

Chappak shikaraha, lagars, jhagars, turmatis, rekīs, 1 R., 1 4, 1 R.

Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the Mir Shikār (superintendents of the chase) according to their ranks, with suitable presents. There are also fixed donations for each game brought in, varying from 1 M. to 1 d. If the falcons bring the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited, and to the size of the prey. The man who keeps the falcon gets one-half of the allowance. If His Majesty hunts himself, fifty per cent. of the donation is stopped. If birds are received by the Imperial aviary as peskhāsh (tribute), the Qushbegi (Superintendent of the Aviary) gets for every bāz 1 4 R., and the accountant, 1 R. For jurrahs, the Qushbegi gets 1 R.; the accountant, 1 4 R.; for bāshah, the former receives 1 4 R.; the latter, 1 R.; for every kāchin, chargh, chargilah, khelah, bahrī bachchah, the former gets 1 4 R., the latter 1 4 R.; for every chhappak, bāshah, dhotī, &c., the former receives 1 4 R., the other 1 4 R. (sūkī).

The minimum number of bāz and shāhīn falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of jurrahs, thirty; of bāshahs, one hundred; of bahris, charghs, twenty; of lagars, and shikaraha, ten.

Waterfowls.

Hunting waterfowls affords much amusement. A rather curious way of catching them is the following. They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning, and fly away.

In Kashmir they teach bāz falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter. Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes].
Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds.

Durriy hunting. There are various methods. Some get a young one and train it till it obeys every call. It will fight with other birds. They put it into a cage, and place hair-nets round about it. At the signal of the fowler, the bird commences to sing, when wild ones come near it either from friendship, or a desire to fight, and get entangled in the snares.

Bodnähs. The hunter makes a clay pot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl's cry. The bodnähs, frightened by the noise, come together. Another man then lights a bundle of straw, and swings it about, so that the eyes of the birds get dazzled. The fowlers thereupon seize the birds, and put them into cages.

Lagar. They resemble charghs: in body they are as large jurrahs. They hang nets (about the body of a trained lagar), and put bird's feathers into its claws. It is then allowed to fly up. The birds think that it has got hold of a prey, and when they get entangled in the nets, they commence to fight, and fall to the ground.

Ghaughdí. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a ghaughdí, and hang hair nets round about them. The owl will soon get restless; the birds think that the owl wishes to fight, and commence to cry out. Other ghaughdís and owls will come to their assistance; and get entangled in the nets.

Frogs.

Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows. This looks very funny.

His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight, and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their foe.

I am in the power of love; and if I have thousands of wishes, it is no crime;

And if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime.

And in truth, His Majesty's fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love, and an instance of his wonderful insight.

It would take me too long to give more details. It is impossible to enumerate all particulars; hence it is better to go to another subject.

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1 The Historian may thank Abulfazl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the Ain, Abulfazl tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives, in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as 'higher motives' were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in frog and spider fights, Abulfazl has to recognize the fact that peculiar leanings will lead even a sensible man to oddities and to actions opposed to the general tenor of his character.
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ATN 29.

ON AMUSEMENTS.

His Majesty devises means of amusement, and makes his pleasures a
means of testing the character of men.

There are several kinds of amusements, of which I shall give a few
details.

The game of Chaugán (hockey).¹

Superficial observers look upon this game as a mere amusement, and
consider it mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a
means of learning promptitude and decision. It tests the value of a man, and
strengthens bonds of friendship. Strong men learn in playing this game
the art of riding; and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to
obey the reins. Hence His Majesty is very fond of this game. Externally,
the game adds to the splendour of the Court; but viewed from a higher
point, it reveals concealed talents.

When His Majesty goes to the maidín (open field), in order to play
this game, he selects an opponent and some active and clever players,
who are only filled with one thought, namely, to shew their skill against
the opponent of His Majesty. From motives of kindness, His Majesty
never orders any one to be a player; but chooses the pairs by the cast of
the die. There are not more than ten players; but many more keep
themselves in readiness. When one g'hari (20 minutes) has passed, two
players take rest, and two others supply their place.

The game itself is played in two ways. The first way is to get hold
of the ball with the crooked end of the chaugán stick, and to move it slowly
from the middle to the hál.² This manner is called in Hindi rol. The other
way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with
the chaugán stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker
than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called belah, and
may be performed in various ways. The player may either strike the ball
with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the right forwards or
backwards; or he may do so with his left hand; or he may send the ball
in front of the horse to the right or to the left. The ball may be thrown in

¹ There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this
game. Bābar says, it is played all over
Thibet. In the East of India, the people
of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as
clever hockey-players. Vide Vigni's
Travels in Cashmir, II, p. 289.

Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán, son of Mir
Khwándah, wás Akbar's chaugándbegi,
or Superintendent of the game of chaugán; vide Bad. II, p. 368. In the
beginning of Akbar's reign, after 970,
G'arwâl, which lies a farrang from
Agra, was the favorite spot for chaugán
playing. Bad. II, p. 70.

² The pillars which mark the end of
the playground.

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the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body; or the rider may spit it, when the ball is in front of the horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather of the horse and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shews in the various ways of hitting the ball; he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all. When a ball is driven to the ḥāl, they beat the naqqārah, so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the ḥāl wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (mīl), the game is looked upon as burd (drawn). At such times, the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill.

His Majesty also plays at chaugdān in dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire. For this purpose, palus wood is used which is very light, and burns for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the chaugdān sticks. If one of them breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may keep them.

It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it.

'Isqūbāū (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon flying 'isqūbāū (love-play). This occupation affords the ordinary run of people a dull kind of amusement; but His Majesty, in his wisdom, makes it a study. He even uses the occupation as a way of reducing unsettled, worldly-minded men to obedience, and avails himself of it as a means productive of harmony and friendship. The amusement which His Majesty derives from the tumbling and flying of the pigeons reminds of the ecstacy and transport of enthusiastic dervishes: he praises God for the wonders of creation. It is therefore from higher motives that he pays so much attention to this amusement.

The pigeons of the present age have reached a high state of perfection. Presents of pigeons are sent by the kings of Irán and Tūrán; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

1 "In the beginning of 974 (July 1666), the emperor returned (from Jaunpur) to Agrah, and passed his time in amusements. He went to Nagarchin, a new town which he had built near Agrah, and enjoyed the chaugdān game, dog-hunting, and pigeon-flying. He also invented a fire ball with which he could play at chaugdān during dark nights." Bad. II, p. 48. The town of Nagarchin was subsequently deserted.
When His Majesty was very young, he was fond of this amusement; but afterwards, when he grew older and wiser, he discontinued pigeon-flying altogether. But since then, on mature consideration, he has again taken it up.

A well trained pigeon of bluish colour, formerly belonging to the Khán i A'zam Kokaltásh ('Azíz, Akbar's foster-brother) fell into His Majesty's hands. From the care which was bestowed upon it by His Majesty, it has since become the chief of the imperial pigeons, and is known under the name of Mohanah. From it descended several excellent pigeons as Ashkí (the weeper), Parísd (the fairy), Almarás (the diamond), and Shíh 'údí (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzá (father of Bábá), Sultán Husain Mirzá (vide p. 101, note 4) into oblivion. Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Irán and Túrán, who had to learn the art from the beginning.

In former times pigeons of all kinds were allowed to couple; but His Majesty thinks equality in gracefulness and performance a necessary condition in coupling, and has thus bred choice pigeons. The custom is to keep a male and a female pigeon, if not acquainted with each other, for five or six days together, when they become so familiar, that even after a long separation, they will again recognize each other. The hen generally lays her eggs from eight to twelve days after coupling, or more if she be small or sickly. Pigeons couple in Míhrmáh (September—October), and separate in Farwárdín (February—March). A hen lays two eggs, but sometimes only one. The cock will sit upon the eggs by daytime, and the hen during the night, and thus they keep them warm and soft. In winter they hatch for twenty-one days; but if the air be warm, they only take seventeen or eighteen. For about six days, the pigeons feed their young ones with fajak, which means grain reduced to pap in the crops of the old ones. Afterwards they feed them from the grain in their crops, which they bring up before it is fully digested. This they continue for about a month, and as soon as they see that the young ones can pick up their own grain, the old ones will go away. Eggs, or even young ones, are sometimes given to other pigeons to take care of. Home bred young ones are trained. Some are kept in a tor (?) till they get stronger, and get acquainted with the place. As soon as these two things have been attained, the pigeons only get one-third or one-fourth of their daily allowance of food. When they have got a little accustomed to hunger, they are gradually allowed to take flights. They take daily about forty hawás (air), i.e. forty flights. At this period, the trainers pay no regard to what is called charkh and bázi.
(vide below). Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (khabānīdan). After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong. They are then again let off. This is the best time for showing their skill. As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the bāzi and the charkh, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. Charkh is a lusty movement ending with the pigeon throwing itself over in a full circle. If this circular turn be not completely carried out, the movement is called katif (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. Bāzi is the same as mu’allaq zadan (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. Kalā).

Some thought that the two wings (katif) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a mu’allaq; but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the bāzi and charkh, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called gulūlah, and is disliked. Sometimes pigeons hurt themselves and fall down; but often they get all right again when they come near the ground; and taking courage and collecting their strength, they fly up again. A pigeon of the khicah pigeon cots will perform fifteen charkhs and seventy bāzis, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but now-a-days they let off as many as one hundred and one. From the attention which His Majesty has bestowed upon pigeons, they are now so carefully trained as to be let fly at night, even to great heights.

At the time of departure and the breaking up of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (kuhār). Sometimes they will alight and take rest for a while, and then rise again.

It would be difficult to count the pigeons at Court; but there are more than twenty thousand. Five hundred of them are khicah. They have a great reputation, and remarkable stories are told of their skill.

Pigeon trainers of former times, in order to determine the value of a pigeon, used to twist the foot, or looked to the slit of the eyes, or the openings on the top of the bill; but they failed to discover more signs of the value of a breed. His Majesty has discovered many more; and fixing the value of a pigeon, in former times a matter of great difficulty, has now become very easy. First. His Majesty subdivided the three signs of former trainers as follows: the two eyes, and their upper and lower signs; the eight claws; the two sides of the beak, above and below. The mutual comparison of these signs has led to many additional means of fixing the value of a pigeon. Secondly. His Majesty looks to the variety and the colour of the annular protuberances on the feet of pigeons. A book has been made, in which
the systematic order of these signs has been laid down. According to them, His Majesty distinguishes ten classes, for each of which separate aviaries have been constructed. The price of pigeons in the first house has not been limited. Many a poor man anxious to make his way, has found in the training of superior pigeons a means of getting rich. A pair of second class pigeons has a value of 3 R.; third class, 2½ R.; fourth class, 2 R.; fifth class, 1½ R.; sixth class, 1 R.; seventh class, ½ R.; eighth class, ½ R.; ninth and tenth classes, ½ R.

When inspections are held, the stock of Mohanah first pass in review; then the young ones of Ashki. Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four zirhi pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Haji 'Ali, of Samarqand, which coupled with an 'Udî hen, of which I do not know the owner; their stock has become famous. The precedence of all other pigeons is determined by their age or the time they were bought.

The Colours of Khâçah Pigeons.

Magasi (fly-bitten); zirhi (steelblue); amiri (?); zamiri (a colour between zirhi and amiri; His Majesty invented this name); chinî (porcelain blue); naftî (grey like naphta); shafaqi (violet); 'udî (aloewood coloured); surmai (dark grey, like powder of antimony); kishmishî (dark brown, like currents); halwî (light-brown like Halwî sweetmeat); sandali (light-brown, like sandelwood); jigarî (brown); nabitî (greyish white); daughî (bluish-white, like sour milk); wushkî (of the same colour as the gum called wusheh); jilkî (chilini?); kirai (brown, like a new earthen pot?); nilisfari (bluish-white); azraq (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); atashî (black brown); shaftâlu (peach coloured); gulı gaz coloured (?); yellow; kâghizî (yellowish, like native paper); zâgh (grey like a crow); agrî (a colour between white and brown); mubarragî (a dirty black); khisî (a colour between greenish and 'udî); ábi (water coloured); surmag (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between surmai and magasi).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as gulsar (whose head resembles a flower); dumgházah (stumptail); yakrang (of one colour); halginasfîd (white throat); parasfîd (white wing); kallah (big head); ghasghash (wild chick); mágh (name of an aquatic bird); báborî (?); alpar (red wing?); kaltah par (short wing); máhâm (moontail); tuqdär (ring-bearer); narwâridār (pearl head); masâlâhâdum (torchtail); &c.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours. His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as bughur (?), qarapilk (with black eyelids); abyâri; palangnigâri; rekhtah pilk.
There are also many pigeons which do not perform charkha and bizis, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the Kokah pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The Baghah, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning, to wake up people. 3. The Luqchin, which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The Lotun. They turn it about, and let it off on the ground, when it will go through all the motions which a half killed fowl goes through. Some pigeons will do so when the keeper strikes his hand against the ground, and others will show the same restlessness, when on leaving the cage their beak is made to touch the ground. 5. The K’herni. The cock shows a remarkable attachment to the hen. Though he fly up so high as to be no longer visible, if the hen be exposed in a cage, he will get restless and drop himself instantly down to join her. This is very remarkable. Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one; some close both; or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying. 6. The Raj’k pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The Nishicari pigeon will fly up, and follow its cage to whatever place it be taken. It will fly out of sight, and stay away for a day or two, when it comes down, and remains in its cage. 8. The Porpi (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (?) and act as if it sighed.

Some pigeons are merely kept for the beauty of their plumage, the colours of which receive peculiar names. Thus some are called shirisi, shustari, kishanti, jogiyah, rezahdahan, magasi, and qumri. Wild pigeons are called golah. If some of them are caught, they will be joined by a thousand others; they soon get domesticated. They return daily to the fields, and get on their return salt water to drink. This makes them vomit the grain which they had eaten on the fields. The grain is collected and given as food to other pigeons.

People say that pigeons will but rarely live above thirty years.

Four sers of grain will be sufficient for one hundred of such pigeons as are made to fly; but for other pigeons, five sers are required; or seven and a half, if they pair. But flying pigeons get millet, not mixed with other grain; the others get a mixture of the seven kinds of grain, viz., rice, dîl, nukhúd (gram), mung dîl, millet, karar, ladbahar, jucar, (vide p. 63). Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and shew much skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence, as Qul ‘Ali of Bukhára, Masti of Samarqand, Mullázádah, Púr i Mullá Ahmad Chand, Múqbil Khán Chelah, Khwajá Qandal Chelah, Múmmín of Harát, ‘Abdullatif of Bukhára, Háji Qásim of Balkh, Habib of Shahrásabz, Sikandar Chelah, Máltú, Múqçúd of Samarqand, Khwajáh P’hil, Chelah Híranánd.
The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 R. to 48 R. per mensem.

The game of Chaupar.

From times of old, the people of Hindustán have been fond of this game. It is played with sixteen pieces of the same shape; but every four of them must have the same colour. The pieces all move in the same direction. The players use three dice. Four of the six sides of each dice are greater than the remaining two, the four long sides being marked with one, two, five, and six dots respectively. The players draw two sets of two parallel lines, of which one set bisects the other at right angles. These parallel lines are of equal length. The small square which is formed by the intersection of the two sets in the centre of the figure is left as it is; but the four rectangles adjoining the sides of the square are each divided into twenty-four equal spaces in three rows, each of eight equal spaces, as shewn in figure (XVII). The game is generally played by four players, of whom two play against the other two. Each player has four pieces, of which he puts two in the sixth and seventh spaces of the middle row of the parallelogram before him, and the other two in the seventh and eighth spaces of the right row. The left row remains empty. Each player moves his pieces, according to his throw, in the outer row, always keeping to the right, till he arrives at the outer left row of the parallelogram from which he started; and from there he moves to the middle row. When arrived at the latter place, he is pukhtah (ripe), and from here, he must throw for each of his pieces the exact number which will carry them to the empty square in the centre of the figure. He is now rasidah, or arrived.

When a player is pukhtah or rasidah, he may commence to play from the beginning, which leads to amusing combinations. As long as a player keeps two of his pieces together, the adversary cannot throw them out. If a player throws a double six, he can move two pieces over twelve spaces, provided the two pieces stand together on one field; but he is allowed to move them only six fields onwards, should he prefer doing so. A similar rule holds for double fives, &c. A throw consisting of a six, a five, and a one, is called khim (raw); and in this case, two pieces, provided they are together on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too. Formerly the custom
was that when a piece had come to the last row, and...'. His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as qāim, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are pukhtak, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled to double the amount of the bet. Should any of the players leave the game for some reason, he may appoint anyone to play for him; but he will have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute. Of all winnings, the substitute is entitled to two per cent; if a player loses a bet, his substitute has to pay one per cent. If a player drops one of his pieces, or any of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee. But a fine of a muhur is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces over too many fields, or tries to get two throws.

Formerly many grandees took part in this game; there were often as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months. If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of wine.

Superficially considered, all this is mere play; but His Majesty has higher aims: he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness.

The game of Chandal Mandal.

This game was invented by His Majesty. The figure, or board, which is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row; vide Figure XVIII. The number of pieces is sixty-four, and four dice are used, of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively. The number of players is sixteen. Each gets four pieces, which are placed in the middle. As in Chaupar, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways; one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself. Second way, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has

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1 The MSS. have az khānah i hashtum pāyān shawad, hangām i khān shudan | āmadāh gardād, which words are not clear to me.
thus been thrown out, commences again from his starting point. Third way, at each throw two pieces are moved at a time, either with or without the permission of throwing out pieces. Fourth way, the preceding rule is applied to three or four pieces at a time. Fifth way, the dice are thrown four times, and four pieces are moved at each throw. These different ways may, moreover, be varied by some players playing to the right, others to the left, or all in the same direction. Sixth way, a player is out when he comes to the place from which the player opposite to him commenced to play, moving from the middle row of his opponent into the empty space in the centre of the board. Or the game ends when each player arrives at the place from which his left hand neighbour commenced to play. Seventh way, each player puts his pieces before himself, and has three throws. At the first throw, he moves two of his pieces; at the second, one of his own pieces and one belonging to his right hand neighbour; at the third throw, he moves any piece of his own, and allows his left hand neighbour to move one of his pieces. In this way of playing, no player throws out the pieces of his neighbours; and when the game is in full swing, he allows each piece which happens to come into the row in which he is, to move according to his own throw, as a sort of compliment to a guest. Eighth way, two pieces when together may throw out another set of two pieces; but single pieces do not throw out each other. Ninth way, four pieces together may throw out three together; three together, sets of two; and two together, single ones; but single pieces do not throw out each other. Tenth way, each player moves his pieces according to the number of points which he throws; but at the same time, the player who sits opposite to him moves his pieces according to the number of points on the reverse sides of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who threw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points on the right and left sides of the dice. Eleventh way, the players use five dice and four pieces. Each player, in his turn, throws the five dice, and moves his pieces according to the sum of the two highest points of his throw. The next highest point is taken by his vies-dies, and the two lowest points by his right and left hand neighbours. Twelfth way, the players have each five dice and five pieces. At every throw, he gives the points of one die to his right hand neighbour, and uses the others for himself. Sometimes the thrower mentions beforehand the names of four players to whom he wishes to give the points of four dice, he himself taking the points of the fifth die. And when a player requires only a few points, to get pukhtah, he must give the remaining points to those near whom the dice fall.

The game may also be played by fifteen or less players, the figure being lessened accordingly. So also may the number of the dice be increased or decreased.
This is a well known game. His Majesty has made some alterations in the cards. Ancient sages took the number twelve as the basis, and made the suit to consist of twelve cards; but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve different kinds. His Majesty plays with the following suits of cards. 1st, Ashswapati, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Dihli, with the umbrella (chatr), the standard ('alam), and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represents a vazir on horseback; and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten. 2nd, Gajpati, the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as the ruler of Odisah. The other eleven cards represent, as before, the vazir, and elephants from ten to one. 3rd, Narpati, a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bijapur. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the vazir sits on a foot stool (candali), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, Gadhipati. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazir sits on a candali over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5th, Dhanpati, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shows a man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazir sits upon a candali, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards show jars full of gold and silver, from one to ten. 6th, Dalpati, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shows a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors in coats of mail. The vazir sits on a candali, and wears a jaibah (breast armour); the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour. 7th, Nawipati, the lord of the fleet. The card shows a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazir sits, as usual, on a candali, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten. 8th, Tipati, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shows a woman as vazir on a candali, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. 9th, Surapatii, the king of the divinities (deoah), also called Indar, on a throne. The vazir sits on a candali, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10th, Aripati, the lord of genii (deo). The card represents Sulaiman, son of David, on the throne. The vazir sits on a candali, and the other ten cards have genii. 11th, Banpati, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (sher) with some other animals. The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (palung) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12th, Ahhipati, the king of snakes. The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazir is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten.
The first six of these twelve suits are called bishbar (powerful), and the six last, kambhar (weak).

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards. Thus the Dhanpati, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money. The vazir sits on a çandali, and inspects the Treasury; but the ten other cards of this suit are representations of the ten classes of workmen employed in the Treasury, viz., the jeweller, the melter, the piece-cutter (mušallas-sáx), the weighman, the coiner, the mushur counter, the bitikchi (writer) of dhan pieces (vide p. 30, No. 17), the bitikchi of man pieces (vide p. 30, No. 20), the dealer, the qurgar (vide p. 23, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects farmáns, grants, and the leaves of the daftar (vide p. 260); the vazir sits on a çandali with the daftar before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the mistaf maker (vide p. 52, Note 5), the clerk who makes the entries in the Daftar, the illuminator (muçawwir), the naqqash (who ornamens the pages), the jadwalkash (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the farmin writer, the mywallid (bookbinder), the rangrez (who stains the paper with different colours). The Pádîsháh i qimásh also, or king of manufactures, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs. The vazir sits near him on a çandali, enquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the Pádîsháh i Chang, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music; the vazir sits before him, enquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards. Next, the Pádîsháh i zar sáfíd, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazir sits on a çandali, and makes enquiries regarding donations. On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint. Then comes the Pádîsháh i shamsheer, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazir sits upon a çandali, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, &c. After him comes the Pádîsháh i Táj, or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the çandali upon which the vazir sits, is the last of the insignia. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, &c. Lastly, the Pádîsháh i Ghulámin, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazir on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some

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1 This is the Hindústáni corruption of the Persian rangraz.
2 Táj is often translated by a crown; but táj is a cap worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word diadem does not express the meaning of táj either.
of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, &c.

Besides these ordinary games of cards, His Majesty also plays chess, four-handed and two-handed. His chief object is to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow-feeling at Court.

**ATN 30.**

**THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE.**

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their qualities, and to say something of their experience. But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise; in fact, it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy, and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of. I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Shah'zadah Sul-tan Sulaim, eldest son of His Majesty.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Sha'hsadah Sul-tan Murad, second son of His Majesty.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Sha'hsadah Sul-tan Darya'al, third son of His Majesty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Akbar had five sons—

1. Hasan twins, born 3rd Rabii' 1, 972. They only lived one month.
2. Husain
3. Sultan Salim [Jahangir],
4. Sultan Murad,
5. Sultan Darya'l.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(a.) Shahrzadah Khawm, born three months after Salim, in 977. (b.) Shukrunnisa Begum, who in 1001 was married to

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1 From the fact that Abulfazl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khusrav, (vide No. 4) who was born in 995, but not Prince Parviz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 246, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993, and Abulfazl may have afterward added Khusrav's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parviz and Shahjahan, both of whom were born before the Ain was completed.

Again, Mirza Shahrzad (No. 7) and Mirza Muzaffar Husain (No. 8) are mentioned as Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, i.e., a short time before the Ain was completed.

The biographical notices which I have given after the names of the more illustrious grandees are chiefly taken from a MS. copy of the Mdsir al Umard (No. 77 of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, the Tabaqati Akbari, Badoni, and the Akbarnamah. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a genealogical table of the House of Timur, and would refer the reader to a more detailed article on the Chronology of Timur and his Descendants, published by me in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for August, 1869.
Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7, below, p. 312); and (c.) Arám Bánú Begum; both born after Sultan Dányál. Regarding the death of the last Begum, vide Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar's wives the following are mentioned:—1. Sultan Raqiyah Begum (a daughter of Mírzá Hindál), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumáda I, 1035, (Tuzuk, p. 401). She was Akbar's first wife (zan i kaldá), but had no child by him. She tended Sháhjáhán. Núr Jaháán (Jahángír's wife) also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkán. 2. Sultan Salímah Begum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (?) Begum¹ (a daughter of Bábar) and Mírzá Núruddín Muhammad. Humáyún had destined her for Báirán Kháán, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign. After the death of Báirán, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zi Qa'dáh, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name Mákhyát (concealed), and must not be confounded with Zebunnisá² (a daughter of Aurangzéb's), who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Bájah Bihári Mal and sister of Hájah Babá. Akbar married her in 968, at Sámbbar. 4. The beautiful wife of 'Abdulwási', married in 970, (vide Bad. II, 61). 5. Jodh Bái, or Princess of Jodhpur, the mother of Jahángír. Her name is not mentioned by any Muhammadan historian. As Akbar's mother had the title of Maryam Makání, so was Jodh Bái called Maryam uzzamání. She died in the month of Rajab 1032, A. H. (Tuzuk, p. 361). The Tuzuk expresses a hope 'that God will receive her in His mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindú, could not well 'be sent to hell.' 6. Bíbí Daulat Shád, mother of (b.) and (c.); vide Tuzuk, p. 16. 7. A daughter of 'Abdulláh Kháán Mughul (964). 8. A daughter of Mírán Múbarik Sháh of Khandes; vide p. 13, note.

Sultan Salím. Title as Emperor, Jahángír. Title after death, Jannatmakání. Born at Fathpúr Sikrí, on Wednesday, 17th Rabí' I, 977, or 18th Shahrívar of the 14th year of Akbar's Era. He was called Salím, because he was born in the house of Saikh Salím i Chíshti. Akbar used to call him Shaikh Bábá (vide Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, vide below, No. 4. Jahángír died on the 28th Cálár 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Rájór on the Kashmir frontier. Vide my article on Jahángír in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Sultan Murád, Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006, at Jalnápúr in Barár (Tuzuk, p. 16; Akbar-námah II, p. 443; Khádí Kháán, p. 212). He was nicknamed Pákhrí (Bad. II, 378). He was sabzrang (of a livid complexion), thin, and tall (Tuzuk). A daughter of his was married to Prince Páwiz, Jahángír's son (Tuzuk), p. 38.)

Sultan Dánýál was born at Ajmír, on the 10th Jumáda I, 979, and died of delirium tremens, A. H. 1013. Khádí Kháán, I. p. 232, says, the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dánýál in remembrance of Shaikh Dánýál, a follower of Mu'in i Chíshti, to whose tomb at Ajmír Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dánýál married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Qulí Kháán (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jáán Bángum, a daughter of Mírzá 'Abdurrahím Kháán Kháánán ( Khádí Kháán, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibráhím 'Adísháh of Bijnápúr; but he died before the

¹ Regarding her, vide Journal, A. S. of Bengal for 1869, p. 136, note.
² Her charming Diwán was lithographed at Lucknow, A. H. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Aurangzéb and was born in 1048, A. H.
marriage was consummated. He had three sons:—1. Tāhmūras, who was married to Sultān Bahār Begum, a daughter of Jahāngīr. 2. Bāyasanghar (بایاسنگر). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusrau. Besides, he had four daughters whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mirzā Wālī (Tuzuk, p. 272). Tāhmūras and Hoshang were killed by Aqaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr (vide Proceedings, As. Society of Bengal, for August 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bāyasanghar. *Vide* Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindūstānī poems.

**IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.**

4. Sulta'n Khusrau, eldest son of Prince Salīm [Jahāngīr].

Jahāngīr's wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rājāh Bhagavān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sultānunnisā Begum [Khāfī Khān, Sultān Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrau. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrau and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfī Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rājā Rāi Singh, son of Rāi Kalyan Mal of Bīkānīr, married 19th Rajab 994. *Bod.* II. p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahāngīr's wives. 3. A daughter of Odai Singh, [Moḥ' Rājā] son of Rājāh Māldeo, married in 994. The *Tuzuk* (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosainī. She is the mother of Shāhjahān, and died in 1028, (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwājā Hassan, the uncle of Zain Khān Kokah. She is the mother of Prince Parwīz. She died 15th Tir, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rājāh Keshā Dās of Rāt'hor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrivar 998). 6. and 7. The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār. 8. A daughter of 'Alī Rāi, ruler of little Thibet (Bod. II. 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rājāh Mān Singh (Tuzuk, p. 68). 10. Mīrnumisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afkan. On her marriage with Jahāngīr she received the title of Nūr Mahall, and was later called Nūr Jahān. (Tuzuk. p. 156). Jahāngīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahān.

**Jahāngīr's children.** 1. Sultān Khusrau. 2. Sultān Parwīz. 3. Sultān Khurram (Shāhjahān). 4. Sultān Jahāndār. 5. Sultān Shahryār. Two daughters are mentioned:—(a.) Sultān Nisār Begum; (b.) Sultān Bahār Bānū Begum. There were 'several children' after Parwīz; but the *Tuzuk* (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sultān Khusrau was born on the 24th Amurdād 995, (Tuzuk, Preface); but Khāfī Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of A'zām Khān Kokah. His sons—1. Baland Akhtār, who died when young, *Tuzuk*, p. 73. 2. Dāwār Bakhsh, (also called Bulāqī) whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshasp.

Khusrau died on the 18th Islāniyārnuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusrau Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwār Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Aqaf Khān after
the death of Jahangir; but at the order of Shihjahán, he was killed, together with his brother Garahasp, by Aṣaf Khán.

Sultán Parviz, born 19th Abán, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mírzá Rustam i Čafawi (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (Tuz. p. 282). A daughter of Parviz was married to Dára Shikoh. Parwiz died of delirium tremens in 1036.

Sultán Khurrám [Sháhjahán] was born at Láhor on the 30th Rahf I, 1000 A. H. Regarding his family, vide Proceedings A. S. of Bengal, for August 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar's favorite.

Sultán Jahándár had no children. He and Sultán Sháhryárd were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar's death (Tuz. Preface, p. 17). Sháhryárd was married, in the 16th year of Jahangir, to Mihrunnič, the daughter of Núr Jahán by Sher Aftán, and had a daughter by her, Arzání Begum (Tuzuk, p. 370). The Iqbal-námah (p. 306) calls her ارذُنی بیگم. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname Náshudání (fit for nothing). Khusráu, Parwiz, and Jahándár died before their father.

Sháhryárd, at the instigation of Núr Jahán, proclaimed himself Emperor at Láhor a few days after the death of Jahangir. He was killed either at the order of Dáwar Bakhsh or of Aṣaf Khán; vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal for August 1869, p. 218.

5. Mírzá Sulaimán, son of Khán Mírzá, son of Sultán Mahmúd, son of Abú Sa'íd.

6. Mírzá Ibrahíhm, son of Mírzá Sulaimán (No. 5.)

Mírzá Sulaimán was born in 920, and died at Láhor in 997. He is generally called Wád i Badakhshán. As grandson of Abú Sa'íd Mírzá, he is the sixth descendant from Timúr. Abú Sa'íd killed Sultán Muhammad of Badakhshán, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshán, which after his death fell to his son, Sultán Mahmur, who had three sons, Báyasanghar Mírzá, 'Ali Mírzá, Khán Mírzá. When Mahmur died, Amír Khusráu Khán, one of his nobles, blinded Báyasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bábar in 910. When Bábar took Qandaháir, in 912, from Sháh Beg Arghún, he sent Khán Mírzá as governor to Badakhshán. Mírzá Sulaimán is the son of this Khán Mírzá.*

After the death of Khán Mírzá, Badakhshán was governed for Bábar by Prince Humáyún, Sultán Uwais (Mírzá Sulaimán's father-in-law), Prince Hindál, and lastly, by Mírzá Sulaimán, who held Badakhshán till 17 Jumáda II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mírzá Ibráhíhm, to Prince Kámrán. They were released by Humáyún in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshán. When Humáyún had taken Kábul, he made war upon and defeated Mírzá Sulaimán who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kámrán from Sind obliged Humáyún to go to Kábul, he reinstated the Mírzá, who held Badakhshán till 983. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mírzá Ibráhíhm, was killed in battle.*

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* The Masa'id ul Umard calls the second son, Mírzá Mas'úd.

* The Masa'id says, Khán Mírzá died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mírzá Sulaimán was born in 920, the Tadríkh of his birth being the word مزید .

* Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar's Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.
In the eighth year when Mirzā Muhammad Hakím's (Akbar's brother) mother had been killed by Sháh Abúl Ma'áni, Mirzā S. went to Kábul, and had Abúl Ma'áni hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Hakím, and appointed 'Ali, a Badakhshán noble, M. M. Hakím's Vakil (970). But M. M. Hakím did not go on well with Mirzá Sulaimán, who returned next year to Kábul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Hakím fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirzá S., though he had taken Jalálábád, had to return to Badakhshán. He returned to Kábul in 973, when Akbar's troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mirzá Sulaimán's wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchák tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muhtárím Khánüm, the widow of Prince Kámrán. M. Sulaimán wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mirzá Ibráhím, by whom she had a son, Mirzá Sháhrukh (No. 7). When Mirzá Ibráhím fell in the war with Bálkh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khánüm to her father, Sháh Muhammad of Káshgár; but she refused to go. As soon as Sháhrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshán nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaimán. This he did, alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Sháhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshán which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaimán, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshán for Kábul, and crossing the Níláb went to India (983). Khán Jahán, governor of the Panjáb, received orders to invade Badakhshán, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Muním Khán had died and Mirzá Sulaimán did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaimán then went to Ismá'il II. of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Muzaffar Husán Mirzá (No. 8) at Qandahár, and then to M. M. Hakím at Kábul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kábul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshán, and luckily finding some adherents, that M. Sulaimán, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshán for Kábul, and crossing the Níláb went to India (983). Khán Jahán, governor of the Panjáb, received orders to invade Badakhshán, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Muním Khán had died and Mirzá Sulaimán did not care for the government of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

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A few years later, he died at Láhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. Mirzá Sháhrukh, son of Mirzá Ibráhím.

_Vide_ Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukrunnisá Begum, and made him governor of Múlahá, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dák'hín. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his _Manzil_ by Jahángír.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Kábulí Begum, was a daughter of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. She wanted to take his body to Madinah, but was robbed by the Badawís; and after handing over the body to some 'scoundrels,' she went to Bézar, and then to Shíráz. In 1022, Sháh 'Abbás married her to Mirzá Sultáń 'Ali, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.
Shāhrukh's Children. 1. Hasan and Husain, twins. Hasan fled with Khusrau and was imprisoned by Jahāngīr. 2. Bādī'uzzamān (or Mīrzā Fatḥpūrī), 'a bundle of wicked bones,' murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrāt). 3. Mīrzā Shāhuq ā rose to honours under Shāhjahān, who called him Najābat Khān. 4. Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān. He held a town in Badakhshān, and fell against the Uzbek. 5. Mīrzā Sultān, a favorite of Jahāngīr. He had many wives, and Jahāngīr would have given him his own daughter in marriage, if he had not perjured himself in trying to conceal the number of his wives. He fell in disgrace, was appointed governor of Ghāzipur, where he died. 6. Mīrzā Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The Tuzuk (p. 65) says that after the death of Shāhrukh, Jahāngīr took charge of four of his sons, and three of his daughters, 'whom Akbar had not known.' 'Shāhrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindī.'

8. Mīrzā Musafīr Husain, son of Bahārī Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl i Ḍafawī.

In 965, Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahār, which was given, together with Dāwar and Garmār as far as the river Hirmand, to Sultān Husain Mīrzā, his nephew. Sultān Husain M. died in 984, when Shāh Ismā'īl II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, Musafīr Husain Mīrzā, Rustam Mīrzā, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, and Sanjar Mīrzā. The first was killed by Shāh Ismā'īl in Irān. The other four in Qandahār had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shāh saved their lives. The new Shāh, Khudābāndah, gave Qandahār to Musafīr Husain Mīrzā, and Dāwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mīrzā, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakil being Hamzah Beg Zul Qadr, or Kor Hamzah, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Musafīr Husain Mīrzā to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Musafīr had the Vakil murdered. This led to fights between Musafīr and Mīrzā Rustam who, however, returned to Dāwar.

Not long after, the invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbek under Din Muhammad Sultān and Bāqī Sultān (a sister's son of 'Abdullah Khān of Tūrān) took place, and the Qandahār territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most Qizilsbāsh grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shāh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mīrzā Rustam who had gone to Hindustān, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lāhor, and kept Qandahār in anxiety; and Musafīr hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahār to Akbar, though 'Abdullah Khān of Tūrān advised him not to join the Chagātāi kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qār Beg (an old servant of Musafīr's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Farrāshbegī by Akbar) returned to Qandahār, and prevailed upon Musafīr's mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahār to India.

Akbar sent Beg Khān Arghūn, Governor of Bangish, to take prompt possession of Qandahār, and though, as in all his undertakings, Musafīr wavered the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khān, in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of Farrand (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jāgīr, "which is more worth than all Qandahār."
But the ryote of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muzaffar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muzaffar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1006). Muzaffar then went to Makkah, but returned after reaching the first stage, which displeased Akbar so much, that he refused to have anything to do with him.

Muzaffar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called Qandahār Mahall, was in 1018 married to Shāhjhaṅ, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawāb Parhez Bānū Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bahrām Mīrzā, Haidar Mīrzā, (who rose to dignity under Shāhjhaṅ, and died in 1041), and Ismā'īl Mīrzā. The Māsīr mentions two other sons, Alqās Mīrzā and Ṭahmūs Mīrzā.

Muzaffar's younger brothers, Mīrzā Abū Sa'id, and Mīrzā Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Vide Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mīrza Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dāwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Mahmūd, ruler of Sistān. Muzaffar Husain assisted him at first, but having married Malik Mahmūd's daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lallah (guardian) Hamzah Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahār, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbaks into Khurāsān, he conquered the town of Farāh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Mahmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him, and killed him, when Jalāluddin, Mahmūd's son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dāwar, he quickly took the town of Qalāt. Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother, he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar. Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mīrzā, and his own four sons Murūd, Shāhrukh, Hasan, and Ibrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a Punhāzīr, and gave him Multān as jāgīr. "which is more than Qandahār." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chitor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pāthān as tūyāl, and sent him, together with Aqā Khan against Rajah Bāsū. But as both did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rajah Mān Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Bāsin as jāgīr. He then served under Prince Dānīyāl in the Dakhīn. In 1021, Jahāngīr appointed him Governor of That'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the highdnrr. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr made him Shakh-kazārī, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against 'Abdullah Khan whom Shāhjhaṅ, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced 'Abdullah to retire to Jhosi. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjhaṅ at 120000 Rs. per annum, and retired to Agra. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dārā Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Agra, 72 years old.
As a poet he is known under the takhallus of Fiddál. He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age. All his sons held subsequently posts of distinction.

His first son Murád got from Jahángír the title of Íltifát Khán. He was married to a daughter of 'Abdurrahím Khán Khánán. Murád’s son, Mirzá Mukram Khán, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son Mirzá Hasan i Çafawi, a Hazár o pança dé under Jahángír, was Governor of Kúc; died 1069. Hasan’s son, Mirzá Çafshikán, was Faujídar of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Çafshikán’s son, Sai fuddín i Çafawi, accepted the title of Khán under Aurangzeb.

10. Bairám Khán, the fifth in descent from Mir 'Ali Shukr Beg Bahárlí, is the name of a principal clan of the Qaráqúlí Turks. During the time of their ascendancy, under Qará Yúsuf, and his sons Qará Sikandar and Mirzá Jahán Sháh, rulers of 'Íráq i 'Arab and Aýzábájián, 'Ali Shukr Beg held Dainlír, Hamadán, and Kúrdístán, “which tracts are still called the territory of 'Ali Shukr.” His son Pir ‘Ali Beg stayed some time with Sultán Mahmúd Mirzá, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shíráz, but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amírs of Sultán Husain Mirzá. Pir ‘Ali Beg's son, in the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl, left 'Íráq, settled in Badákshán, and entered the service of Amír Khúsár Sháh (vide p. 311, l. 26) at Qunduz. He then joined, with his son Sai‘áli Beg, Bábar's army as Amír Khúsár had been deposed. Sai‘áli Beg is Bairám’s father.

Bairám Khán was born at Badákshán. After the death of his father he went to Balkh to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humáyún’s army, fought in the battle of Qandúj (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Rájáh of Lak’hánor (Sambhal). Sher Sháh met Bairám in Málwáh, and tried to win him over. But Bairám fled from Barhámpúr with Abúl Qásím, governor of Gwálíár, to Gujrát. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Sháh who just returned from Gujrát. Abúl Qásím, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bairám, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, “I am Bairám.” “No,” said Abúl Qásím, “he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off.” Abúl Qásím was then killed, and Bairám escaped to Sultán Mahmúd of Gujrát. Under the pretense of sailing for Makkah, Bairám embarked at Súrat for Sindh. He joined Humáyún on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Rajáh Máldeó, was pressed by the Arghúnáns at Jón. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khán. On Humáyún’s return, Bairám was sent on a mission to Prince Kámrán. When Humáyún marched to Kálbul, he took Qandahár by force and treachery from the Qízílbáshís, and making Bairám governor of the district, he informed the Sháh that he had done so as Bairám was “a faithful servant of both.” Subsequently rumours regarding Bairám’s duplicity reached Humáyún; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahár, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairám. He gained the battle of Máchhiwárah, and received Sambhal as jágír. In 963, he was appointed atdálíq (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjáb against Sikandar Khán. On Akbar’s accession (2nd Rabí 'II, 963) at Kalánúr, he was appointed Wakíl and
11, the gist of all the memoirs of Akbar's reign, and received the title of Khán Bábí. On the second of Shawwál, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mánkot, when Akbar returned to Láhór, an imperial elephant ran against Bairám's tent, and Bairám blamed Atgah Khán (No. 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Láhór, went with his whole family to Bairám, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qurán. 1 In 965, Bárám married Salámát Súlán Begum (p. 300, note) and soon after, the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Bárám (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bárám to the illtreatment of Pir Muhammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adhám Khán, and his mother Máhánum Anágh (Akbar's nurse), Çídíq Muhammad Khán, Shihábuddín Ahmad, &c., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jágírs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bárám Khán's friends lived in affluence. The Tabqát i Akbarí says that no less than twenty-five of Bárám's friends reached the dignity of Panházárís—rather a proof of Bárám's gift of selecting proper men. Bárám's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Súlán Ablú Saíd i Muqáhul adopted towards his minister A'mír Cháubání. (Bud.)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reign of the government, Bárám left Agra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewât i Nágór, from where he returned his insignia, which reached Akbar at Jhújhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjáb, which Bárám, as it was said, wished to invade. The insignia were conferred on Pir Muhammad Khán, Bárám's old protégé; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bárám felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gujrát occupied by Rájah Máldeó, his enemy, he proceeded to Bíkanír to his friend Kályán Mal (No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son 'Abdúr ráhím (No. 29) to Sher Muhammad Diwánáh, his adopted son and jágír holder of Tabarzhindah, and broke out in

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1 So Bud. II, 19. The story in Elphinestone (Fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbarnámáh says, Bárám was on board a ship on the Jannah, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abulfázl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the Sawádání i Akbarí has a fine critical note on Abulfázl's account. I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European Historians should make the Sawádání i Akbarí the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Haidar of Belgráhm from the Akbarnáhmáh, the Tabqát, Budáoini, Fírústán, the Akbarnámáh by Şáikh Ibádúd al-Sárkhínd (poetically called Fáizi; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and Abulfázl's letters, of which the compiler had four books. The sources in italics have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details.

Belgráhm was a great seat of Muhammádan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the librum of the town vide the Tázkiráh by Ghulán 'Ali Azád, entitled Sára i Azád.

The author of the Sawádání i Akbarí states that Abulfázl does not show much friendliness to Bárám, whilst Erskine (Elphinestone, p. 495, note) represents Abulfázl as "Bárám's warm panegyrist."
open rebellion. At Dípúlpúr, on his way to the Panjáb, he heard that Díwánah had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Múzaffár 'Alí (whom Báirán had despatched to Díwánah to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Báirán resolved to take Jálíndhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Báirán had been defeated by Atghán Khán (No. 15). Báirán fled to Fort Tilwárah on the banks of the Bayáh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Súltán Husain Jálír was killed; and when his head was brought to Báirán,² he was so sorry, that he sent to Akbar and asked for forgiveness. This was granted, and Báirán, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Mún'im Khán, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (chándogh). Hájí Múhammad of Sísán (No. 55) accompanied Báirán over Nágor to Patan (Nárhwálah) in Gujrát, where he was hospitably received by Músá Khán Fúládí, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumáda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahánsa Lang Tank, Báirán was stabbed by a Lóhirni Afghán of the name of Múbárik, whose father had been killed in the battle of Máchhiwárah.

“With an Alláhu Akbar on his lips, he died.” The motive of Múbárik Khán is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmirí wife of Sálím Sháh with her daughter had attached herself to Báirán's suite, in order to go to Hijáz, and it had been settled that Báirán's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afgháns. Some beggars lifted up Báirán's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaikh Husámuddín. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mashhad.

Akbar took charge of 'Abdurrahfím, Báirán’s son (vide No. 29), and married soon after Sálímah Súltán Begum, Báirán's widow.

For Báirán, we often find the spelling Bábír. Fírishtah generally calls him Báirán Khán Turkmán. Báirán was a Shí‘á, and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Badáoni III, p. 190).

11. Mún'im Khán, son of Báirán² Beg.

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Mún'im Khán was a grandee of Humáyún’s Court, as also his brother Fázíl Beg. When Humáyún, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mirzá Sháh Husain of T’hat’háh, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fázíl Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humáyún made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humáyún to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governorship of Qandahár, which was given to Báirán Khán. In 961, he was appointed atáliq of Prince Akbar; and when Humáyún invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kábúl in charge of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, then about

¹ Near Kowángóor (کونگور) in the Par-grañah [Bad.]; Múdí; dándá; dándá; Sáswálah, near Jálíndhar. For Kowángóor, Bad. (II, 40) has Kowángóor. Fírishtah says (Lucknow edit., p. 249) the fight took place outside of Máchhiwárah.

² The Múdísír mentions this fact without giving the source.

³ Some MSS. read Mírám; but Bái-rán is the preferable reading.
a year old. In Kábul M. remained till Bárám fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zi' Hajjah, 967, at Lázhááh, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bairám. M. was then appointed Khán Khánán and Vakil.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khán (No. 19) killed Atgah Khán (No. 15), Mun'im who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkár of Qanaq) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Mahmúd Khán of Bárha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honors.

Mun'im Khán's son, Ghaní Khán, whom his father had left in charge of Kábul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Máh Jújak Begum, Prince M. Muhammad Hakín's mother, advised by Fazíl Beg and his son 'Abdul Fáth, who hated Ghaní Khán, closed the doors of Kábul, when Ghaní Khán was once temporarily absent at Fálk. Ghaní Khán, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Máh Jújak Begum then appointed Fazíl Beg as Vakil and 'Abdul Fáth as Náib; but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Sháh Wáli, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kábul. Thinking he could rely on the Kábulis, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalállábád by Máh Jújak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Sháh Wáli and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Haidar Qásim Kohár, whom she had made Vakil) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghák'hars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of A'grah.

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khán Zamán (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jagfrr in Jaunpur (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaimán Karárni of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutbah and strike coins in Akbar's name.

In 982, Akbar, at M.'s request, went with a flotilla from A'grah to Bihár, and took Hájípur and Patna from Dáúd, Sulaimán's son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihár, and was ordered to follow Dáúd into Bengal. M. moved to Tándjah (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Quí Khán Barláá (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Todar Mall, left Tándjah, and followed up Dáúd, who after his defeat at أهور, submitted at Katak. In Çafar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quarrelled against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpur was built by Mun'im Khán in 981. Its táríkh is مراجع إلى الاستقليم. M.'s son, Ghaní Khán, went to 'Adilsháh of Bójápúr, where he died.

12. Tárdí Beg Khan, of Turkistán.

A noble of Humáyún's Court. After the conquest of Gujrat, he was made Governor of Champánír (Páwangarh). On Mírzá 'Askari's defeat by Súltán Baháúdár, Tárdí Beg also succumbed to him and retreated to Humáyún. During the emperor's flight from India, Tárdí Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless companions. When passing through the territory of Rájáh Máleko, he even refused Humáyún a horse, and at Amarkot, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of

1 Elphinstone, p. 462 note, says Tárdí Beg was one of the most faithful followers of Humáyún, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.
the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Ráí Parsád advised H. to imprison some of his nobles and take away part of their property by force. H. however returned afterwards most of it. In Qandaháh, Táríd Beg left the emperor and joined Mírzá ʿAskári. But Mírzá ʿAskári put most of them on the rack, and forced also Táríd Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humáyún's return from 'Irág, Táríd Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, son of Mírzá Súltán, to Dáwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewáth at Jágír. In 963, when Humáyún died (7th Rabi' I), T. read the Khwábat in Akbar's name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abúl Qásím, son of Prince Kámrán, to Akbar in the Panjáb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand and appointed him governor of Dihlí. T. drove away Háji Khán, an officer of Sher Sháh, from Narnaul. On Hemú's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dihlí, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bairam Khán, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar 'a sort of permission' (Bad. 11, 141 had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bairam's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chagátáí nobles looked upon him. Táríd Beg was a Sunní.

13. Khán Zamán i Sháibáání'.

His father Haidar Súltán Uzbák i Sháibáání had been made an Amír in the Jám war with the Qizilbashés. When Humáyún returned from Persia, Haidar joined him, together with his two sons ʿAlí Qúlí Khán [Khán Zamán] and Bahádur Khán (No. 22.) and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandaháh. On the march to Kábúl, an epidemic broke out in Humáyún's camp, during which Haidar Súltán died.

ʿAlí Qúlí Khán distinguished himself in Kábúl and in the conquest of Hindústán, was made Amír and sent to the Duáb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afgháns.

At the time of Akbar's accession 'ʿAlí Qúlí Khán sought with Shádi Khán, an Afghán noble; but when he heard that Hemú had gone to Dihlí, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before 'ʿAlí Qúlí arrived at Dihlí, Táríd Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. 'ʿAlí Qúlí was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemú near Pánipat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bairam were near, they took no part in this battle. 'ʿAlí Qúlí received the title of Khán Zamán. Next to Bairam, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khán Zamán then got Sambhal again as jágír, cleared the whole north of India up to Lák'hnáu of the Afgháns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpur as Qáim magdám for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mánkót. In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khán Zamán became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Sháham Beg, a page of Humáyún, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khán Zamán's tuxúl, which led him to rebel. Bairam from generosity did not interfere; but when Pir Muhammad, Khán Zamán's enemy, had been appointed Vákit, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his mahátá, and had him appointed commander against the Afgháns who threatened the Jaunpur District. Pir Muhammad had also Burj 'ʿAlí thrown from the walls of Firúzábád, whom Khán Zamán had sent to him to settle matters. Khán Zamán now thought, it was high time to send away Sháham
Beg, went to Jaunpur, and drove away the Afghans. Upon the fall of Bairam, they appeared again under Sher Sháh, son of 'Adil, with a large army and 600 elephants. Khán Zamán, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpur, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zí Qátá‘ah of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Kařá (on the Ganges.) Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpur. Soon after, he defeated the Afghans, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khán Zamán rebelled again in concert with the Uzbek, and attacked the Tuyâlids of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Gházipur, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpur sent Mun‘ím Khán against him. Being a friend of Khán Zamán, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Mu‘izzulmulk and Rájáh Todar Mall having been defeated by Bahádur and Iskandar Uzbek, (No. 48) the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation. Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khán Zamán was left in possession of his jagirs, and Akbar returned to Agra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jamáda I, 974, marched against M. Muhammad Hakín, Khán Zamán rebelled again, read the Khánfáh at Jaunpur in M. Muhammad Hakín’s name, and marched against Shergarh (Qumáj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjáb, 12th Ramáznán 974, and Agra in the 26th Shawwál. At Sákit, east of Agra, Akbar heard that Khán Zamán had fled from Shergarh to Mánikpúr where Bahádur was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had over-bridged the river near the frontier of Singor (Nawábganj, between Mánikpúr and Alláhábád). Akbar sent a detachment of 6000 troopers under Muhammad Qulí Khán Barlás and Todar Mall to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khán Uzbek, and marched over Ráí Baredí to Mánikpúr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khán Zamán’s camp, who must have gone from Nawábganj back again on the right side of the river to Kařá. Next morning, 1st Zí Hijjáh, 974, Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khán Zamán. Bahádur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been despatched, when Khán Zamán’s head was brought in. He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Surnáj, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a mulhur for every Mughul’s head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place dar’ aráqž Í Sukrával [in Baldiání, Mungarwál] “which place has since been called Fathpúr. The Trig. S. maps shew a small village Fathpúr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Kařá, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Alláhábád.

Khán Zamán as a poet styled himself Súltán (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society, September 1868.) Zamáníyá (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbek, Khán Zamán, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shí‘á. Khán Zamán must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. 'Abdulláh Khan Uzbek.

A noble of Humáyún’s Court. After the defeat of Hemú, he received the title of
Shujā'at Khān, got Kālpī as tūyūl, and served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Gujrat. When Bāz Bahādur, after the death of Pir Muhammad, had taken possession of Mālīwah, 'Abdullah was made a Panjkazdrī, and was sent to Mālīwah with almost unlimited authority. He re-conquered the province, and 'reigned in Mandū like a king.' Akbar found it necessary to move against him. 'Abdullah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujrat, pursued by Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khān, an officer of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrat. Hakīm 'Ainulmulk was despatched to Changiz with the request to deliver up 'Abdullah, or to dismiss him. Changiz Khān did the latter. 'Abdullah again appeared in Mālīwah, and was hotly pursued by Shihābudīn Ahmad Khān (No. 26), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jauzpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

15. Shamsuddīn Muhammad Atgaḥ Khān.

Son of Mīr Yār Muhammad of Ghaznī, a simple farmer. Shamsuddīn, when about twenty years old, once dreamed that he held the moon under his arm, which dream was justified by the unparalleled luck which he owed to a little deed of kindness. Shamsuddīn entered Prince Kāmrān’s service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanaj (10th Muharram, 947). Humāyūn, after the defeat, crossed the river ‘on an elephant,’ and dismounted on the other side, where a soldier who had escaped death in the current, stretched out his hand to assist the emperor to jump on the high bank. This soldier was Shamsuddīn. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anagah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Šīr Jī Anagah. Shamsuddīn remained with the young prince, whilst Humāyūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor’s restoration the title of Atgaḥ (foster father) Khān. Humāyūn sent him to Hiẓar, which Sirkār had been set aside for Prince Akbar’s maintenance.

After Akbar’s accession, Atgaḥ Khān was despatched to Kābul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankōṭ to Lāhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under Bairām Khān, p. 316. He held Khushāb in the Panjāb as jāgīr, and received, after Bairām’s fall, the insignia of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bairām Khān near Jālindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honored him with the title of A’zam Khān. In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as Vakīl either in supersession of Mun’īm Khān, or by usurpation, at which Akbar connived. Mun’īm Khān and Shihāb Khān (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (vide No. 19) to kill Atgaḥ Khān,¹ 12th Ramazān, 969.

For Atgaḥ Khān’s brothers vide Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories Atgaḥ Khail, ‘the foster father battalion.’

¹ He stabbed at the Atgaḥ, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbak, of the name of Khushāb Beg, to kill him. Reference: Baudoni (p. 52) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1), say that Adham himself killed Atgaḥ.

He served under Kāmhrān and Humāyūn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjāb, where most of the Atgahs (Atgah Khāil) had jágirs, he distinguished himself in the war with the G'hakkars, the extirpation of Sultān Adam, and in keeping down Kamāl Khān. In the ninth year he assisted Mīrzā Muhammad Hakim against Mīrzā Sulaimān (No. 6), restored him to the throne of Kābul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under his brother Qutbuddin (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter Atālīq of the Prince. But Khān-i Kalān did not get on well with M. M. Hakim, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrunnis Begum (a daughter of Humāyūn by Jūjak Begum, and widow of Mīr Shāh 'Abdul Ma'all) to Khwājah Hasan Naqshbandī in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khān-i Kalān left one night Kābul and returned to Lāhor.

In the 13th year (976), the Atgah Khāil was removed from the Panjāb, and ordered to repair to Agraḥ. Khān-i Kalān received Sambhal as jágir, whilst Husain Qāli Khān (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjāb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat (Bd. II, 165). On the march, near Sarohi (Ajtīr), he was wounded by a Rājpūt, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwalah). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the takhallūq of 'Ghaznawi,' in allusion to his birthplace. Bādāoni (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fāzīl Khān (No. 156) was a Hazārī, and was killed when Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah (No. 21), was shut up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khān (No. 232) was a Panjpādī. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mīrzā Sharafuldīn Husaina, son of Khwājah Mu'in.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khwājah Mu'in was the son of Khwāwind Mahmūd, second son of Khwājah Kalān (known as Khwājagan Khwājah), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwājah Nibraddīn 'Ubaidullah Ahrār. Hence Mīrzā Sharafuldīn Husain is generally called Ahrārī.

His grandfather, Khwāwind Mahmūd went to India, was honorably received by Humāyūn, and died at Kābul.

His father, Khwājah Mu'in, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land, called 'Rūdkhánah i Nasheb,' and served under 'Abdullah Khān, ruler of Kháshghar. He was married to Kījak Begum, daughter of Mīr 'Alāulmulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahn Begum, daughter of Sultān Abū Sa'id Mīrzā. 'Hence the blood of Timūr also flowed in the veins of Mīrzā Sharafuldīn Husain.' As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Máhum, Akbar's nurse, and Adham Khān, her son (No. 19), Mīrzā Sharaf was appointed Panjhadārī. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshi Bāni Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmīr and Nāgor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmīr, Mīrzā Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mītrtha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devidās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mīrzā Sharaf's father came to Agraḥ and was received with great honors by Akbar. In the same year, Mīrzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from
Agra over the frontier, pursued by Husain Qul Khán (No. 24) and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son’s behaviour, left for Hijáz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which his body was, foundered. Mírzá Sharaf stayed for some time with Chángíz Khán, a Gujrát noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mírzás. When Gujrát was conquered, he fled to the Dák’hin, and passing through Baghlánah, was captured by the Zamíndár of the place, who after the conquest of Súrát handed him over to Akbar. To frighten him, Akbar ordered him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant, and after having kept him for some time imprisoned, he sent him to Múzaffar Khán, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jácír, should he find that the Mírzá shewed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Múzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mír Mútu’ám ibn Kábulí rebelled in Bihár. Joined by Bábá Khán Qáqshál, the rebels besieged Múzaffar Khán in Tándháh and overpowered him. Mírzá Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Múzaffar. But subsequently he became Mu’tam’s enemy. One was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Mu’tam at last bribed a boy of the name of Múhmíd, whom Mírzá Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mírzá Sharaf’s death took place in 988. He is wrongly called Sifúddíne in Stewart’s History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yu’suf Muhammad Kha’n, eldest son of Ategh Khán (No. 15).

He was Akbar’s foster brother (kókáh or kúkaltásh). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Báirán (p. 317, l. 6), and was made Khán. When his father had been killed by Adham Khán (No. 19), Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, ‘Aziz Kokáh (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khán Zamán (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. Bad. II, p. 84.

19. Adham Kha’n, son of Mámúm Anagáh.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard. His mother Mámúm was one of Akbar’s nurses (anagáh2), and attended on Akbar ‘from the cradle till after his accession.’ She appears to have had unbounded influence in the Harem and over Akbar himself, and Mu’ím Khán (No. 11), who after Báirán’s fall had been appointed Vákíl, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Báirán’s fall; Bad. II, p. 36.

Adham Khán was a Pánjházárí, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mánkót. Báirán Khán, in the third year, gave him Hákánt’h,4 South-East of Agra, as jácír, to

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1 Generally called in European histories Adam Khán; but his name is ًناحم، not ًناحم.

2 This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chagatái Dictionary. Misdled by the printed editions of Badãoí, Firáštah, Kháff Khán, &c., I put on p. 223 of my Text edition of the Ain, Mác-hum Átegh, as if it was the name of a man. Vide Kháff Khán I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

3 The Mádsír gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbar-námah.

4 Hákánt’h was held by Rájpúta of the Bhádáauríyáh clan. Vide Beames’s edition of Elliot’s Glossary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word is doubtless Láhúr, for the old spelling ‘Luhúwár,’ for ‘Láhór,’ had ceased when the author of the Mákhsan Aífíháni wrote. Besides, a place in Gwállíar is meant, not far from the Sindh river. For جآفري the two edi-
check the rebels of the Bhadauriyah clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bairam of partiality in bestowing bad jagirs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyahs. After Bairam’s fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pir Muhammad Khan, to Malwah, defeated Baz Bahadur near Sarrangpûr, and took possession of Bahadur’s treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Agra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Mâhum Anagah found means to bring her son to his senses. Akbar left after four days. On his departure, Adham prevailed on his mother to send back two beautiful dancing girls; but when Akbar heard of it, Adham turned them away. They were captured, and killed by Mâhum’s orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Agra, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pir Muhammad governor of Malwah.

At Court, Adham met again Atghah Khan, whom both he and Mun’im Khan envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazân 969, when Mun’im Khan, Atghah Khan, and several other grandees, had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Agra, Adham Khan with some followers, suddenly entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atghah with his dagger, and told one of his companions (vide p. 321 note), to kill him. He then went with the dagger in his hand towards the sleeping apartments of Akbar, who had been awakened by the noise in the state hall. Looking out from a window, he saw what had happened, rushed forward sword in hand, and met Adham on a high archway (aiwân) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?" (bachah i lâddah), cried Akbar. "Stop a moment, majesty," replied Adham, seizing Akbar’s arms, "first inquire." Akbar drew away his hands and struck Adham a blow in the face, which sent him "spinning" to the ground. "What are you standing here gaping," said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khan, "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar’s orders Adham Khan was twice thrown down from the dais (pyâsh) of the Aiwân to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atghah were then sent to Dihlî.

Mâhum Anagah heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihlî to Agra. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Mâhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihlî in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham’s brother, vide No. 60.

20. Pir Muhammad Khan of Shirwân.

Nothing is known of his father. Pir Muhammad was a Mullá, and attached himself to Bairam in Qandahâr. Through Bairam’s influence he was raised to the

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1 In my Text edition, p. 223, No. 20, dele fi7. Shirwân is also the birth-place of Khâjâfânî. The spelling Shahrwân given in the Mu’jam, does not appear to be usual.
dignity of Amīr on Akbar’s accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemū, and received subsequently the title of *Nāpirulmulk*. His pride offended the Chagatāi nobles and, at last, Bairām himself, to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bairām subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaikh Gādā (vide p. 272) to the Fort of Biyānah, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujūrāt, Pīr Muhammad received letters from Adham Khān (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantānbūr; but being pursued by Bairām’s men, he continued his journey to Gujūrāt. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bairām’s fall. Whilst in Gujūrāt, P. M. heard of Bairām’s disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mīrūr, of which he was made sole governor after Adham’s recall. In 969, he defeated Bāz Bāhādur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bījāgarh from I’timād Khān, Bāz Bāhādur’s general. He then made a raid into Khandēs, which was governed by Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, sacked the capital Burhānpūr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Bāz Bāhādur and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Narmaddī, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.

21. Kha’n i A‘sam Mīrzā ‘Azīz Kokah, son of Atgah Khān (No. 15). His mother was Jī Jī Anagah (vide p. 321). He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him; he used to say, “Between me and ‘Azīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.”

On the removal of the Aṭgah Khālī (p. 321, 1.1.) from the Panjāb, he retained Dīpālpūr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Farīd i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhau (Pāk Patan, or Patan i Panjāb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmadābād, Mīrzā ‘Azīz was appointed governor of Gujūrāt as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Sūrat. Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, joined by Sher Khān Fūlādī, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mīrzā ‘Azīz and Qutbuddin. ‘Azīz then returned to Ahmadābād. When Akbar, on the 2nd Ǧaftar 981, returned to Fathpūr Sīkri, Ikhtiyārulmulk, a Gujūrāt noble, occupied Iddar, and then moved against ‘Azīz in Ahmadābād. Muhammad Husain Mīrzā also came from the Dāk’hīn, and after attacking Kambhāyit (Cambay), they besieged Ahmadābād. ‘Azīz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels near Patan. During the fight Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Ikhtiyār ulmulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. ‘Azīz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyārulmulk.

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1 Akbar left Agrah on the 4th Rahbār, and attacked the Mīrzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Agrah and Patan being 400 kos, Akbar’s forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241.
In the 20th year Akbar introduced the Dāgh (Ain 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amirs. Mīrzā 'Azīz especially showed himself so disobedient, that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. 'Azīz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (side Muzaffar Khān, No. 37). 'Azīz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of A' zam Khān, and was despatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Fathpūr Sikrī. During 'Azīz's absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hājīpūr, opposite Patna; and 'Azīz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyūlārs of Ilāhābād, Aundh, and Bihār, he occupied Garhī, the 'key' of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Ma' cūm i Kābulī, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshālī, 'Azīz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Ma' cūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qatīlū, a Lohānī Afghān, who during these disturbances had occupied Oriissa and a portion of Bengal. 'Azīz, however, took ill, and handing over the command to Shāhmāz Khān i Kambū, returned to his lands in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Ilāhābād, and was transferred to Garhī and Rāisān (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. 'Azīz was appointed to the Dak'īn; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shihābuddin Ahmad (No. 26) and other grandees, 'Azīz withdrew, plundered Ilichpur in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrat, where the Khān Khānān was (Briggs, II, 257).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married a daughter of M. 'Azīz. Towards the end of the 34th year, 'Azīz was appointed Governor of Gujrat in succession to the Khān Khānān. In the 36th year, he moved against Sultān Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamīndārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgār also, the capital of the ruler of Sūrat, submitted to him (5th Zī Qa’ dah 999), and Miyan Khān and Tāj Khān, sons of Daulat Khān ibn i Amūn Khān i Ghorī, joined the Mughuls. 'Azīz gave both of them jāgirs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultān Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamīndār of Dwārkā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, followed by 'Azīz. There also the Zamīndārs submitted, and soon after delivered Sultān Muzaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought to the Mīrzā than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor.

In the 39th year Akbar recalled M. 'Azīz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mīrzā dreading the religious innovations at Court, marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the 'Firingi' and embarked for Hījāz at Balīwal, a harbour town near Somnāt,

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1 M. 'Azīz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the 'Divine Faith.' He used to call Faiz and Abūfāzal 'Uṣūlān and 'Alī. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahāngīr, as related below.
accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, 'Abdullah, 'Abdulâzîf, Mortazâ, 'Abdulghafîr), six daughters, and about one hundred attendants. Akbar felt sorry for his sudden departure, and with his usual magnanimity, promoted the two eldest sons of the Mîrzâ (M. Shamî and M. Shâdîmân).

M. 'Azîz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so 'fleeced,' that his attachment to Islâm was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balîwâl, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the 'Divine Faith' (vide p. 208, l. 4) was appointed Governor of Bihâr, was made Vâkîl in 1004, and received Multân as Jâgîr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Aâfîr. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mîrzâ, Bahâdûr Khân, ruler of Khandes, ceded Aâfîr to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khurshâw married one of 'Azîz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mân Singh and M. 'Azîz were anxious to proclaim Khurshâw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaikh Farîd i Bûkhârî and others had proclaimed Jahângîr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mân Singh left the Fort of Aâgra with Khurshâw, in order to go to Bengal. 'Azîz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Râjah, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khurshâw's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salimah Sultân Begûm and other princesses of Akbar's Harem. Not long after, Khwâjah Abûl Hasan laid before Jahângîr a letter written some years ago by 'Azîz to Râjah 'Ali Khân of Khandes, in which 'Azîz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahângîr gave 'Azîz the letter and asked him to read it, before the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahângîr deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahângîr's reign (1017), M. 'Azîz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujûrât, his eldest son, Jahângîr Qûl Khân, being his nâib. In the 6th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dakhîn, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahângîr went to Ajmîr, and appointed, at the request of 'Azîz, Shâhjahân to the command of the Dakhîn forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shâhjahân did not like M. 'Azîz on account of his partiality for Khurshâw, and Mahâbat Khân was despatched from Court to accompany 'Azîz from Udaipur to Aâgra. In the 9th year, 'Azîz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Aqaf Khân in the Fort of Gwâliâr (Tuzuk, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed Aâlîq to Prince Dâwâr Bakhsh, who had been made Governor of Gujûrât. M. 'Azîz died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmâdâbâd.

'Azîz was remarkable for ease of address, intelligence, and his knowledge of history. He also wrote poems. Historians quote the following aphorism from his 'pithy' sayings. 'A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khurshâwî woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Mâwarânghahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three.' Vide Iqbdâlnâmah, p. 230,
Kokah means ‘foster brother,’ and is the same as the Turkish Kükaldâsh or Kükaltash.

Mirzâ 'Azîz’s sons. 1. Mirzâ Shamâl (No. 163). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahângîr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahângîr Qulî Khân.


3. Mirzâ Khurram (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jûnâqâr in Gujrat, received the title of Kâmil Khân under Jahângîr, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shâhjâhân) to the Dak’hîn.

4. Mirzâ Abdallah (No. 257) received under Jahângîr the title of Sardâr Khân. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwâliâr.

5. Mirzâ Anawar (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zain Khân Kokah (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commandships of Five and Two Thousands. Azîz’s other sons have been mentioned above.

A sister of M. ‘Azîz, Mâh Bânû, was married to 'Abdurrahim Khân Khânân. (No. 29.)

22. Baha’dur Khâ’n i Shâiba’ni’, (younger) brother of Khân Zamân. (No. 13.)

His real name is Muhammad Sa’îd. Humâyûn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dâwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahâr, which was commanded by Shâh Muhammad Khân of Qalât (No. 95.) The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humâyûn to send him assistance. A party of Qizilbasheshes attacked Bahadur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mânko’t, Bahadur, at the request of Bairâm Khân, was pardoned, and received Multân as jâgîr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Málwâh. After Bairâm’s fall, through the influence of Mâhum Anagah (vide p. 323), he was made Vâkîl, and was soon after appointed to Ítâwah (Sîrkâr of Kgrah). Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (vide p. 320). After his capture, Shahbáz Khân i Kambû (No. 80) killed him at Akbar’s order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bud. III, 239).

23. Ba’jâh Bihâ’ri’i Mall, son of Pritt’îraj Kachhwâhah.

In some historical MSS. he is called Bihârî Mall. There were two kinds of Kachhwâhas, Rájâwat and Shaikhwâwat, to the former of which Bihârî Mall belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Çûbah of Ajmîr. Though not so extensive as Márvâr, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihârî Mall was the first Râjâpât that joined Akbar’s Court. The flight1 of Humâyûn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Hájî Khân, a servant of Sher

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1 The ‘flight’ of Humâyûn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul Historians. Abulfâzi generally uses euphemisms, as dm wâdgi’ah i indguzir, ‘that unavoids‐
able event,’ or rihlat (departure); or dmâdân i Sher Khân, the coming of Sher Khân (not Sher Shâh), &c.
Khán, had attacked Nárna, the jágrí of Majnún Khán Qáqshál (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rájah’s. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnún Khán, after the defeat of Hemú, (963) brought Bihári Mall’s services to the notice of the emperor. The Rájah was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar’s reign. At the interview Akbar was seated on a wild (maæt) elephant, and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihári Mall’s Rájpút attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm.

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu’in i Chishti at Ajmír, and at Kaláíf, Chaghtá Khán reported to the Emperor, that the Rájah had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafu’dinn Husain (No. 17), Governor of Málwah, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojá, son of Púrán Mall, elder brother of the Rájah. Sharafu’dinn had also got hold of Jagnát’h (No. 69), son of the Rájah, Ráj Singh (No. 147), son of Askaran, and Kangár, son of Jagmáll (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Deosah, 40 miles east of Jaipur, Jaimall, son of Rúpsi (No. 118), Bihári Mall’s brother who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rúpsi. At Sankáñír, at last, Bihári Mall with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter into Akbar’s service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance was granted. On his return from Ajmír, Akbar received the Rájah’s daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Rájah himself, and his son Bhagwant Dáš, and his grand-son Kuñwar Mán Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Agra, where Bihári Mall was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after, Bihári Mall returned to Amber. He died at Agra (Tábuqát).

Amber is said to have been founded A. D. 967 by Dholá Ráí, son of Sorá, of whom Bihári Mall was the 18th descendant.1

The Akbernámah mentions the names of four brothers of Bihári Mall. 1. Púrán Mall; 2. Rúpsi (No. 118); 3. Askaran (vide No. 174); 4. Jagmáll (No. 134). Bihári Mall is said to have been younger than Púrán Mall, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihári Mall were in Akbar’s service—1. Bhagwán Dáš (No. 27); 2. Jagannáth (No. 69); and 3. Salhádi (No. 267).

24. Kha’n Jahe’n Husain Quli Kha’n,2 son of Wali Beg Zulqadr.

He is the son of Bairám Khán’s sister. His father Wali Beg Zulqadr was much attached to Bairám, and was captured in the fight in the Parganah of Dákim (Jáhindhar, vide p. 317, l. 5.), but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bairám’s rebellion, and ordered his head to cut off, which was sent all over Hindústán. When it was brought to Jáñawáh, Bahádur Khán (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (tawáchís) that carried it. Khán Jahán had brought Bairám’s insignia from Mewát to Akbar, and as he was a near

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1 The present Mahárajá of Jaipur is the 34th descendant; vide Selections Government of India, No. LXV, 1868.

2 Husain Quli Beg. Madísín.
relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Aqāf Khán 'Abdulmájd, Commander of Dihlí. When Bairám had been pardoned, Khán Jahán was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971), he was made a Khán, and received orders to follow up Sharaifuddín Hussein (No. 17). Ajmír and Nágór were given him as iyyál. He took the Fort of Jodhpúr from Chandar Sen, son of Ráí Máídeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udá Singh during the siege of Chitót.

In the 13th year (976), he was transferred to the Panjáb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantambhúr.

In the 17th year, he was ordered to take Nagarkot, which had belonged to Rájáh Jai Chand. Badáóí says (II, p. 161), that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Bár with a jágír. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budi Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khán Jahán, on his way, conquered Fort Kotlah, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibráhím Hussein Mírzá and Mas'úd Mírzá had invaded the Panjáb. Khán Jahán therefore accepted a payment of five mauns of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Masjíd in front of Jai Chand’s palace in the Fort, and to have read the Khuṭbah in Akbar’s name (Friday, middle of Sháwán 980).

Accompanied by Ismá’íl Quli Khán and Mírzá Yúsuf Khán i Rízawí (No. 35), Khán Jahán marched against the Mírzás, surprised them in the Parganah of Talbanah, 40 kos from Múltán, and defeated them. Ibráhím Hussein Mírzá escaped to Múltán, but Mas’úd Hussein and several other Mírzás of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981), when Akbar returned to Ágráh after the conquest of Gujrát, he invited his Amírs to meet him, and Khán Jahán also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelashes sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious general received the title of Khán Jahán, ‘a title in reputation next to that of Khán Khánán.’ About the same time Sulaimán, ruler of Badakhshán (p. 312) had come to Indíá, driven away by his grandson Sháhrukh (No. 7), and Khán Jahán was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Mun’ím Khán Khánán died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khán Jahán was recalled from the Panjáb, before he had moved into Badakhshán, and was appointed to Bengal, Rájáh Todar Mall being second in command. At Bhágálpúr, Khán Jahán was met by the Amírs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtái nobles, he had, as Qízílbásh, to contend with the same difficulties as Bairám Khán had had. He repulsed the Afgáns who had come up as far as Garhi and Tándah; but he met with more decided opposition at Ak Mahall, where Dáúd Khán had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afgáns. Khán Jahán complained of the wifful neglect of his Amírs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwájáh 'Abdulllah Naqshbandí, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Múzaffar Khán, Governor of Bihár (No. 37) to collect his Jágírídárs and join Khán Jahán (984). The fights near Ak Mahall were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junáid i Kararántí,
Dâd’s cousin, which led to a general battle (15th Rabî‘ II, 984). The right wing of the Afghâns, commanded by Kalâb Pâhâr, gave way, when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dâd was defeated by Khân Jahân. Dâd himself was captured and brought to Khân Jahân, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khân Jahân despatched Todar Mall to court, and moved to Sâtgânw (Hûgil), where Dâd’s family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dâd’s adherents under Jamsbed and Mittî, and annexed Sâtgânw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghâkkâna, to the Mughul empire. Dâd’s mother came to Khân Jahân as a suppliant.

Soon after Malkû Sâin, Râjah of Kûch Bihâr sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khân Jahân despatched to court.

With the defeat and death of Dâd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhâti, where the Afghâns had collected under Karîm Dâd, Ibrâhîm, and the rich Zamûndâr Tsâ (Usâf),. With great difficulties Khân Jahân occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghâns who had joined him together with Dâd’s mother at Gôsâ; and returned to Qîhhatpûr, a town which he had founded near Tânjâh. Soon after, he took ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwâl 986).

Abûl-Fazl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khân Jahân in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khân Jahân’s son, Rûzâ Quîl (No. 274) is mentioned below among the Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year he was made a Commander of Five Hundred with a contingent of 300 troopers. Another son, Râhîm Quîl, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty, (No. 333). For Khân Jahân’s brother vide No. 46.

25. Sa’îd Khân, son of Ya’qûb Beg, son of Ibrâhîm Jâbûq.

He is also called Sa’îd Khân i Chaghtái. His family had long been serving under Khân Jahân in Bengal. His grandfather Ibrâhîm Beg Jâbûq was an Amir of Humâyûn’s and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His, son Yûsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpûr by Jalâl Khân (i.e., Safîl Shâh), and killed. His other son also, Ya’qûb, Sa’îd’s father, distinguished himself under Humâyûn. According to the Tabaqât, he was the son of the brother of Jahângir Quîl Beg, governor of Bengal under Humâyûn.

Sa’îd rose to the highest honors under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multân, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, atâlíq of Prince Dânâyâl. Some time after, he was made Qîbahdâr of the Panjâb, in succession to Shâh Quîl Muhrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjâb had successfully complained. Sa’îd again was succeeded in the governorship by Râjah Bhaqwân Dâs (No. 27), and received Sambhal as tuyûl. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a

1 The Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badhônî (II, 238) has by mistake cousin. Badhônî says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalâlgwâw).

2 This nickname of Sâtgânw is evidently old. Even the word bulghâk (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the Târikh i Fîrûz Shâhî, is scarcely ever met with in Historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.

* For Bhdât, vide below under No. 32
commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Hājīpūr (Patna) as successor to Mīrzā 'Aẓīz Kokah (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Sā'īd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of Panjkazārit. In the 40th year, Mān Singh (No. 30) being appointed to Bengal, he returned to Court, and was, in the following year, again made Governor of Bihār. In the 48th year (1011), when Mīrzā Ghāzī rebelled in That'ah after the death of his father Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), Sā'īd was appointed to Multān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of the Panjāb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (Tuzuk, p. 6, l. 2). He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried in the garden of Sarhind.'

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindū of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Sā'īd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 12. One of these Khwājah-sarās, Hilāl, joined afterwards Jahāngīr's service; he built Hilālābād, six kos N. W. from Agrah, near Rankaṭṭah, regarding which the Mādsīr tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ikhtiyār Khān was his Vakīl, and another, I'tibār Khān, the Faujdar of his jāgīr. For Sā'īd's brother, vide No. 26.

26. Shihiāb Khān, a Sayyid of Nīshāpūr

His full name is Shihiābudḥūn Ahmad Khān. He was a relation and friend of Māhūm Anagah (p. 323) and was instrumental in bringing about Bairām's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dīlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhūm, turned from Sikandarābād to Dīlī to see his sick mother, Shihiāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bairām Khān, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bairām's friends; and the Chaghtāi nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bairām's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 321, Shihiāb served in Mālwa against 'Abdullāh Khān. In the 12th year (975), he was appointed Governor of Mālwa, and was ordered to drive the Mīrzās from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muzaffar Khān (No. 37) had too much to do with financial matters. In the 21st year, he was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, and was again appointed to Mālwa; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujārāt, as Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by I'timād Khān (No. 119), and intended to go to Court; but no sooner had he left Ahmadābād than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sultān Muzaffar. The events of the Gujārāt rebellion are known from the histories. When Mīrzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihiāb was attached to Quli Khān

1 If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Shihaṭ were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book, Ghūbah of Bengal, and Tuzuk i Jahāngīr, pp. 72, 328.

2 Sikandrah (or Bihishtābād), where Akbar's tomb is, lies half way between Agrah and Rankaṭṭah.
He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahroch (992), and received that district as tuylí. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Málwah, in succession to M. 'Aziz Kokah (No. 21).

Shiháb died in Málwah (Ujain, Tabaqát) in 999. His wife, Bábü Aghá was related to Akbar's mother; she died in 1006.

During the time Shiháb was Governor of Dihlí, he repaired the canal which Firáz Sháb had cut from the Parganah of Khizrrábád to Safidán; and called it Nakhr i Shikháb. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Sháhjahán, by the renowned Makramat Khán, and called Faiz Nahr, (20th year of Sháhjahán). During the reign of Aurangzeb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (A‘druqansáddid.)

27. Ra'jah Bhagwa'n Dá's, son of Rájah Bihári Mall.

In the Histories we find the spellings Bhagwant, Bhagwánt, and Bhagwán. He joined Akbar's service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibrihim Husain Mimi near Sarnbl, he saved Akbar's life. He distinguished himself against the Khán of Pídar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwáhás had their tuylás transferred to the Panjáb, Rájah Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.'s daughter was married to Prince Salim, of which marriage Prince Khusráu was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander of Five Thousand, and Governor of Zábulistán, as Mán Singh was sent against the Yúsufzais. But Akbar for some reason detained him. In Khairábád, Bh. D. had a fit of madness, and wounded himself with a dagger; but he recovered, soon after, in the hands of the Court Doctors. In the 32nd year, the jágirs of the Rájah and his family were transferred to Bihár, Mán Singh taking the command of the province.

Rájah Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Láhor, a short time after Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39). People say that on returning from Todar Mall's funeral, he had an attack of strangury, of which he died. He had the title of Amír ul Umárbió.

The Jání 'Masjíd of Láhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, vide Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. Qutbuddi'n Khán, youngest brother of Atygah Khán (15).

As he belonged to the Atygah Khái (vide p. 321), his tuylí was in the Panjáb. He founded several mosques, &c., at Láhor.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kábul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznín, his birth place. On the transfer of the 'Atgah Khái' from the Panjáb, Q. was appointed to Málwah. After the conquest of Gujrát, he received as jágir the Sirkár of Bahroch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadábád, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddí near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed atdíiq to Prince Salím, received a dáqé, 1 and the title of Beglar Bégí. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salím on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to

1 A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Timúrids.
Bahroch ‘as far as Nazrbár.’ In the 28th year (991), Muzaffar of Gujrat tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with the other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity, he was attacked and defeated by Muzaffar near Barodah. Q.’s servants even joined Muzaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Barodah. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muzaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamindár, Muzaffar went to Bahroch, occupied the Fort in which Q.’s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 krors of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muzaffar had Q. murdered.

His son Naurang Khán served under Mírzá Khán Khánán (No. 29) in Gujrat (992), received a jágir in Málwah and subsequently in Gujrat. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the Tabaqát, which I consulted, contain the remark that Naurang Khán was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Júnagárh.

His second son, Gújar Khán, was a Haftadí (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. A’zam Khán Kokah (No. 21). He also had a tuyúl in Gujrat.


His mother was a daughter of Jamál Khán of Mewá. In 961, when Humáyún returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamindás of the country, and after marrying the elder daughter of Jamál Khán, he asked Bairám Khán to marry the younger one.

M. ‘Abdurrahím was born at Láhor, 14th Zafar 964. When Bairaám Khán was murdered at Patan in Gujrat (p. 317), his camp was plundered by some Afgáns; but Muhammad Amín Diwánah and Bábá Zambúr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder, and bring them to Ahmadábád, fighting on the road with the Afgáns. From Ahmadábád, M. ‘Abdurrahím was taken to Akbar (969), who notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers took charge of him. He gave him the title of Mírzá Khán, and married him subsequently to Mah Bánú, sister of M. ’Azíz Kokah. (No. 21).

In 981, M. ‘Abdurrahím accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 325). In 984, M. A. was appointed to Gujrat, Vazir Khán having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made Mir ‘Arz, and three years later, atáłyq to Prince Salím. Soon after, he was sent against Sultán Muzaffar of Gujrat. Muzaffar, during the first Gujráti war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar’s officers. He was committed to the charge of Muním Khán (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Sháh Mançür the Diwán (No. 122). But Muzaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Káthí of Júnagárh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar’s officers. But when T’mád Khán was sent to Gujrat to relieve Shihabuddín (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muzaffar, and the Gujrat rebellion commenced. Muzaffar took Ahmadábád, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (vide Qutbuddín, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mírzá ‘Abdurrahím had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij Khán and the Málwah

* He was the nephew of Hasan Khán of Mewát. (Bad. I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of theiston, Abulkází says that the Khánzādahs of Mewát were chiefly converted Jánúbih Bájíplítas.
contingent, Dost Khán Lodí, M.'A.'s Mír Shámskér, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khán Khánánship. M.'A. then attacked Mużáfír and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkú, three kos from Ahmadábád. On the arrival of the Málwáh contingent, M.'A. defeated Mużáfír a second time near Nádot. Mużáfír concealed himself in Rájpipláh.

For these two victories Akbar made M.'A. a commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khán Khánán. For this reason Historians generally call him Mírzá Khán Khánán.

When Gujrát was finally conquered, M. Khán Khánán gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkstand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrát being settled, Quíj Khán was left in the province, and M.'A. rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Báb's Chaghtái Memoirs (Waqí'át-i Bábári). Towards the end of the same year he was appointed Wáqil, and received Jaunpúr as tásyl; but in 999 his jágír was transferred to Múltán, and he received orders to take Thá't'háh (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwán, he took the Fort of Lak'hí, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gañhí is in Bengal and Báráh-múlah in Kashmir." After a great deal of fighting, Mírzá Jání Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thá't'háh, made peace, which M.'A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwán was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jání Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mírzá Yírich, M.'A.'s eldest son, was to marry Jání Beg's daughter. But as M. Jání Beg after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations. M.'A. moved to Thá't'háh, and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jání Beg submitted and accompanied M.'A. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Súltán Murád assembled, at Bahrooch (Broach), his troops for the conquest of the Dak'hín, Akbar despatched M.'A. to his assistance, giving him Bhtí as jágír. After delaying there for some time, M.'A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M.'A. wrote him that Rájáh 'Alí Khán* of Khánás was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M.'A., at last, joined head quarters at Fort Chándor, 30 kos from Ahmadnagar, he was slighted by the Prince; and, in consequence of it, he hesitated to take an active part in the operations, leaving the command of his detachment chiefly in the hands of M. Sháhrúkh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murád's departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Mu'tamíudduñílah Suhail Khán (Briggs, II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murád, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. 'Á., Rájáh 'Alí Khán, and M. Sháhrúkh, therefore took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in JumAda II, 1005 from Sháhpúr, M.'A. met Suhail near the town of Ashtí, 12 kos from Pathrí. The fight was unusually severe. Rájáh 'Alí Khán with five of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs

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* Vide p. 105, last line.
* Also called Siwistán, on the right bank of the Indus. Lak'hí (Lukkee) lies a little south of Sahwán.
* The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Masnáwí by Múlla Shíkélí, whom Abúl Fázíl mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age.
* Kháñ Khán calls him Rájí 'Alí Khán.
IT, 321). The night put an end to the engagement; but each party believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M.'A.'s troopers went to the river [near Súpá, Pirishtákā] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Daulat Khán who commanded M.'A.'s avantguard, said to him, "It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds." "Do you forget Dihlí?" asked M.'A. "If we keep up," replied Daulat Khán, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihlí; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qásím of Ibráhiím and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M.'A.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindústánís, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khán Khánán what he means to do." Daulat Khán returned, and said to M.'A. "Their numbers are immense, and victory rests with heaven; point out a place where we can find you, should we be defeated." "Under the corpses," said M.'A. Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them. After this signal victory, M.'A. distributed 75 lacs of Rupees among his soldiers. At the request of the Prince, M.'A. was soon after recalled (1006).

In the same year Mah Búnú, M.'A.'s wife died.

In the 44th year, Prince Dányáíd was appointed to the Dak'hin, and M.'A. was ordered to join the Prince, and besiege Ahmadnagar. The town, as is known from the histories, was taken after a siege of 4 months and 4 days. M.'A. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahúdur ibn i Ibráhiím, who had been set up as Nizám Sháh. Dányáíd was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dánud, and married to Jáná Begum, M.'A.'s daughter. The Khán Khánán was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Sháh 'Álí, uncle of Murtázá, Nizám Sháh.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dak'hin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahángîr (1017), M.'A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years, if he received a sufficient number of troops. Sháházâdah Parwiz, under the Atáliqship of Áçaf Khán, Mán Singh, Khán Jahán Lodi, and others, were appointed to assist M.'A. He took the Prince in the rains from Burhánpur to Bálág'háṭ; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amírs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M.'A. was compelled to conclude a treaty disadvantageous for Jahángîr, who appointed Khán Jahán Lodi as his successor, and sent Mahábat Khán, subsequently M.'A.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M.'A. received Kálpi and Qanaq as tuyoûl, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (vide p. 324, note). Some time afterwards, M.'A. was again sent to the Dak'hin, as matters there had not improved; but he did not gain any advantage either.

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1 The Sayyids of Bárha considered it their privilege to fight in the Haráwal, or van. Vide No. 75.  
2 Abulfazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishtháh call the emnuch who murdered Chánd Bibí جندل. Briggs has Hamíd Khán. For Nihang Khán, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnámah and the Maásir have Akhán Khán. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishtháh has Akañ Khañ. The differences, moreover, between Abulfazl and Firishtháh in details are very remarkable.  
3 A combination of the words Dányól and Khándes.
In the 11th year (1026) Jahangir, at last, despatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Shāh. Jahangir himself fixed his residence at Māndū in Mālwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurram selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shahnawáz Khán, M. 'A.'s son. 'Adil Shāh and Qubulīmulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahangir bestowed upon 'Adil Shāh the title of Fażr̲an (son); and 'Ambar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganahs of Bālíghat which he had conquered. Shāh Khurram then appointed M. 'A. Čúbahdár of Khándes, Barár, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shahnawáz Khán was appointed to Bālíghat. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhín, Shāh Khurram joined his father at Māndū, where new honors awaited him.¹

In the 15th year, Malik 'Ambar 'broke' the treaty, and fell upon the Tháníahdars of the Mughuls. Dáráb Khán, M. 'A.'s second son, retreated from Bālíghat to Bānlīpr; and driven from there, he went to Burhānpūr, where he and his father were besieged. On Shāhjahbán's approach, the besiegers dispersed.

In the 17th year, (1031), Shāh 'Abbás of Persia attacked Qandahár, and Shāhjahán and 'Abdurrahím were called to Court, to take the command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwız, through Nūr Jahán's influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahābat Khán had been raised to the dignity of Khán Khándán. Shāhjahán rebelled, returned with M. 'A. to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāhjahán intercepted a letter which M. 'A. had secretly written to Mahābat Khán, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dáráb Khán, and sent him to Fort Asfīr, but released them soon after on parole. Parwız and Mahābat Khán had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbaddah to capture Shāhjahán. Bairám Beg, an officer of Shāhjahán's, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperials from crossing. At M. 'A.'s advice, Shāhjahán proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. 'A. swear upon the Qorbn not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwız. Mahābat Khán, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M. 'A., forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwız, and did not return to Shāhjahán, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingánah to Orissa and Bengal. Mahābat and M. 'A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptí. M. 'A. wrote to Rájah Bhim, a principal courtier of the Daulatsháhi party, to tell Shāhjahán, that he (M. 'A.) would do every thing in his

¹ "Since the time of Timūr no Prince had received this title." Mānāir. Shāh Khurram received subsequently the title of Shāhjahán, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of Čāhīb Qorán i Sānī and A'ld Hāzrat (علیه حضور جمیع، نسریه جمیع). The last title had also been used by Sulaimán i Kārānī, King of Bengal. Aurangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of A'ld Khāqān.

² He received the title of Shāhjahán and was made a Shēhzārī, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (az asl wa izāfah, i. e. his former contingent plus an increase in troops). He was also allowed a Čandālī (vide p. 306), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Timūr. Jahangir even came down from the Jharokah (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Agrah and Fathpūr Sikrī), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahán's head, distributing the whole (as nusār) among the Auiks.
power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Râjah Bhîm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M.'A.'s sons, should it come to a fight. Shâhjahân then moved into Bengal and Bihâr, of which he made Dârâb Khân, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahâbât Khân had in the mean time returned to Ilâhâbâd to oppose Shâhjahân, and had placed M.'A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahângîr ordered Mahâbât Khân to send M.'A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jâigir at Lâhor, when Mahâbât Khân followed him and sent him back to Dihlî. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahângîr's person, and the return of the monarch from Kâbul, Mahâbât Khân had to fly. Nûr Jahân now appointed M.'A. to follow up Mahâbât, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M.'A. took ill at Lâhor, and on his arrival in Dihlî, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahângîr's 21st year (1036). The words Khân Sipahsââlâr kû (where is the Khân Commander) are the târikh of his death.

M.'A.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujârât and Sind and the defeat of Suhâîl Khân of Bîjâpûr. During Jahângîr's reign, he did nothing remarkable; nor was he treated with the respect which he had enjoyed during the lifetime of Akbar, though he was allowed to retain his rank. For nearly thirty years, he had been serving in the Dak'hin. Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dak'hin, and Abûlîzâl, on one occasion, gave his fâted that M.'A. was a rebel. Under Jahângîr, he was the open friend of Malik 'Ambar; and Muhammad Ma'âûm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 'Ambar's correspondence in the possession of 'Abdurrahîm of Lâk'hânau (No. 197), who was much attached to M.'A. Mahâbât Khân was appointed to enquire into this; but 'Abdurrahîm of Lâk'hânau would not betray his friend. People said, M.'A.'s motto was, 'people should hurt their enemies under the mask of friendship,' and all seem to have been inclined to blame him for maliciousness and faithlessness. He used to get daily import, from his newswriters whom he had posted at various stations. He read their reports at night, and tore them up. But he was also proverbial for his liberality and love of letters. The Mâdsîr i Rahîmî1 is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shews that he was the Meccas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir 'Ali Sher (vide p. 101, note 4) M.'A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of Rahîm.

Though his father had been a Shi'îah, M.'A. was a Sunnî; but people said, he was a Shî'îah, but practised taqīyyâh.2

M.'A.'s most faithful servant was Miyân Fâhîm. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Râjput. He grew up with M.'A.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Fîrûz Khân

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2 Wherever Shi'îahs are in the minority, they practise, if necessary, taqīyyâh (مظا, pr. fear, caution), i. e., they do as if they were Sunnis. A Shi'îah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.
and 40 attendants in the fight with Mahábát Khán, who had imprisoned his master. M.'A. built him a tomb in Dihli, which is now called Nilah Bury, near Humáyún's tomb. (Ashurquanátdid.)

M.'A. outlived his four sons.

1. Míráz Iríc (or Iríc, Shahnawáz Khán Bahádur (No. 255). When young he used to be called Khán Khánán i jawán. He distinguished himself by his courage. In the 40th year of Akbar he was made a Commander of 400. In the 47th year, after a fight with Malik 'Ambar who got wounded, he received the title of Bahádur. During the reign of Jahángír he was called Shahnawáz Khán (vide Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028 from excessive drinking. (Vide Tuzuk, p. 270).

Two of his sons are mentioned in the Páishedáhnámah. 1. Mírá Khán. He was Faujdár of Kángrah, and retired 'foolishly' from public life in Rabí' II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (Páishedáhnámah II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkarshíkan Khán. He got in 1047, a present of 4000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawáz Khán generally Shahnawáz Khán i Jahángírí, to distinguish him from Shahnawáz Khán i Čafawí, a grandee of Sháhjahán.

2. Míráz Dáráb Dáráb-Khán. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Sháhjáhán made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawáz Khán as hostages (yarghamád). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dak'hin, he wrote to Dáráb-Khán to move to Gaáihi (N. W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dáráb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamíndár of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parwiz and Mahábát Khán, and as Jahángír had 'no objections', Mahábát executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M.'A. as a present of a 'melon.' A short time before, 'Abdulláb Khán had killed Dáráb's son and a son of Shahnawáz Khán.

3. Míráz Rushíd Díd. His mother belonged to the Sandaha of harkot. Though very dissolute, he was most liked by his father. He died, at Bálápúr, about the same time as his eldest brother. Vide Tuzuk, p. 315. No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous eaint Imrát Rsé of Sindh. to M.'A. on a visit of condolence.

4. Míráz Amrúllah. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. Rájah Mán Singh, son of Bhágwán Dús. He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rájah Bhágwán Dús (No. 27). European Historians say that he was the adopted son of Rájah Bh. D., but Muhammadan Historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindús make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of Míráz Rájah, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Farzand (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihárí Mall (p. 329). In 984, he was appointed against Ráí Shúká, and gained, in 985, the great battle near Gogásndh.1 Rájah Rámsáh of

1 The best account of this battle is to witness, Bud. II. 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.
Gwaliar was killed with his sons, whilst the Rana himself in the *melée* was wounded by Man Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and recalled him.

When Bhagwan Das was appointed governor of the Panjáb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muhammad Hakim died, and M. S. was sent to Kábul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muhammad Hakim's sons (M. Afrásyáb and M. Káisúbád); but was soon after sent back to Kábul, where he chastised the Raushání who, like other Afgán tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rájah Bir Bár, in the war with the Yújúfzais, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kábul, in succession of Zain Khán Kokhán (No. 34) and Hakim Abul Fath. He was also put in charge of Zábulistán, as Bhagwan Dás had a fit of madness (p. 333). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rájpúts and M. S.'s indifference to the Kábulis, and was appointed Governor of Bihárá, to which province the *tujjud* of the Kákhwáhás had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwan Dás in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of *Kuwar*, received from Akbar the title of Khájah and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihárá he punished several refractory Zamindárs, as Púrán Mall and Rájah Sing Rám, and received their tribute.

The principal events of Mán Singh's life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart's History of Bengal (pp. 114 to 121).1 In the 35th year, M. S. invaded Orissa by way of Jhárkand (Chattiá Nágpúr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Púrú. In the 37th year, when the Afgánás under Khwájah Suláimán and Khwájah 'Usmán attacked Púrú, M. S. again invaded Orissa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihlí empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bhatí (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagár, or Rájmahal, at a place which Sher Sháh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salimnagár, the Fort of Sherpur Murchah (Mymensing). The whole of Eastern Bengal on the right side of the Brahmaputra was likewise annexed. In the 41st year, M. S. married the sister of Láchní Nárán, Rájah of Kúch Bihár, who had declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. took dangerously ill at G'horágbát, when the Afgánás attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M. S.'s sons,2 into the Sundarban. In the 42nd year, M. S. had to send a detachment under Hújáz Khán into Kúch Bihár for the protection of Láchní Nárán. In the 44th year, M. S., at Akbar's request, joined the Dák'ín war. Thinking that the Afgánás, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich 'Isá of G'horágbát, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 180) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmír. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahá Singh, a younger son, or grandson, of M. S. The Afgánás under

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1 The name of 'Sayid' Khán (سعید خان) which occurs several times in Stewart, I. e. should be corrected to Sa'id Khán (سعید خان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 331).

2 He died in 1005.
'Usmán used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperial forces near Bhadrak in Orissa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtás, and defeated the Afghás near Sherpur 'Ašárí, a town of the Sirkár of Shariífábád, which extended from Baríwán to Fath Singh, S. of Murshidábád. After this victory, which obliged 'Usmán to retreat to Orissa, M. S. paid a visit to the Emperor who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand. Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising M. S. to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindú above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Sháhrúkh (vide p. 312) and M. 'Aziz Kokah (No. 21) were raised to the same dignity. M. S. remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment, in order to be in the capital. The part which he played at the time of Akbar's death is known from the Histories. Jahángír thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Rájah had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rahtás (Bihár), after which he joined the emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahágír's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. 'Abdurrahim (No. 29) in the Dák'hín war. M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign whilst in the Dák'hín. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bháo Singh, regarding whose succession to the title vide Tuzuk i Jahángírī, p. 130. The ground on which the Tác at A'gráh stands, belonged to Mán Singh. 31. Muhammad Quli Khan Barla's, a descendant of the Barmaqs(?). He served under Humáyún, and held Multán as jágír. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was conveyed, together with Shamsuddín Atgah (No. 15) the princesses from Kábul to India. His tuyul was subsequently transferred to Nágór. For a short time he was also Governor of Málwáh. In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khán Uzbek (vide No. 48) in Audh. After the death of Khán Zamán, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muhammad Quli Khán as jágír. He subsequently served under Mun'im Khán in Bihár and Bengal. In the 19th year, when Dáúd had withdrawn to Sátgánw (Húglí), Mun'im Khán despatched M. Q. Khán to follow up the Afghás, whilst he remained with Rájah Todar Mall in Táudah to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khán arrived at Sátgánw, Dáúd withdrew to Oriissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khán nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sátgánw, M. Q. Khán invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), altogether impossible. The MSS. of the Mudaír have Barántaq برونتق, which means the same as shujá', brave. Another Barláš has been mentioned above on p. 206. An Amir Chákú Barláš served with distinction under Timúr.
where Sarmad, a friend of Dāid's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sittgāin. Mūrīm Khān at last ordered Todar Mall to join M. Q. Khān, and subsequently, both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier, M. Q. Khān died at Mednāpūr (Midnapore), Ramazān, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his enunciats of foul play.

His son, Mīrzā Faridūn Barlās (No. 227). He served under M. 'Abdurrahim (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jānī Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahāngīr, he was rapidly promoted, and, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rānā Aūr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mīhr 'Āli Barlās was made by Jahāngīr a commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson Khān, sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Saiful Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muḥammad Khān. Saiful Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharjistān (a part of Khurāsān); but he had to submit to Ṭāhmasp (A. H. 940.)

Tarson Khān was in the service of Bārām Khān (No. 10), and joined Akbar, when Bārām fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him together with Ḥāji Muḥammad Sistānī (No. 65) to see Bārām, on his way to Makkah, as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the empire. T. Kh. was subsequently promoted, to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar and then of Patan in Gujrat. In the 21st year, he served in Rājputānā, vide No. 44. In the 23rd year, he was made Faujādār of Jaunpūr, at the same time that Muṭli Muḥammad Yazdī (vide p. 189) was appointed Qāẓīlquzāt and Ǧadhr of that Sirkār. When the Jaunpūr Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amīrs moved to Bihār against Bahādur Khān and 'Arab Khān, who were joined by Maʿqūm Khān Farankhūdā (No. 157). In the 27th year, he served under M. 'Azīz Kokhī in Bihār. When the Qāṣhālās (No. 50) left Maʿqūm Khān and joined the Imperialists, M. 'Azīz sent T. Kh. to Ghoragbāt, where most of the Qāṣhālās had jāgīrs. T. Kh. stayed at Tājpūr (Dinagopera), settling matters, when Maʿqūm Khān came with a large army from Bāṭī (�بثی) and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Ǧaunpūr; he also sent a detachment against T. Kh., who was besieged in the Fort of Tājpūr. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shahbāz Khān i Kambū (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shahbāz, and drive away the rebels.

1 Abūl Fāzīl gives this spelling in the Akbari-nāmah, and says it means lowland, from the Hindūstānī (دین پان) down the river, and extends nearly 300 kos from East to West, and 300 kos from N. S., from Thibet to the Ocean. It would thus include the Sunderbān and the tracts along the Magna. Grant, in the 5th Report, p. 263, note, defines Bāṭī as comprising the Sunderbān and all the neighbouring low lands, even Ḥijīf, overflowed by the tide.

Ṭās's father, according to Abūl Fāzīl, was a Rājput of the Bais clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salīm Khān and Tāj Khān of Bengal, was killed, and his two sons, Ṭās and Ismā'īl were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Qubuddin Khān, Ṭās's uncle, to Tūrān, and brought back. Ṭās soon became the chief of Bāṭī, and had twelve great zamindārs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abūl Fāzīl Marzūbān i Bāṭī, ruler of Bāṭī. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with Ṭās, the Vakīl of Qutb Khān of Oṛisā, who ceded Pūrī to Mān Singh.
from Upper Bengal. Ma'qūm fled again to Bhātī, and Shahbāz and T. Kh. planned
an expedition against 'Ish, who had afforded Ma'qūm shelter. They crossed the
Ganges at Khizārpūr, which stands on the frontier of Bhātī, took Sunnārgāwy,
plundered Bakhtarārpūr (?), where Tsā used to live, and nearly caught Ma'qūm. At
this juncture, Tsā returned from an expedition to Kūch Bihār, and attacked the
Imperialists near Bhowāl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves
near the Brahmaputra, and the fighting was continued for a long time both by land
and on the river. At one time, T. Kh. with a small detachment came too near a
position held by the enemy, and was attacked by Ma'qūm Khān and wounded.
Immediately afterwards he was caught, and killed by Ma'qūm (992). For a relation
of his, vide No. 400.

33. Qiyā' Khān Gung.

Qiyā' is a Turkish word and means zeb, ornament. Gung, if it is the Persian word,
means 'dumb.' He served under Humāyūn, and held Kol Jalālī. On the approach of
Hemū, he joined Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dīhī, and retreated with him. After Hemū's
defeat, Qiyā was sent to Agrah, and was raised to the dignity of a commander of Five
Thousand. Several parganahs in Gwāliār having been given to him as tuyūl, Qiyā
Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwāliār, a general of Salīm Shāh,
during whose reign Gwāliār had been the capital of the empire. Bhīl Khān, thinking it impossible
to hold the Fort for a long time, wished to hand it over for a consideration to Sjah Rāmshāh, whose ancestors had held
Gwāliār, when Qiyā Khān arrived, and after defeating the Rājah, prepared himself
to besiege Bhīl Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Agrah, he sent a detachment to
assist Qiyā, and Bhīl Khān submitted.

He was a friend of Bairām, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyā Khān joined Khān Zamān's rebellion, but repented and
was pardoned, at the request of Mun'īm Khān.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Orissa, to settle matters.
He remained in Orissa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th
year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutlū Khān seized upon Orissa,
and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was
killed (989).²

¹ So the Ma'dāir. The Sāwāndiāz says that Rājah Rāmsāh with a large force of
Rājpūtā had come to besiege Gwāliār. Fīrshtāt instead of Bhīl Khān (Akbar-
nāmah, Sawānīh, Badāonī) has Suḥail Khān (?), and Iqbāl Khān (?) for Qiyā
Khān, vide Briggs, 11, p. 194. The change from Suḥail to Suḥail is not remark-
able; but the alteration of Qiyā to Qiyā is more violent, as we have an additional
altīf and īdām.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are, may be seen from Khūfī
Khān's List of Commanders of Five
Thousand under Akbar (Ed. Bibl. Indica
1, p. 237), where the native editors have
given three wrong names among twelve,
viz.,

- P. 237, last line, for Amīn Khān
  Kokād, read Zain Khān Kokāh (No. 34).
- P. 238, 1. 1, for Shujā' Khān, read
  Shujā'at Khān (No. 14).
- P. 238, 1. 2, for Rasūl Khān, read
  Tarson Khān (No. 32).

Moreover Khūfī Khān's list is most
incomplete, and does not coincide,
although he says so, with the number of
Pānjarāzārs given in the Šabqāt.

² Several copies of the Šabqāt which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died
in 984 (?).
Tardu Khán (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dányál to the Dak’hin, but fell later in disgrace. In the 49th year, he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of 5 lacs of Rupees.

V. Commanders of Four Thousand Five Hundred.

34. Zain Khán, son of Khwájá Muqúd of Harát.

His father, Khwájá Muqúd ‘Ali, was a servant of Akbar’s mother. The name of his mother was Píchah Ján Aungáh; she was one of Akbar’s nurses. On Humáyún’s flight to Persia, Muqúd was always near the howdah of Akbar’s father, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwájá Hasan (Zain Khán’s uncle), whose daughter married Prince Sulím. She is the mother of Prince Parvíz.

In 993, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zábulistáán. Zain Khán was at that time a commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yúsufzáis. This tribe, says Abulfazl, had formerly been in Qarábágh and Qandahár, and had invaded Kábul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghánát, and subsequently at Ishthagar. For the last one hundred years, they had held the territory of Wajjúr, and were notorious robbers. In Wajjúr, there was also a tribe of the name of Sul tání, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sultán Sikándar. The Yúsufzáis deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sul tánís, however, remained in Wajjúr from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muhammad Hakím, the chiefs of the Yúsufzáis submitted, and one of them, Kálú, went with Akbar to Agrah and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsuddín Khás (No. 159) near Aták, and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zain Khán moved into the District of Wajjúr (north of Pasháwar), and punished the Yúsufzáis. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdarah, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rájah Bír Bár and Hakím Abul Fath with some troops. Zain Khán asked them to attack the Afghánis, whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies, and they should hold the district. But Bír Bár and Hakím Abul Fath, who were no friends of Zain Khán, proposed that they should attack the Yúsufzáis together, and then go back. Z. Kh. said, it would not do to return without better results from a country which had cost so many sacrifices; else, the best thing they could do, was to return the same way they had come. But to this they would not listen, and returned by another road (over کراکی, Z. Kh. paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at Court. As soon as the Afghánis saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewáh² Balandrí (گریوه بلندزی), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear

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1 As he was Akbar’s foster brother, he is generally called in histories, Zain Khán | Kokah.
2 Girewáh means a hill.
ehrddwl), was so severely attacked, that he had to face them. Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the Imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran into the train of elephants. Many lives were lost. Z. Kh., unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afgháns seeking death, when Jánish Bahádúr (No. 236) got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the mêlée. In the greatest disorder the Imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afgháns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afgháns. The enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day they were all cut off. This was the occasion when Búr Bár with 500 officers fell (vide p. 204).

In the 31st year (964), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghoris near Pasháwar, who under their chief Jaláuddín Raushání had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zábulistán vice Mán Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzás. After eight months' fighting, they submitted, but Z. Kh. insisted on occupying their territory. He followed the same policy as before, and erected a large Fort on the banks of the river Bajgorah (بیجار), where their district commences. During the festival of the 'Id i Qurbání (Baqr 'Id, in Zí Hajjah), he surprised the Afgháns, and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers.¹ (Vide No. 46.)

In the 35th year, he was sent to punish several rebellious zamindás in the Himálayas. Most of them, as Rájah Budl (Badhi) Chand of Nagarkot (vide p. 330), Rái Pertáb of Mánkoṭ, Rájah Parisrám of Mount Jamú, Rájah Bású of Mau, Rái Balbhadr of Lak'hínpúr, &c., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers.

After having been made, in the 36th year, a Commander of Four Thousand, Z. Kh. was allowed an 'alam and a naggárah (vide p. 50), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindúkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, and governor of Kábúl, vice Qúlj Khán. In the same year, Prince Salím fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (vide p. 277, l. 4, from below). With the death of Jalá Khán Raushání the disturbances in Zábulistán came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Láhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Búrbánápúr, called him to Agráh.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Saíd Khán (No. 25) for his eunuchs, and Qúlj Khán (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

¹ Such forts were called Thánahs, now the common word for a police station.

Thánah means a corps of cavalry, matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the Thánah, and to despatch provisions (rasad) to the next Thánah.” (Dátháh, I. p. 167.

How old the use of the word Thánah is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribeni and Sátháw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.

provisions (rasad) to the next Thánah.”
A son of his, Shukrullah (No. 373),vide below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The Ma'asir mentions another son, Mughul Khan, who served under Jahangir and Shâhjahân (vide Padishâhân. II, p. 641), and died 19th Ramazân 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odgir in the Dakhlân, where the author of the Ma'asir later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, vide p. 328.

For Zain Khân's brother, vide No. 38.

35. Mîrza 'Yu'suf Khân 2, son of Mir Ahmad i Razawi.

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar. In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred. When Shahbáz Khan left Bihâr for Bengal, M. Yûsuf Khan was sent from Andh to keep Bihâr. In the 32nd year (955), when Qâsim Khân (No. 59) resigned, M. Y. was sent to Kâshmîr as ruler. He was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shams Chak, the claimant of the throne, and sent him to Court. In the 34th year (997), Akbar visited Kâshmîr, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country. In the districts of Marârîj and Kamrîj, i. e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixed the taxes at one-fourth.

In Kâshmîr every piece of ground is called pattâh, though a pattâh originally is equal to 1 Big'hah, 1 Biswah (Ilâbi) of Akbar. Two and a half pattâhs and a little more are equal to 1 Kâshmîrî Big'hah. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kâshmîr, and each village is assessed at some khawârâs of shâli. A khawârân is equal to 3 muns, 8 sers of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kâshmîr is the tark, which is equal to 8 sers of Akbar (vide p. 84, note 3). At the time of the Rabi' crop, they take 2 tarks from each pattâh of wheat and vetches (mâsh). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs khawârâs, which was 2 lacs more than before, the khâqârân being reckoned at 16 dâms. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kâshmîr to M. Y. Kh.

In the 30th year, one of M. Y. Kh.'s Mutâqaddis (revenue clerks) fled to court, and stated that the revenue should be 60 per cent. (dâh-pânzâh) higher, and the khawârân should be valued at 28 dâms. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qâzi Nûrullâh and Qâzi 'Ali to Kâshmîr, to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Kh.'s people assumed a threatening attitude, Nûrullâh returned, and Akbar sent Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umârî (No. 167) to Kâshmîr. On his arrival, some of M. Y. Kh.'s people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malecontents of the country, who collected under Yâdgâr, the son of M. Y. Kh.'s uncle. The disturbances became so serious, that Qâzi 'Ali and Hasan Beg returned to Hindîstân; but the rebels blockaded the roads, and killed Qâzi 'Ali. Hasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yâdgâr then read the khutbah in his name, and had dies prepared for striking coins. Several bad omens foreshadowed his speedy ruin. Without having any knowledge of this rebellion, Akbar revisited Kâshmîr; but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M. Y. Kh. under the charge of Abûlâzî. Yâdgâr in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hirâpûr, where some of M. Y. Kh.'s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yâdgâr fled outside of the camp, accompanied by a servant of the name of Yûsuf. His camp was plundered, and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yûsuf, who had returned.
to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yâdgâr was. Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M. Y. Kh. refused to remain in charge of Kashmîr under the increased revenue, the country was made khâliq, and Shamsuddin Khâfî (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salîm's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dârâgah of the Topkhanâh, and received Jaunpur as tugûl, vice Quilj Khân (1002); but in the 41st year his jâgîr was transferred to Gujrat, to serve in the Dak'hin. In the following year, when Cádîq of Harât (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed atdîq to Prince Murâd, whom he joined in Bâlápûr (Barât). After the death of Prince Murâd (p. 300), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself together with Abûlázîl in the Dak'hin wars, and later, under Prince Dânîyâl, in the conquest of Ahmadâbâd, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhânpûr, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dânîyâl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abûlázîl and the Khân-Khânân at Bâlápûr. But soon after, he died of abscess at Jâlînâbâd, in Jumâda II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sulînâbâd, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohilahs, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. Mirzâ Lâshkârî Qurashîkân Khân (No. 375). He was under Akbar Thânâhâdâr of Bîr (East of Ahmadnagar), and got from Jahangîr the title of Qurshân Khân, and a tugûl in Bihâr. In the 5th year (of Jahangîr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Qurshân of Kashmîr. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahmâbat Khân had fled, he was sent towards Dîlî, to intercept Mahmâbat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bûngâl. This he did. In the beginning of Shah Jâhân's reign, he was made a Commander of 2500, and 2000 horse, received the title of Qurashîkân Khân, and was again sent to Bîr, where he remained for a long time. He withdrew at last from public life, got a pension of Rs. 12,000 per annum, and lived at Lâhôr. He died in 1056.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Manzâbâdârs of Kâbul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahangîr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Mirzâ 'Isâx (عوسي). He was a good Prose writer, and wrote a History of the World, entitled Chaman.

3. Mirzâ Afdâtîn. 'He lived with his brother.' He was subsequently made Mutawalli of Sikandrah (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

1. My copy of the Tabaqdt, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—'At the time he was appointed to operate against Bûjâr, he died at Jumnaâbâd in the Dak'hin, which is generally called Jâlînâbâd.' It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabaqdt, which was finished in 1001 A. H., or nine years before M. Y. Khân's death.
A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mir 'Abdullah, was under Shâhjahân a Commander of 1500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharûr, E. of Bir, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shâhjahân.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdî 'Qasim Khân.

The Tabâqât mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served first under M. 'Askârî, Bâbar's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghazanfar Kokah2 (خصائص). Humâyûn, after the conquest of Gujût, had appointed 'Askârî to Ahmadâbâd. One night, when half drunk, M. 'Askârî said, "I am king and the shadow of God;" when Ghazanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. 'Askârî got enraged, and imprisoned Ghazanfar; but he escaped, went to Sultân Bahádûr, king of Gujût, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of 'Askârî. Bahádûr thereupon collected an army, marched to Ahmadâbâd, and drove the Prince away (vide No. 12).

Mahdî Qâsim Khân joined Humâyûn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbâr's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, Abdul Majíd Aţâ' Khân (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khân Zamân (No. 13; but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jabalpûr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbâr had, in 973, returned from Jaumpûr to Agra, and was ordered to capture 'Abdul Majíd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived at Garha, 'Abdul Majíd fled to Khân Zamân; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh. so much, that without asking Akbâr's permission, he left Garha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahâr, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantambhûr, which Akbâr besieged, and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present. Akbâr pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lakh'înau as tuyûl.

'Nothing else is known of him' (Madâhir). He had been dead for some time is 1001, when the Tabâqât was completed. Husain Khân Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lâhor, which was called Bâgh i Mahdî 'Qasim Khân, vide Badáûnî II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahângîr's Death).

37. Muzaffâr Khân i Turbâtî.

Turbat is the name of a tribe (علی) in Khurâsân. His full name is Khwâjah Muzaffâr 'Ali Khân i Turbâtî. He was Bairâm's Diwân. Bairâm delegated him from Dipâlpûr to Sher Muhammad Diwânah (p. 317), who sent him in chains to Akbâr. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muzaffâr, he pardoned him, and made him 'Amîl (Collector) of the Parguwah of Parsarow. Subsequently Akbâr made him Diwân i Buyûtât (Collector of the Imperial Stores, &c.), and at last Divân of the Empire, with the title of Muzaffâr Khân (971). Râjah Todarmall was then

under him. According to Badşûni, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said
that the Bajah was a better financier than Muzaffar, whose accession to office was honor-
ed by the short tâdrikh šâlim (= 971), or 'Tyrant'.

In the 11th year, he abolished the Jam'î Raqmî. This is the name of the assessment of the Dihl empire, which had existed since the time of Bairám; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; 'for, on account of the number of men (kaurat i mardum, i.e. Jagir holders) and the unsettled state (qalb i waidyat) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (bandâm afsidah) for the sake of mere show (bārdî masid i i'tibâr)'. This Jam'î Raqmî was now abolished (vide Third Book, A'tîn i Dahsidlah), and Muzaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Qânûngos. The new rent roll was called Jam'î Hâqîl i Hâl, or the Roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352).

As the Dâgh law (pp. 255, 256, and p. 242) did not then exist, Muzaffar Khân fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the Amîrs and the Mulâsîms (friends of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.

In the 12th year, it was reported that Muzdar loved a boy of the name of Qutb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muzaffar assumed the garb of a Fâqîr, and went into the forest. Akbar was thus obliged to recall him, and restored the beloved.

In the 17th year, a mania for Chaupar (p. 303) had seized Akbar's Court. Muzaffar lost not only his goldmuhurs, but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much, that he was told to go to Makkah. But he was re-called, and joined the Court at Sûrat, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Sârangpûr in Mâlwhah, he was appointed Yâqîl of the Empire, with the title of Jumlatul Mulk. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from Patna, from where he had despatched a corps to take Bahlâ in South Bihâr, he ordered Muzaffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (vide Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwâjah Shamsuddin Khaîf (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Hájîpûr, of which the Afghâns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bihâr, from Chausâ to Gârhî. Soon after the taking of Hájîpûr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afghâns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghandak.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Shâh Mañûr (No. 122) and Bajah Todar Mall continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khân Jahân (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal.

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1 The Mâdsîr says, he allowed the first class 48,000 dâms, the second class 32,000 d., and the third 24,000 d. per annum. These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with p. 231. But what was the value of a dâm in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Pay per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mughul, Afghan, or Hindi</td>
<td>Sisaspahs, 1000 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Alibarnâmâh). But at that time 40 dâms were equal to 1 Akbarshâhi Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.
In the 25th year (988), Sháh Mańcúr subjected the Amírs of Bihár and Bengal to strict enquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his demands, Mańcúr i Kábúli and several other grandees that held jágrís in Bihár, rebelled. Muzaffar imitated Sháh Mańcúr’s policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstanding, Bábá Khán Qáshál and other Jágírdárs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihár rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muzaffar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Qisís, had not Muzaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tándah, which, according to Badaóní, consisted of nothing but four old walls. The rebels thus emboldened demanded full pardon, permission to go to Makkah, and restoration of one-third of their property. At this juncture, Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17) escaped from Muzaffar’s custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.’s miserable condition. They moved therefore against Tándah, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabí’ I, 988’).

The Jáníi Múṣjid in Agrah was built by Muzaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins which still go by the name of Nawáb Muzaffar Khán ki Máṣjid or Kúli Masjid. The Ma’dísir says, it stood in the Katrak Miyan Raqíq, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Múṣjid now called the Jáníi Masjid of Agrah was built, in 1058, by Juhán Bégum, Sháhjahán’s daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the Mir-dát ul ’A’lam, his youngest daughter was married to Sháh Fathullah of Shíráz.

38. Saif Khán Kokah, elder brother of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Saif Khán, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar’s mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; ‘besides,’ said he, ‘it shall be this time a fine boy.’ The mother looked upon Prince Akbar’s words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Saif Khán was born.

Akbar was very fond of Saif Khán, and made him, though quite young, a Commandera of Four Thousand. He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Súrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Agrah to Ahmadábád (p. 325), and was killed bravely fighting with Muhammad Husain Mírzá.

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Saif Khán was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Agrah, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amánnllah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

1 According to Badaóní (II, p. 282), Muzaffar capitulated, left the Fort, and | was then captured and slain.
39. Ra'jah Todar Mall, a Khotri.

He was born at Lābor. The Madairul Umurā does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar's reign; but T. M. appears to have entered Akbar's service at a very early period. In 971, he was employed under Muzaffar (Bad. II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (vide No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrat he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an 'alam and a naqdrāh (p. 55), and was ordered to accompany Mun'im Khān to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dāūd Khān i Karārānī, when Khān 'Alam (vide No. 58) had been killed, and Mun'im Khān's horse had run away, the Rājah held his ground bravely, and 'not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory.' "What harm," said Todar Mall, "if Khān 'Alam is dead; what fear, if the Khān Khānān has run away, the empire is ours!" After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Ofsā, Todar Mall went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Todar Mall was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dāūd. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 3 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrat, vice Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Ahmadābād matters with Vazīr Khān, Muzaffar Husain, at the instigation of Mīhr 'Ali Gulabī, rebelled. Vazīr Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Todar Mall was ready to fight, and defeated Muzaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 kos from Ahmadābād. Vazīr Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Todar Mall had not come to his assistance. Muzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jūnāgarh.

In the same year Todar Mall was appointed Vazīr. When Akbar left Ajmīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Rājah were lost, as mentioned on p. 32, note. When the news of Muzaffar's death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todar Mall, Qādi Khān, Tarson Khān, &c., from Fathpūr Sīki to Bihār. Muḥibb'Alī (No. 107), Governor of Rahtās, and Muḥammad Ma'qūm Khān i Farankhūldī (No. 167) were appointed Kumaks, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rājah with 3000 well equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Todar Mall managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Ma'qūm i Kābulī, the Qāqshālī, and Mīrzā Sharaafuddin Husain, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungīr, and Todar Mall, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungīr, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humāyūn Farkhī and Tarkhān Dīwānāb, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Todar Mall held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bābā Khān Qāshūl died, and Jabārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Ma'qūm i Kābulī went to South Bihār, and 'Arab Bahādur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Pahār Khān (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Ma'qūm i Farankhūldī to Patna, to assist Pahār Khān, Todar Mall and Qādi Khān followed Ma'qūm i Kābulī to
Bihar. Ma'āqīm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Ḍādīq Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with Ṭsā Khān, Zamindār of Orisā. Todar Mall was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Garhī, was re-annexed to the Dihlī empire.

In the 27th year (1590), Todar Mall was made Divān, or rather Vakīl. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the Ain contains his new rent-roll, or Aṣl i Jam' i Tāmdr, which superseded Muẓaffar's assessment (p. 349). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akbarnāmah.

The most important reform introduced by Todar Mall is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindū Muḥarrīrīs. Todar Mall ordered that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers,—a circumstance which may well be compared to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Todar Mall's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honors—we saw on p. 341 that Mān Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand,—explain two facts, first, that before the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans; secondly, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the Urdu, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Todar Mall's order or to Akbar's policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honored him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khetri, from private hatred, wounded T. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bīr Bār (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yūsufzāis, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kāshmīr, T. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go; but he recalled him from Hardwār, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. T. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (vide No. 27, p. 333).

Though often accused of headstrongess and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todar Mall's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees: together with Abūfazl and Mān Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhārū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name Todar Mall is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindī T, D, and r, which
explains the spelling 'Torel Mall,' which we find in old Histories. Under Sháhjahán also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name 'Todar Mall.'

The *Tafdhul 'Imdratl* says, Todar Mall's father died when T. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. T. M., at an early age, shewed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honors.

40. Muhammad Qa'sim Khán, of Nishápúr.

The *Mádisir* calls him Qásim Muhammad Khán, and has put his name under the letter Q; but Abulfazl, Badáoni, and the *Tübaqát* give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nishápúr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bairám Khán. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Súr, and served as Haráwal, or leader of the van, under Khán Zamán (No. 13) in the battle with Hemú. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was sent against Háji Khán, who had defeated Ráná Udai Sing of Maiwár, and taken possession of Nágór and Ajmír. Háji Khán was an old servant of Sher Khán, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Háji Khán's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrát. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nágór and Ajmír, which for a long time remained the South Western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bairám's party, and joined the Chaghtáí nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsuddín Atgah's corps in the fight in which Bairám was defeated (p. 317). After the victory, he received Multán as jágir.

He was next sent to Sárangpúr in Málwah, where, in the 9th year, he was visited by Akbar on his sudden hunting expedition to that province, the object of which was to get hold of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the *Tübaqát*, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sárangpúr.

41. Vazír Khán, brother of 'Abdul Majíd-i Acaf Khán (I), of Harát (No. 49).

When Vazír Khán escaped with his brother (vide below No. 49) from Bahádír Khán (No. 21), he fled to Karáh, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muzaffár Khán (No. 37), free pardon for himself and Acaf Khán.

In the 21st year, when 'Azíz Kokah (p. 326) had incurred Akbar's displeasure, V. Kh. was sent to Gujrát, to govern in 'Azíz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (sipahsádár) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Todar Mall (No. 39) to Gujrát, to take the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the same time, Míhr 'Alí Gulábí, a friend of M. Ibráhím Husain, rebelled and set up as king Muzaffár Husain, Ibráhím's young son, whom he had brought from the Dák'uhn. As

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1 This is the title of a Persian MS. preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was composed by Síl Chand, of the Government College of A'grah, and treats of the antiquities of that town. The book gives many valuable and interesting particulars. In the preface an English gentleman is praised, whose Christian names are James Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in *ston*, and may be Babington, or some similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.
mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Todar Mall's bravery. When the Rajah left, Mihr 'Ali appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Ahmadábád. In one of the assaults, Mihr 'Ali was killed by a bullet, and Muzaffar Húsain Mírzá, from timidity, raised the siege. Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrat did not improve, and oppressions became so numerous, that Akbar deposed V. Kh. and called him to Court.

In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him vazír in the place of Sháh Manáqúr of Shiráz (No. 122), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. 'Azíz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihár, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Ma'qúm Kháń sickness obliged 'Azíz to return to Bihár, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Çúbahdár should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlí Kháń, ruler of Orísá, whom he defeated (vide p. 355). Qutlí, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orísá. V. Kh. returned to Tánádáb, and applied himself, with the assistance of Çádíq Kháń (No. 43) and Sháháb Kháń i Kambá (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each çúbah should, in future, be ruled by two Amiráns, and Vázír Kháń was appointed Çúbahdár of Bengal, with Muhíb 'Ali Kháń (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Sháháb Kháń, who was Bakhshí of Bengal, allowed Mír Múhammad Khálı́, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Khálı́ showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mír Murád (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fáthpúr Hánswáh, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mír Murád imprisoned him with the assistance of the jágírdárs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qúlij Kháń.

He is called Andajání, from Andaján, a province of Farghánah, south of the Sáihún. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timúrids. His grandfather was a noble at Súltán Husáín Mírzá Bákí's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 34, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Súrat, the 'iron fort,' which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abúlfażí says that the Fort had been built in 947 (1540-41, A. D.) by Çáfár Aghá, ália Khudáwád Kháń, a Turkish slave of Súltán Mímód of Gujrat. The táríkh of its construction is characteristic (metre long Ramáj).

May this structure prove a barrier for the cheat and the life of the Firingi.'

Qúlij Kháń died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramazán 1022 (end of 1613, A. D.) at Pásháwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

1 The numbers added give 947. The last yd. though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.
2 So according to the Tuzuk i Jahán-giri (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 123, l. l.).
The *Madsir* and *Badhsonf* (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of ِندُنِٕ جُبْنَی*; but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as *Qurbdn*, *Farbdn*, *Farydn*, etc.

The *Madsir* copies from the *Zakhirat ulkhamdnin* the following story which is said to have taken place in 1000 A. H., when Jaunpur was Q.'s *jāgrī*. Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one man. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Rām Chandr's *avatar* (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sītā; whether Krishnā's *avatar* had taken place at Mathurā; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadans. In sleep and eating he differed from other men; he spoke to no one, and died after six months.'


43. Čādíq Khás'n, son of Bāqir of Harášt.

Other Historians call him Čādíq Muhammad Khán. His father, Muhammad Bāqir, had been *vazīr* to Qará Khán Turkmán, ruler of Khurdsán. Qará had rebelled against Sháh Táhmásp, and fled to India. Čādíq entered Bairám's service as *Ríkāb-dār* (spur-holder), and got soon after a *mansāb*, and was made, after Bairám's death, an *Amír*. *Badhsonf* (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humáyún in Qandahár, and the *Tabaqdt* says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpur. On the road, in crossing the river at Chàus, a valuable elephant perished through Q.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his *jāgrī*, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bchat'h (Bhat'h G'hod, or Bandah-Bewah), to get another elephant. After passing over the heights and the low places of fortune, Čādíq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with *qulij* properly *qulij*, means in Turkish a *sword*, and 'Qulij Khán' is the same as *Shamsker Khán*. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels, and a final *ā*.

2 Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abulfazl leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Mun'im Khán (No. 11), Mirzā 'Aziz (No. 21), for Muhammad Mun'im and M. Muhammad 'Aziz; or, Shihbá Khán (No. 26), for Shihábuddin Ahmad Khán. More examples will be found below.
and cutting dowri the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthára, close to which Undehhab lay, Madhukar’s residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rám Sáh. Another son of his, Hóral Dáo (Muáźir, Hóral Ráo), and about 200 Rájpúts were killed. Ç. remained encamped in the Rájah’s territory. Driven to extremites, Madhukar sent Rám Chand, a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahráh, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramazán, 986, Çádiq with the penitent Rájah arrived at Court.

Soon after, Ç.’s ayyá were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal. In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21), Çádiq and Muhíb’Ali Khán (No. 107) defeated Khabítháh,¹ one of Ma’qúm’s officers, on the Ghandak near Hájipúr, and sent his head to Akbar. In the beginning of the 28th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mírzá Kokah, who had again left for Bihár.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazír Khán (No. 41), who at a place six kos from Bardwán was treating with Qattú.² Through Ç.’s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qattú in the possession of Orijá. Ç. then returned to his tuoñ at Patna.

When Shahbáž Khán (No. 80) returned from his expedition to B mát, the tuoñ dár of Bengal and Bihár were ordered to move to him. Ç., however, was no friend of Shahbáž. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ç.’s elephant ran against Shahbáž, who believed the accident premeditated; and Akbar sent Khwájah Sulaimán (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihár; but Ç., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shahbáž went from Bihár to Bengal, Ç. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Mulán.

When the Itáshánis in the District of Mount Thábh (Thábh), “which lies west of Pasháwar, and is 32 kos long, and 12 kos broad,” commenced disturbances, Ç., in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zain Khán (No. 34) from Wáljúr, Ç. was sent there, to subjugate the Yúsáfzás.

In the 36th year, Prince Murád was sent from Málwah to Gujrát, and as Ismá’íl Qullí Khán (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as Vакíl, Ç. was appointed adálí to

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¹ Khabítháh (خبيط) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Ma’qúm i Kábulí from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In Budáání (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 319), he is called Khabítháh Bahádúr (خبيط) and Khástar (خبت) in my MS. of the Tábáqát, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

² The spelling Quttú if perhaps preferable to Qattú, if this name is a shortened form of Qultugh.
the Prince, whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dak‘hin. Shahbáz Khán being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmadnagar had been raised, Ç. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barár.

In the beginning of the 41st year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Saráwar Khán, and made much booty. He was then made governor of Sháhpúr, which town Prince Murád had founded six kos from Bálápúr.

Çádiq died at Sháhpúr in the beginning of 1005. At Dholápúr, which lies 20 kos from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river, Ç. had erected splendid buildings and a Mausoleum. He had also done much for the cultivation of the surrounding country.

He was one of the best officers Akbar had.

His sons. 1. Záhid Khán (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year, he was made a Khán, and, on the accession of Jahángír, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Doest Muhammad (No. 287). 3. Yár Muhammad (No. 288). ‘Neither of them was alive at the time of Shájahán.’ Másir.

44. Rai Ráisingh, son of Rai Kalyán Mall (No. 93).

Rái Singh belonged to the Rátshors of Bikánír, and is the fourth descendant from Ráí Máldeo. His father, Kalyán Mall, was a friend of Bairám (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmir, when he together with his son entered the emperor’s service. He also sent his brother’s daughter to Akbar’s Harem. Kalyán Mall was in the 40th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rái Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gujrát, occupied Jodhpúr, the old seat of Mál Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dihlí territory; but Ibhráhim, after his defeat at Sarnál, invaded Akbar’s territory, and besieged Nágó, which at that time was the tyyól of Khán i Kalán (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khán (p. 322). R. came to his relief, and the Mirzá had not only to raise the siege, but was pursued, and defeated by R. in the following year also, R. distinguished himself in the engagement with Muhammad Husain Mirzá (p. 325).

In the 19th year, R. and Sháh Quli Mahram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chander Sen, son of Rájah Mál Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwánah, Chander Sen’s stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.’s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shahbáz Khán (No. 81) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarsun Muhammad Khán (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamínárs of Jálor and Sárohit; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Háshim of Bárháh (No. 143) garrisoned Nádot to watch the Ráná of Udaipur, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltán Deodah, the zamínár of Sárohit, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sárohit and besieged their own, and appointed their Váxírs, their Diváns, Bakháhis, &c. The appointment of the Vákíl, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.
it. During the siege, R. called his family to his camp; but Saltán Deodah fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abúgārāf.\(^1\) R. in the meantime took Sarohí, and hastened to Abúgārāf, which Saltán surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltán to Court.

In the 28th year, when Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjáb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murád. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Agra, R. and several others were sent as tuyyûddars to the Panjáb. In the 28th year, he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year, R. and Ismá’íl Quíl Kháán (\textit{vide} No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balúchis. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.’s daughter was married to Prince Salím. In the 35th year, he went for some time to Bikánír, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindh under M. 'Abdurrahím (No. 29).

In the 38th year, Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rájah Rámchand Baghelah of Bándhú died suddenly on his way to Bándhú, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rájah had married a daughter of R. Akbar interceded for their young children, and prevented R.’s daughter from burning herself. Soon after, R. stayed away from Court for some reason, during which time one of his servants complained of him to Akbar. The emperor called the man to court; but R. concealed him, and gave out, he had run away. Akbar was annoyed and excluded R. for some time from the darbárs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Súrat, with the order to assist in the Dakhín wars. R., however, delayed in Bikánír, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Súrat. Akbar advised him to be obedient; but seeing that he would not go, called him to Court, but without allowing him to attend the darbárs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abúfázl to Násík; but as his son Dalpat* (No. 282) had caused disturbances in Bikánír (\textit{vide} p. 359), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to court. In the 48th year, he served under Prince Salím against the Ránah of Udaipúr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahángír, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor

\(^{1}\) Abúgārāf is a fort near Sarohí, and not far from the frontier between Gujrát and Ajmír. Abúfázl says in the Akbar-náma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abúgārāf was \textit{Arbudd Acha}, \textit{Arbudd} being the name of a spirit who, disguised as a female, shews wanderers the way, and \textit{acha} meaning \textit{mountain}. The fort on the top of this high mountain was difficult of access; it could moreover hold out for a long time, as there were several springs and fields within it. My copies of the \textit{Sawádhí} and the Akbar-náma have 

Saltán Deorah (سلطان دروره), for Saltán Deodah (سلطان دورد) of the Madsir.

* For Dalpat, the \textit{Tuzuk i Jahángírî} (pp. 86, 106, and 126) has wrong \textit{Dulip}.

The \textit{Tuzuk} and the second volume of the \textit{Pádísahánmah} Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 635) have Súraj Singh, for Súr Singh, and the latter calls him a \textit{Pahalí} (پهلوی) instead of \textit{Palí}, perhaps a blunder of the native Editors. But the Madsír and the first volume of the \textit{Pádísahánmah} have Súr Singh (pp. 287, 302, at the end of the first decade.)
set out for the Panjáb to pursue Khusrau, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bikánír. In the second year, when Jahángír returned from Kábul, R., at the advice of Sharíf Khán, presented himself before the emperor with a _faustah_ round his neck, to shew his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned. He died in 1021.

**His sons.**
1. Dalpat (No. 262). He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sind war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dák’hin, Muẓaffar Husain Mirzá, in consequence of his differences with Khwájągí Fathullah, had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bikánír and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court. In the third year of Jahángír’s reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khán Jahán Lodi he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dák’hin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of _Ráči_, although his younger brother (by another mother), Súr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Ráči Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Súr Singh, however, disgusted Jahángír by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam i Čašávi (No. 8), the governor of Sind. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahángír that Súr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hicár. Háshim, the Faujdar of that Sirkár, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat’s son, Mahes Dás, and grandson, Ratan, _vide_ Pádisháhínmáh, *pp. 635, 723; 684, 729.*

2. **Súr Singh.** After the death of his brother he rose to favor. In Histories he is generally called _Ráči_ Súr Singh, a title which he received from Sháhjahán. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Sátr Sád, the former of whom inherited the title of _Ráči_ (_vide_ Pádisháhínmáh II, *p. 727*).

**VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.**

45. **Sha’h Quí’ Mahram i Bahúrlí.**

He was in Bairám’s service and distinguished himself in the war with Hemú. It was Sha’h Quí that attacked Hemú’s elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemú, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar.¹ Soon after, before the end of the first

¹ ‘Before the end of the first year, Pir Muhammad was despatched against Háji Khán in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sirkár of Alwar as far as Deolí Sájári (or Sáčári), the birth-place of Hemú, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemú’s father alive, and brought him to Pir Muhammad, who asked him to embrace Islám. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pir M. returned to Akbar.’ _Sawdnúm from the Akbarámd- maḥ._
year, Sh. Q. served with Muhammad Qásim Khán (No. 49) against Háji Khán in Nágar and Ajnáir.

In the third year, it was brought to Akbar’s notice, that Sh. Q. was passionately attached to a dancing boy of the name of Qábúl Khán; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed, Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogí, and went into the forests. Bairám traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bábá Zambúr, he remained faithful to Bairám to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwáráh (p. 317).

After Bairám’s death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amír. In the 20th year, when Khán Jahán (No. 21) was sent from the Panjáb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjáb, rising higher and higher in Akbar’s favour.

It is said that the Emperor, from goodwill towards him, admitted him to his female apartments. After the first time he had been allowed to enter the Harem, he went home, and had his testicles removed (maṣjúḥ). From this circumstance, he was every where called Muháram, i. e. one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zábulistán, crossed the Baháát (Jhelum) near Rasúl-púr, and encamped at Hailán. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a mast male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out. The Rájáūts of Shaikháwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewát to Rewár; and in the 35th year, Akbar had to send Sh. Q. against them. He soon restored order.

In the 41st year, he was made a commander of Four Thousand, and soon after of Five Thousand. The Tabágát says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Agráh in 1010. At Nármaul, where he chiefly lived, he erected splendid buildings, and dug large tanks. When he felt death approaching, he gave the soldiers of his contingent two years’ pay in advance, and left, besides, many legacies. As he had no heirs, his remaining property lapsed to the state (Tuzuk, p. 22).

46. Ismá’íl Qúlí Khán, brother of Khán Jahán (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jálindhár (p. 317). He joined Akbar’s service with his brother, under whom he mostly served. When his brother had died in Bengal, he came with the immense property he had left behind him to Court, and was favorably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Bálúchis (vide No. 44). On his arrival in Balúchistán, the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Gháźí Khán Wajhiyáh and Ibráhím Khán, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhágwán Dás (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zábulistán, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkár to Makkah. He begged hard

1 For similar examples, vide p. 319, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 349.  
2 Or Muháram.
to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yúsufzâis.

At that time epidemics were raging in Wâijûr, and the chiefs of the Yúsufzâis came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zain Khân (No. 34), governor of Zâbulistân, pressed hard upon Jalâlah Raushânî, who had left Terâh and entered Wâijûr. Zain Khân therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Čâdiq Khân (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalâlah, annoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as T'hânahdar of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalâlah to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrat. In the 36th year, when Prince Murâd had been made Governor of Mâlwhâ, I. Q. was appointed his atâlîq or Vâkil; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Čâdiq Khân having been appointed in his stead.

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kâlpâ, to look after his jâgîr. In the 42nd year (1006), he was made a Commander of Four Thousand.

He was given to luxury, and spent large sums on carpets, vessels, dress, &c. He kept 1200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night-drawers. The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him.

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1. Ibrâhîm Qulî (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Salîm Qulî (No. 357), and 3. Khalîl Qulî (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

**VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.**

47. Mi'rsa 'Ja'ni' Beg, ruler of T'hâq'hâh.

He belonged to the Arghûn clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khân. Abûl-fazl in the Akbarnâmah gives his tree as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chingiz Khân.</th>
<th>Qâhân.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tûlî Khân.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hûlûqû Khân (the brother of Mangû)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abâgh (or, Abâghâ) Khân, d. 663.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arghûn Khân, d. 690.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four generations intervening.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atkû Timur.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shankal Beg Tarkhân.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Several generations not known.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdulkhâliq Tarkhân.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of his ancestors, Atkû Timur had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khân, and the Emperor Timur took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a Tarkhân (vide the note at the end of this biography).

Mîrzâ 'Abdul 'All, fourth ancestor of M. Jâni Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sultân Mahmûd, son of M. Abu Sa'id, and received the government of Bukhârâ. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaibânî Khân 'Uzbak; only his sixth son, M. Muhammad Isâ, escaped. The Arghûn clan in Bukhârâ, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurâsân, where they attached themselves to Mir Zul-nûn Beg Arghûn, who was the Amîrul-
Shujá' Beg, better known as Sháh Beg, Zul-nún's son, held Qandahár during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jhm Hizlmuddin (generally called in Histories Jam Nanda), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abulfazl below in the Third Book, (Cubah of Sindh), and managed at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahár, which had been occupied by Bábá. A short time before his death, which took place in 930, he invaded Multán, then in the hands of the Langáhs.

Sháh Beg Arghún was succeeded by his son Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, who took Multán from Sultán Husain Langáh (vide Third Book, Cubah of Multán). M. Sháh Husain Arghún was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus. He therefore used to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards for the remaining portion. On one occasion, he went towards Bhakkar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mirzá Muhammad 'Isá, third ancestor of M. Jání Beg, as their chief. M. Sháh Husain, assisted by his foster brother, Sultán Mahmúd, Governor of Bhakkar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and cede a large part of Sindh to M. 'Isá. On Sháh Husain's death, in 963, the whole country fell to 'Isá.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghúns came to the throne of T'hat'hah. 'Isá died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muhammad Báqí, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Ján Bábá. M. Báqí, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as his son, M. Páyandah Muhammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M. Jání Beg, the son of M. Páyandah.

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjáb, M. Jání Beg had shewn no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 36th year therefore (999), when the Khán Khánán was ordered to invade Qandahár, he was told to send some one to M. J. B., and draw his attention to this neglect; if no heed was paid, he was to invade Sindh on his return. Multán and Bhakkar being the tuyûd of the Khán Khánán, he did not move into Qandahár by way of Ghaznín and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jáchir. In the meantime the conquest of T'hat'hah had been determined upon at Court, and the Khán Khánán set

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1 Sháh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bábá. He wrote a Commentary to the well known Arabic grammar Kifiyah, and commentaries to the Maḏdí, and the 'Aqáid i Nasafi (شرح معاني نسائي).
out at once for Sindh (vide p. 335, and Briggs's *Firishtah*). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khán Khánán, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lábor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Cúbah of Multán as tuyül, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Sháhrúkh (No. 7): But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghfín clan, about 10000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new tuyül, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Lábari Bandar, however, became khálīcah, and the Sirkár of Siwiístán which had formerly paid peshkash, was parcelled out among several grandees.

In the 42nd year, M. J. B. was promoted to a command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. He was much liked by Akbar for his character, religious views (vide p. 209), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abúfázl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (sarád), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhpánpur in the Dakhín, after the conquest of Ashir.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Ashir, he would have held it for a hundred years.

M. J. B. was fond of poetry; he was himself a poet and wrote under the takhalluś of Halímít.

*Mírzá Ghází Beg*, son of M. Jání Beg. At the death of his father, he was only 17 years old; and though not at Court, Akbar conferred Sindh on him. He was opposed by Mírzá Isá Tarkhán, son of Mírzá Ján Babá (brother of M. Muhammad Báqí, grandfather of M. Jání Beg); but Khusrau Khán Chirgí, an old servant of the Arghún and Vák il of his father, espoused his cause, and M. Isá Tarkhán fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghází Beg and Khusrau Khán had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Sa'íd Khán (No. 25) and his son Sa'dullah to Bhakkar, and M. Ghází Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahángír, M. Ghází Beg received Multán in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahár (*Tuzuk* p. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Husain Khán Shámí, the Persian Governor of Harát. He also received the title of Farzand (son). Sháh 'Abbás of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several khilláts.

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1 Here follows in the *Madáir ul Umará* a description of Sindh taken from the Third Book of the *Aín*, concluding with the following remark:

"At present (when the author of the *Madáir* wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudá Yár Khán Látí (تی). From a long time he had farmed (ijárah kard) the Cúbah of Thát'hah, and the Sirkárs of Siwiístán and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the districts on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nádir Sháh, Khudá Yár Khán administered them for Nádir Sháh."

2 Sa'dullah has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 332. He received the title of Nawázish Khán in 1020; vide *Tuzuk*, pp. 31, 96.
He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018, the word Ghdzibin being the Tārīkh of his death. Suspicion attaches to Lutfullah, his Tākīl and son of Khusrau Khān Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghāzī does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the takhallus of Vazārī, which he had bought of a Qandahār poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Tallībī of Anāl, Mullā Murshidī i Yazdījirdī, Mīr Niʿmatullah Vāṣīlī, Mullā Asad Qājārkhwān, and especially Fughfūrī of Gīlān enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for dakhūl (vide p. 102, note 6). In his private life, M. Ghāzī was dissolute. Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin; girls from all places were brought to him, and the women of the town of Tḥatḥah are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzā.

Note on the meaning of the title of ‘Tarkhān’.

Abulfazl, in the Akbarnamāh (38th year), has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingiz Khān conferred it on Qishliq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court (tākīf i bār). Chingiz Khān, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timūr, a Tarkhān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number nine.

Some say, a Tarkhān had seven distinctions and privileges—1. a tabī; 2. a tāmāstogh; 3. a naqqārah; 4. he can confer on two of his men a qushūn togh, or chatr togh; 5. his Qur (p. 109) was carried (qīr i ú nīz bārdāyānd). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (qargh) a forest as his private hunting ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty. 7. He was looked upon as the head of the clan to which he

1 So the Maāsir. The Tuzuk (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghāzī in the 7th year of Jahāṅgīr’s reign, 1021.

After M. Ghāzī Beg’s death, Sind was taken away from the Tarkhāns, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (vide p. 314).

Khusrau Chirgis tried to set up some ‘Abdal ‘Alī Tarkhān, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahāṅgīr bestowed his favors on Mirzā ‘Īsā Tarkhān, son of M. Jān Bābā (uncle of M. Jān Beg). He rose to the highest honors under Shāhjāhān, and died more than hundred year old, in 1062, at Sāmbar. He had four sons—1. Mirzā ‘Ināyatullah, who died in the 21st year of Shāhjāhān; 2. Mirzā Muhammad Čālih, who played some part during Aurangzeb’s war with Dārā Shikoh; 3. Fathullah; 4. M. ‘Aqil. Mirzā Būrūz, M. Muhammad Čālih’s son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Shāhjāhān.

* Nine was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received nine presents, or the present consisted of nine pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghtāi tugh (or tūqūz, or tūqūz), nine, came to mean a present, in which sense it occurs in the Pādishākūnūmah and the ‘Alamgirnāmah, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as haft tughūz pārcakh, ‘s present of seven pieces of cloth.’

* Vide p. 50.
belonged. In the statehall the Amīrs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (kamānswād).

When Tughluq Timur conferred this title upon an Amīr,1 he put all financial matters (ddād o sitah) 'as far as a Hazāri' (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarkhān had to answer for blood shed by him (pādāvī i khān), he was placed on a silver white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Barlās clan (vide p. 341, note), and the sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkiwat clan. His neck vein was then opened, the two chiefs remaining at his side, and watching over him till he was dead. The king was then led forth from the palace, and sat down to mourn over him.

Khizr Khwājah in making Mīr Khudāddād a Tarkhān, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (tāf), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the yasāwal (chief mace bearer) of the king is on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarkhān also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhān from the left. 3. The Tarkhān’s seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put at the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abulfazl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough; he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes; but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations.

48. Iskandar Khān, a descendant of the Uzbek Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humāyūn who on his return to India made him a Khān. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Agrah. On Hemū’s approach, he left Agrah, and joined Tardi Beg at Dihlī. Both opposed Hemū, Iskandar commanding the left wing (júranghār). His wing defeated the right wing (burunghār) and the van (harāwal) of Hemū, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favor of the Imperialists, when Hemū with his whole force broke upon Tardi Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū, and received after the battle for his bravery the title of Khān ‘A’lam.

As Khizr Khwājah Khān,2 the Governor of the Panjāb, had retreated before Sikandar Khān Sūr, and fortified himself in Lāhor, leaving the country to the Afghāns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkot and assist Khizr Khwājah.

1 The MSS. call him خلیلی or خلیلی, with every variety of diacritical points.
2 Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughululislām; but according to the Tābaqāt from the kings of Kūshkhar. He was a grandee of Humāyūn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. Ḥ Ṭakari in Qandahār, when Humāyūn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwājah threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humāyūn’s tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favor, was made Amīr uл Unārā, and married Gulbadan Begum, H.’s sister. When Akbar marched against
Afterwards he received Audh as tughul. 'From want of occupation,' he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khan (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khan Zamán (No. 13). Together with Bahádúr Khan (No. 22), he occupied Khairábād (Audh), and attacked Mir Mu‘izzulmulk (No. 61). Bahádúr ultimately defeated the Imperialists; but Isk. had in the first fight been defeated and fled to the north of Audh.

When in the 12th year Khán Zamán and Bahádúr again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muhammad Quli Khan Barías (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khán Zamán and Bahádúr had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorakhpúr, which then belonged to Sulaimán, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Báyazíd, Sulaimán’s son, over Jbárkand to Orísá. After Sulaimán’s return from the conquest of Orísá, Isk.’s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaimán wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghán waited for a favorable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Mun’ím Khán, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sirkár of Lakhnau as tughul, and died there in the following year (980).

49. A‘caf Khán ‘Abdul Maje’d (of Harát), a descendant of Shaikh Abú Bakr i Táibádî.

His brother Vazir Khán has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaikh Zainuddín Abú Bakr i Táibádî2 was a saint (súhíb káníl) at the time of Timur. When Timur, in 782, set out for the conquest of Harát, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiásuddín, he sent, on his arrival at Táibád, a messenger to the Shaikh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. ‘What have I,’ replied the Shaikh, ‘to do with Timur?’ Timur, struck with this answer, went himself to the

Hemú, Khizr Khán was made Governor of the Panjáb and ordered to operate against Sikandar Sür, who during Humayûn’s lifetime had retreated to the Sawáliks. Leaving Háji Khán Sístáln in Láhor, Khizr Khán inived against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. Jám-i Sháh, just south of Láhor. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre; but Sikandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Láhor. Sikandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself had to move against him. Finding Akbar’s army too strong, Sikandar shut himself up in Mánkót. After a siege of six months, Sikandar bribed Shamsuddín Atgah (No. 16) and Pir Muhammad (No. 20), who prevailed upon Akbar to pardon him. Sikandar sent his son ‘Abdurrahmán with some elephants as peshkash, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihár as tughul (vide p. 319, l. 10 from below). Mánkót surrendered on the 27th Ramazán 964. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abulfazl has not entered Khizr Khán in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the Tábqát. Similarly Khwájah Mu‘ázzin and Mir Shah Abulma’áli are left out. For Kh.’s son vide No. 153.

1 On Sulaimán’s return from Orísá, he appointed Khán Jhán Jódí, his Amir ul Umar, Governor of Orísá. Qutlú Khán, who subsequently made himself king of Orísá, was then Governor of Púrî (Jagarnathan.) Bad. II, 174.

2 He died A. H. 791. His biography is given in Jám’s Náfshul Un. Táibád belongs to Jám i Khurásán.
Shaikh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghiás. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaikh, "but he would not listen, and God has now appointed you over him. However, I now advise you, too, to be just, and if you likewise do not listen, God will appoint another over you." Timur afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaikh Abú Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwájah 'Abdul Majid was a Grandee of Humáyún, whom he served as Diwán. On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjáb, to crush Bairám's rebellion, 'Abdul Majíd received the title of Aqaf Khán, regarding which vide the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Aqaf was appointed Governor of Dilli, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattú, a servant of 'Adil, made overtures to surrender Fort Chunár (Chunar), A., in concert with Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaşah-Manikpúr on the Ganges. About the same time, Gházi Khán Tántrú, an Afghan noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhat'h G'hórá, and stirred up the Zamindárs against Akbar. A., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rájah Ram Chandr, the ruler of Bhat'h, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rájah prepared for resistance. A. marched against the Rájah, defeated him, and executed Gházi Khán. The Rájah, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bándhú, but obtained Akbar's pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rájahs at Court. A. then left the Rájah in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (vide p. 241, l. 18) made him desirous of further warfare, and he planned the famous expedition against Gadha-Katangah, or Gondwánah, south of Bhat'h, which was then governed by Durgáwatí, the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bir Sáb, at the conquest of Chaurágaños (about 70 miles west of Jabalpúr), are wellknown. The immense spoils which A. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khán Zamán (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnún Khán Qášáb (No. 50) in Manikpúr, A. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khán Zamán, and handed over the remainder of the Gadha spoils.

1 Abulfazl, in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnáhm, says that 'Aláuddín-i-Khilíjí besieged Bándhú in vain.

2 Gadha (Gurh, Gurbh, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpur in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jabalpúr below Lat. 22, as on the Map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, Pl. LVII; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpur and Gadha, about Lat. 23° 30', as on the Map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Maiwa; but both are called on the maps Katangí. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gadha-Katangah. Abulfazl says, it had an extent of 150 kos by 80 kos, and there were in ancient times 80000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindús as very low.

The Rájahs of Gadha-Katangh are generally called the Gadha-Mándlà Rájahs. Mandlà lies S. E. of Jabalpúr, on the right side of the Narbaddah.

He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture, the imperial Mutːʿaddːs, whom A. before had handsomely bribed, reported from envy his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth. Hypocritical friends mentioned this to A.; and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gadha (Cafar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdː Qasim Khːn (No. 36) to Gadha. A. then left Central India 'with a sorrowful heart,' and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khːn Zamːn at Jaunpːur. But he soon saw that Khːn Zamːn only wanted his wealth and watched for a favorable moment to kill him. A. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khːn Zamːn had sent his brother Bahːdur (No. 22) against the Afghːns, and A. was to accompany him. Vazːr Khːn, whom Khːn Zamːn had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mānikpːur, which A. had appointed as place of rendez-vous. No sooner had A. escaped than Bahːdur followed him up, defeated his men, and took A. prisoner. Bahːdur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazːr Khːn fell over Bahːdur. Bahːdur made some one a sign to kill A., who sat fettered on an elephant, and A. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazːr in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Kārː, and asked Muzafːr Khːn (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muzafːr, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Paːjː, he took Vazːr with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. A. was ordered to join Majnːn Qaːshːl at Kārː-Mānikpːur. His bravery in the last struggle with Khːn Zamːn induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piːyːl as tuyːl, vice Haji Muhammad Sīstːn (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against Rːnː Udaː Singh. A. was sent in advance (mamgːld). In the middle of Rabː I, 975, Akbar left Aːr for Chːtor. The Rːnː had commissioned Jai Mall, who had formerly been in Mːrː, to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains. During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days, A. distinguished himself, and when, on the 25th Shaːbːn, 975, the fort fell A. was made Governor of Chːtor.

Neither the Madːsːr, nor the Tabːqːl, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āṣaf Khːn was bestowed upon another noble.²

Note on the Title of Āṣaf Khːn.

Āṣaf was the name of the Vazːr of Sulːmːn (Solomːn), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badːoun, to avoid confusion, numbers them Āṣaf Khːn I., II. and III. They are—

'Abdul Majːd, Āṣaf Khːn I., d. before 981. (No. 49).
Khːwːjah Mirzː Ghiːsdddːn 'Alː, Āṣaf Khːn II., d. 989. (No. 126).
Mːrzː Jaːr Beg, Āṣaf Khːn III., (No. 98).

² Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, 'Abdul Majːd Āṣaf Khːn officiated in 1013 for Mːn Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Fariduddːn i Bakhːr [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahːngːr.
The three A'qafs were Diwbns or Mir Bakshis. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will show:

Aghá Mullá Dawátdár.

1. Ghiásuddín 'Ali, Aqaf Khán II.
2. Mírzá Bád'uzzámán.
3. Mírzá Ahmad Beg.

Mírzá Núruddín. A daughter Mírzá Ja'far Beg, Aqaf Khán III.

Muntááz Mahall, (Sháhjáhání’s wife).

Jahángír conferred the title of ‘Aqaf Khán’ (IV.) on Abúl Hásán, elder brother of Núr Jahán, and father of Muntááz Mahall (or Táj Bibi, Sháhjáhání’s wife), whose mother was a daughter of Aqaf Khán II. During the reign of Sháhjáhání when titles containing the word Dauláh were revived, Aqaf Khán was changed to Aqafud-dauláh, and this title was conferred on Aqafuddaulah Jumlálatul Mulik Asadjang (Sháhjáhání-Aurangzeb), a relation of Aqaf Khán IV. Under Ahmad Sháh, lastly, we find Aqafuddaulah Amír ul Mamálik, whose name like that of his father, Nízám ul Mulik Áqaf-Jáh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. Majnu’n Kha’n i Qas’qash’l.

He was a grandee of Humáyún, and held Nárnaul as jégír. When Humáyún fled to Persia, Hájí Khán besieged Nárnaul, but allowed Majnu’n Khá’n to march away un molested, chiefly at the request of Rájáh Bihárí Mall, who, at that time, was with Hájí Khán (vide p. 329).

On Akbar’s accession, he was made Jégírdár of Mánikpúr, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khán Zamán (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar’s cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kálinjár. This fort was in the hands of Rájáh Ram Chand, ruler of Bhat’h, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it, for a heavy sum, from Bija Khán, the adopted son of Páhir Khá’n. When, during the siege, the Rájáh heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantambhórr, he surrendered Kálinjár to M. (29th Ofár, 977). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Múnim Khán (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorákhpúr. At the same time the Gujratí war had commenced, and as Bábá Khá’n Qáqshál had words with Sháh-báz Khá’n, (No. 80), the Mir Tozak, regarding certain

1 They had been in use among the Khalifahs and the Ghaznawís. Thus Yáj-awis ud-dauláh which title Sháhjáhání bestowed on Abúl Hásán Aqaf Khán IV., had also been the title of Mahmúd of Ghazní when prince. The kings of the Dak’hin occasionally conferred titles with Dauláh. This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Azad ud-dauláh on Mir Fathullah of Shíráz, who had come from the Dak’hin. The title Malik, so common among the Pat’háns, was never conferred by the Mughul (Chaghtáí) Kings of Delhi.

2 Titles with Jang, as Firúzjáng, Núr-ratjáng, &c., came into fashion with Jahángír.

3 Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbaks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnu’n Khá’n was certainly the best of them.

4 Bábá Khá’n Qáqshál also was a grandee of Akbar, but Abulfasl has left him out in this list. Like Majnu’n he distin-
arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Mun’im’s army that Bábá Khán, Jabári (Májnún’s son), Mírzá Muhammad, and other Qásháls, had killed Sháháb Khán, and joined the rebellion of the Mírzá in Gujrat; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Mun’im to imprison Májnún. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Mun’im, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but when M. soon after heard that Bábá Khán and Jabári had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujratí war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Mun’im who, in the meantime, had taken Gorákhpúr.

M. accompanied Mun’im on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dáuíd retired to Orísá, and Kálá Pahár, Suúmerán Manklí and Bábú Manklí had gone to G’hórág’hát, Mun’im sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Suumberland Manklí, the acknowledged ruler of G’hórág’hát, a great number of the principal Àfghán nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Suumberland Manklí to his son Jabári. He also parcelléd out the whole country among his clan. But Bábú Manklí and Kálá Pahár had taken refuge in Kúch Bihár, and when Mun’im was in Katak, they were joined by the sons of Jalálúddín Súr, and fell upon the Qásháls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tándah, and waited for Mun’im, who, on his return from Orísá, sent them with reinforcements to G’hórág’hát. The Qásháls re-occupied the district. Májnún died soon after at G’hórág’hát.

The ‘Ibáqdát says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabári² distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the Dáigh law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabári then assumed the title of Khán Jahán. When the Qásháls left Mà’cúm (p. 326), Jabári went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

properties himself in the war with Khán Zamán and the Mírzá. During Mun’im’s expedition to Bengal, the Qásháls received extensive jágirs in G’hórág’hát. Bábá Khán was looked upon as the head of the clan after Májnún’s death. He rebelled with Mà’cúm Khán i Kábúl, partly in consequence of Múzaffar Khán’s (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khán Khánán. He died in the same year in which Múzaffar died, of cancer in the face (khúrāh), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

² The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Púrī in S. Orísá. Vide below Third Book, Çúbahs of Bengál and Orísá. A minute description of his conquest is given in the Makhzán i Afghání, and by Stirling in his Account of Oríssá, Asiatic Researches, Vol. xv. But Stirling’s account, taken as they are from the Púrī Vynsvali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Púrī) differs considerably from the Akbarnámah. Kálá Pahár was killed by a gun shot in one of the fights between Mà’cúm and Qutlú of Orísá, and ’Azíz Kokah (vide p. 326), which, in 990, took place between Khálíg’wá (Colgong) and Gádhi (near Rajmahállí).

Bábú Manklí subsequently entered Akbar’s service (vide No. 202). European Historians generally spell his name Bábú Mangálí, as if it came from the Hindí mngál, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But mánkli is perhaps preferable. Two of Timur’s ancestors had the same name. The Turkish mánkli means خالدار, Khaldar, spotted.

³ The best MSS. of the Akbarnámah, Básáuní, and the Másír have بجایی. Stewart (p. 109) calls him Jebebubrúd (?).
Shuja'at Khan, Muqim i 'Arab.

He is the son of Tardi Beg's sister (No. 12). Humayün made Muqim a Khán. On the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mírzá 'Askari. When Humayün took Qandahár on his return, Muqim, like most old nobles, presented himself before the emperor with a sword hanging from his neck, and was for a short time confined. After his release, he remained with Mun'im Khán (No. 11) in Kábul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Mun'im to take Bairám's place.

In the 9th year, Muqim distinguished himself in the pursuit of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak (No. 14), 'the king of Mandú', and received the title of Shujá'at Khán, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious 'Abdullah.

In the beginning of the 16th year, Akbar honored him by being his guest for a day. In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Ahmadábád (p. 325). Once he slandered Mun'im, and Akbar sent him to the Khán Khánán to do with him what he liked; but Mun'im generously forgave him, and had him restored.

In the 22nd year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Málwah.

In 988, when troubles in Bihár and Bengal had broken out, Shuja'at Khán, at Akbar's order, left Sárangpúr for Fathpúr (Baddóní II, 284). At the first stage, 'Tważ Beg Barlás who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Hājí Shihib Khán leader, fell upon Shujá'at's tent, and killed his son Qawím Khán. Shujá'at himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sárangpúr. Though Sh. had expired before they reached the town, they did not spread the news of his death, and thus kept the greater part of the soldiers together, and joined Akbar in Sárangpúr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 284, Akbar once saved Shujá'at's life in the jungles.

From Baddóní (II, 284), we learn that Qawím Khán was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqím Khán (No. 386) is Shujá'at Khán's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qáím Khán was the son of Muqím Khán. Qáím's son, 'Abdurrahím, was under Jahángír a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khán, and was made, in the 5th year, Faujídár of Alwar. Qáím's daughter, Čáhíháh Bánú, was received (3rd year) by Jahángír in his harem, and went by the title of Pádísháh Mahál. She adopted Miyán Joh, son of the above 'Abdurrahím. Miyán Joh was killed by Mahábat Khán, when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahángír's person.

No. 62. Sha'h Buda'gh Khán, a descendant of Uymáq Kál of Samarqand.

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1 So the Makáiir and the Akbarnámah. Baddóní (II, 284) has Qáím Khán; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. Indica.

2 There were two tribes of the Qará Turks called عَمَّامَة or Uymáq.
The Turkish Buddagh means 'a branch of a tree.' He distinguished himself under Humâyûn, and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year, he accompanied Mîr Mu'izzul Mulk (No. 61) against Bahádur No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son, 'Abdul Ma'thab (No. 83), ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shibábuddín Ahmad (No. 26) against the Mírzâs in Mâlîwah, received Sârangpûr as tayîûl, fought under 'Azîz Kokah (No. 21) in the battle at Patan (18th Ramazân 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandú, where he died. The Tabaqât says, he had the title of Amîrul Umârû. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohini.

Inside Fort Mandû, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of Nikkâ'ulîh, regarding the inscriptions on which the Madâ'ir gives a few interesting particulars.

No. 53. Husain Khân (Tukriyah), sister's son of Mahdî Qâsim Khán (No. 36).

'He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign.' In his jihâds he was sans peur, and in his private life sans reproche; he surpassed all grandees by his faithfulness and attachment to his masters, but his contingent was never in order; he was always poor, though his servants in consequence of his liberality lived in affluence. He slept on the ground, because his Prophet had enjoyed no greater luxuries; and his motto in fight was 'death or victory;' and when people asked him, why he did not invert the order and say 'victory or death,' he would reply, 'O! I do long to be with the saints that have gone before.'

He was the patron of the Historian Badâoní, who served Husain as almoner to his estate (Shamsábád and Patiáli).

Husain Khán was not only sister's son, but also son-in-law to Mahdî Qâsim Khán (No. 36). He was in Bairâm's service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mánkot, Akbar made him Governor of Lábor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar, in Çafar 965, marched to Díhil, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjáb. During his incumbency, he shewed himself a zealous Sunnî. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindús as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. tukrá) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of Tukriyah, 'Patcher.'

Like Shâh Qulí Khán Mahram (No. 45), he stuck to Bairám to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhûjhar; but after Bairám had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdî Qâsim Khán, from dislike to Gaûha, went by way of the Dak'hin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwâs in Mâlîwah, when the rebellion of the Mírzâs broke out,
and in concert with Muqarrib Khán, the tuyildedr of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwás. But Muqarrib lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibráhím Husain Mírzá for an interview. Though urged to join the Mírzá, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khán Zamán, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jágír was transferred from Lákhnau, where he and Bábání had been for about a year, to Kánt o Golah. His exacting behaviour towards Hindús and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihárá, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hájípúr, he confiscated H.'s jágír; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jágír, and told him to get his contingent ready. His manía, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpúr in Kamáon, which was proverbially rich, and got wounded by a bullet in the shoulder. Akbar was almost convinced that he had gone into rebellion, and sent Çádíq Khán (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Gayh Múktesar, with the view of going to Mu'ím Khán, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bárba, and was taken to Fathpúr Sikrí, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

The Tabaqát says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnámah, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yusuf Khán, was a grandee of Jahángír. He served in the Dák’hin in the corps of ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21), who, in the 6th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parvíz, the Khán Khánán, and Mán Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khán Khánán (Tuzuk p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (vide pp. 327 and 333). Yusuf’s son, Izzat Khán, served under Sháhjáhán, (Pádsháhán i., 11, 121).

54. Múrúd Khán, son of Amír Khán Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Múrád Khán. In the 9th year, he served under ‘Azíz Khán (No. 49) in Gádhá Katangáh. In the 12th year, he got a jágír in Málwah, and fought under Shihábuddín Ahmad against the Mírzá. After the Mírzá had returned to Gujrát, M. got Ujjain as tuyúl.

In the 13th year, the Mírzá invaded Málwah from Khandesh, and Múrád Khán, together with Mír ‘Azízullah, the Diwán of Málwah, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Qulij Khán (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mírzá retreated to Mandú. Followed up by Qulij and Múrád, they retreated at last across the Narbaddah.

In the 17th year, the Mírzá broke out in Gujrát, and the jágírddrs of Málwah assembled under the command of M. ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21). Múrád held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramázán, 980).

Elliot (Index, p. 235, First Edition) has by mistake Lák’hanor (on the Rám-ganga) instead of Lák’hanu (in Audh), and he calls Husain Khán a Káshmírí. This must be an oversight.
In 982, he was attached to Mun’im’s expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathábád, Sirkár Boglí (S. E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellisore) in Orísá, after Dáúd had made peace with Mun’im.

When in 983, after Mun’im’s death, Dáúd fell upon Nazar Bahádúr, Akbar’s Governor of Bhadrak (Orísá), and treacherously killed him, Murád wisely retreated to Tándah.¹

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathábád, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murád at Fathábád, Qiyá Kháń in Orísá, Mirzá Najít at Sátgánw, were almost the only officers of Akbar’s Bengal corps, that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiyá was killed by Qatú (p. 343), and Murád died at Fathábád, immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988, before the veil of his loyalty was rent.

After his death, Múkand, the principal Zamíndár of Fathábád, invited Murád’s sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

Vide No. 369.

55. Ha’jí’ Muhammád Khán of Sístán.

He was in the service of Bairám, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bairám held Qandahár, rumours of treason reached Humáyún. The Emperor went from Kábul to Qandahár, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bairám innocent, he went back, taking Hájí Muhammád with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion.²

After the conquest of Hindústán, H. M., at Bairám’s request, was made a Kháń, and was rapidly promoted.

In the 1st year of Akbar’s reign, H. M. was ordered to accompany Khízir Khwájah (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Síkandar Súr. Tárdí Beg’s (No. 12) defeat by Hámí had a bad effect on the Emperor’s cause; and Múllá ‘Abdulláh Makhdíí umuljk who, though in Akbar’s service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Añghánás, represented to Síkandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sáwalliks. As related above, Khízir Khwájah moved against Síkandar, leaving H. M. in charge of Láhor. Being convinced of Makhdíí’s treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bairám fell out with Pir Muhammád (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bairám fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amírs to Díhilí with expressions of his humility and desire to be pardoned. But H. M. soon saw that all was lost. He did not receive permission to go back to Bairám. After Bairám had been pardoned (p. 318), H. M.

¹ As Mun’im left Thánahdárs in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dáúd must have been restricted to Kaṭák Proper. Mun’im’s invasion of Orísá was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar’s reign.

² Hájí Muhammad is the same to whom Erkine’s remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470, note.
and Muhammad Tarsun Khán (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijáz as far as Nágor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bárím charged H. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

H. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of Sih-hazdri. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chitor, he sent H. M. and Shíbahúddín Ahmad (No. 26) from Gágrán against the sons of Súltán Muhammammad Mírzá, who had fled from Sambhál and raised a revolt in Málwah. H. M. then received the Sírák of Mandú as jágír.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Mun‘ím Khán on his expedition to Bengál and Orysá, and got wounded in the battle of Takaróf (20th Zi Qa’dah, 982). He then accompanied the Xhhn Khhh to Gaur, where soon after Mun‘ím’s death he, too, died of malaria (983).

Note on the Battle of Takaróf, or Mughalmarí, in Orysá.

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals. It crushed the Afghanis, and decided the possession of Bengál and Upper Orysá. The MSS. of the Akbarnámah and the Madair have Tákáróf, and Takáróf. My copy of the Sawánhih has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnámah have Nákhróf. In Baddoni and the Ţabaqát the battle of Takaróf is called the battle of Tákáróf (vide p. 318), which may be Bajkoráh, Bakkoráh, Bakhkhor, or Bakhkhor. Stewart's account of Mun‘ím's Orysá expedition (Vth Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnámah and the Ţabaqát. He places the battle in the environs of Kaţák, which is impossible, and his "Bukhtore" is a blunder for buchhur, or ba chittud, 'in Chittúa,' the final alif having assumed the shape of a ru, and the that of خ. The Lucknow lithograph of the Akbarnámah, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has ba chitor, in Chitor!

The Akbarnámah, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mall moved from Barawán over Mádrá而出 (پنچیر), where he was subsequently joined by Mun‘ím. Dáuíd had taken up a strong position at Hárpir or Haripúr, "which lies intermediate (barzákhe) between Bengál and Orysá." The same phrase (barzákhe), in other passages of the Akbarnámah, is applied to Chittúa itself. Dáuíd's object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orysá, into which led but few other roads; "but Ilyás Khán Langáh shewed the victorious army an easier road," and Mun‘ím entered the country, and thus turned Dáuíd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Zi Qa’dah, 982, or A. D., 3rd March, 1676). After the battle Todar Mall leads the pursuit, and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrák. Not long after, he writes to Mun‘ím to come and join him, as Dáuíd had collected his troops near Kaţák, and the whole army

3 Mádrá out lies in Jahnábád, a Parganah of the Húglí district, between Barawán and Médnápir (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town vide my 'Places of Historical Interest in the Húglí District,' in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengál for 1870.
moves to Kāṭak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dāūd in the possession of Kāṭak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittá, which lies a little E. E. N. of Mednípúr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rájáh Todar Mál, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrák, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellásore), and probably north of it, as Ābulází would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Orísá lately published, I found on the road from Mednípúr to Jalesar the village of Mughulmárí (Mughulmárí, i. e., Mughul's Fight), and about seven miles southwards, half ways between Mughulmárí and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeká river, the village of Tookaroe.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmárí is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the تکارول, of the Akbarnámáh.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badaóní (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of three, four kos, i. e., about six miles, and thus the distance of Tookar of Mughulmárí is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name مُحِّرْم, by which the battle is called in the Tabaqát and Badaóní (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word chaór which occurs so often in the names of Parganahs in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badaóní (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196), and the Tabaqát, it is said that Todar Mall in his pursuit reached كاکال‌خاناتی (court), not Bhadrák.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orísá, at Gawr of malaria.

3. Haidar Khán, (No. 66).
4. Mírzá Qúlí Khán, his brother.
5. Ashraf Khán, (No. 74).
6. Muínuddin Ahmád, (No. 128).
7. La’il Khán, (No. 209).

56. Afzal Khán, Khwájah Sultán 'Alí i Turbatí.

Regarding Turbatí, vide No. 37. He was Mushrif (accountant) of Humárún’s Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of Mushrif’s Buyûtát (store accountant). In 957, when Mírzá Kámrán took Kábul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced

1 Another ‘Mughulmárí’ lies in the Bardwán district, between Bardwán and Jahánábád (Húgüf District) on the old high road from Bardwán over Madárán to Mednípúr.
2 The word ‘Alí has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.
him to pay large sums of money. On Humáyún's return to India, A. Kh. was made Mir Bakhsh, and got an 'alam. He was together with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dílái, when Humáyún died. In the battle with Hemú, he held a command in the centre (qol), and his detachment gave way during Hemú's charge. A. Kh., together with Pir Muhammad (No. 20) and Asáraf Khán (No. 74), fled from the battle-field, partly from hatred towards Tardi Beg—the old hatred of Khurrasání towards Uzbaks—, and retreated to Akbar and Bairám. As related above, Tardi Beg was executed by Bairaám for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Asáraf Khán were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 6th year, when Bairaám had lost his power, and were favorably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

'Nothing else is known of him.' Madsir.

57. Sháh Beg Khán, son of Ibráhím Beg Harik (?)

He is sometimes called Beg Khán (p. 313). He was an Arghún; hence his full name is Sháh Beg Khán Arghún. Under Jahángír he got the title of Khán Daurán.

He was in the service of Hámir Muhammad Hákim of Kábul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Pásáwar. When after the Prince's death, Mán Singh, in 993, crossed the Níláb (p. 340) for Kábul, Sháh Beg took M. M. Hákim's two sons, Káí Qádíd and Afrásiyáb, to Kábul, and received a manṣúrab. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yúsufzís, and got Khusháb as jágír. He then served under the Khán Khánán in Síndh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2500. In the 39th year Akkar sent him to Qandahár (p. 313), which Muzaffár Hussain had ceded. During the time of his Governorship, Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kákar (کاکر) tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3600.

In the 47th year, Gházní was placed in his charge (vide No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahángír, Husain Khán Sháhíli, the Persian Governor at Harát, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahár, which he hoped to starve out. To vex him, Sh. B. gave every night feasts on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies (Tuzuk, p. 33). One day, Husain Khán sent an ambassador into the Fort, and Sh. B., though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies. Not long after, Husain Sháh received a reprimand from Sháh 'Abbás for having besieged Qandahár 'without orders,' and Husain Khán, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahángír in 1016 (18th Cafer) visited Kábul, Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 5000, and received the title of Khán Daurán. He was also made Governor of Kábul (in addition to Qandahár), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghánistán. After having held this office till the end of 1027, he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kábul, horse-travelling and the

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1 So the Madsir. My MSS. of the Kín bár, which may be Harik, Har-

2 According to the Tuzuk (p. 53), Sh. B. then held the Parganah of Shor as jágír, regarding which vide Elliot's Index, first edition, p. 198.
drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country, paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (Tus., p. 257), and was appointed Governor of That'hah. He resigned, however, in the same year (Tus., p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargannah of Khushaab assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to That'hah, he called on Aqaf Khan to take leave, and Aqaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullá Muhammad of That'hah, who had been a friend of Aqaf. Sháhabeg had heard before that the Mullá's brothers, in consequence of Aqaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Aqaf, "Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (nakhido); but if not, I shall slay them." Aqaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahár, he conferred upon him an 'alam and a naggárāsh (p. 50); but on receiving the insignia, he said to Faríd (No. 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my mansab, and a jadqir, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kábul, he paraded before Jahángir his contingent of 1000 picked Mughul troopers, whose appearance and horses created much sensation.

He was much given to wine drinking. He drank, in fact, wine, cannabis, opium, and kúknár, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients Chdr Bughrá (p. 60, l. 13), which gave rise to his nickname Chdr Bughrá Khur.

His sons. 1. Mírzá Sháh Muhammad, Ghaznín Khán, a well educated man. Jahángir, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, 600 horse.

2. Ya'qub Beg, son-in-law to Milín & Ja'far #gar Khb (111) (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The Madsir says, he was a fatalist (azalparast), and died obscure.

3. Aasad Beg (Tus. p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The Madsir does not mention him.

The Tusuk, p. 34, mentions a Qásim Beg Khán, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Sháhabeg Khan Arghún must not be confounded with No. 148.

58. Kha'n 'A'lam Chalmah Beg,* son of Hamdam who was Mírzá Kámrán's foster brother.

Chalmah Beg was Humâyún's Safarčí, or table attendant. Mírzá Kámrán had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah.

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1 The text has qatrah, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kábul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.

* Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tusuk, (p. 266) makes him governor of Patnah—a confusion of Patnah and. بنت.

* For Chalmah, the MSS. of the Aín have, at this place, Halím. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The Madsir and good MSS. of the Akbarnámah have Chalmah. Turkish dictionaries give chalmah (حَلَم) in the meaning of wild goat's dung, and chalmah (حَلَم) in that of dastár, a turban.

In the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badkání Khan 'A'lam is wrongly called خان علم خان علم instead of خان علم.
Before he left, Humayun, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

\[
\text{The fold of the poor man's turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head.}
\]

Immediately afterwards he said the following verse extemporaneously—

\[
\text{Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty.}
\]

Humayun felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kamran's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg, though he knew that Humayun was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the 'gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude.' The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kamran and his companion.

After Kamran's death, Chalmah Beg returned to India, and was favorably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3000, bestowing upon him the title of Kham' Alam. He served under the emperor against the Mongols in Gujrat, and was present in the fight at Sarneal (p. 330, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Da'ud in Patna, Kham 'Alam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the Gandak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies. Akbar praised him much for his daring. In the same year he was attached to Mun'im's corps. In the battle of Takaroi (p. 375), he commanded the hardaiz (van). He charged the Afghans, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon pressed upon and gave way, when Mun'im sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gujar Khan, Da'ud's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black quilts (Yak tails) and skins of wild beasts attached to them. The horses of the Imperialists got frightened, nothing could make them stand, and their ranks were utterly broken. Kh. 'A.'s horse got a sword cut, and reared, throwing him on the ground. He sprang up, and mounted it again, but was immediately thrown over by an elephant, and killed by the Afghans who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Zil Qa'dah, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. 'A.' was a poet and wrote under the Takhalluc of Hamdami (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muzaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for مظفر, in my Text edition, p. 229, read المظفر.

59. Qa'asim Kha'nu, Mir Bahr Chamanarai (?) Khurásán. 1

1 I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title chaman-drâi | Khurásán, 'Ruler of Khurásán.' The Ma'asir, not knowing what to do with
He is the son of Mirzá Dost’s sister, who was an old servant of the Timúrids. When Mirzá Kamrán was, in 954, besieged in Kábul, Humáyún had occupied Mount Aqúbín, which lies opposite the Fort of Kábul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qásím Khán and his younger brother, Khwajájí Muhammad Husain (No. 241), threw themselves down from a turret between the Ahanín Darwázah and the Qásím Barlás bastion, and went over to Humáyún, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar’s accession, Q. Kh. was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Agrah, which he completed “after eight years at a cost of 7 krogs of tankahs, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jannnah river, E. of the town of Agrah, on the place of the old Fort, which had much decayed. The breadth of the walls is 30 yards, and the height from the foundation to the pinnacles 60 gaz. It is built of red sandstone, the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them. The foundation every where reaches water.”

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Agrah. In the beginning of Sháh-bán 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmír, ‘a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dihlí.’ Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmír, the passes are all so narrow, that a few old men might repel a large army. The then ruler of Kashmír was Ya’qúb Khán, son of Yúsuf Khán Chák. He had fortified a pass; but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Srinagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Ya’qúb left his fortified position, and allowed Q. to enter the country. No longer able to oppose the Imperialists, he withdrew to the mountains, and trusted to an active guerilla warfare; but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became ‘a servant of Akbar.’ The Kashmíris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country. Q. tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (vide No. 35). In the 34th year he was made Governor of Kábul. At that time a young man from Andaján (Faragh-náh) gave out that he was a son of Sháhrúkh. He met with some success in Badakhshán, but was defeated by the Túrán.

it, has left it out. Mír Bahr means ‘admiral.’ If chamanáráiíí Kh. be a genitive, the words mean, ‘Admiral of the ruler of Khurásán,’ which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled Mír Bar, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, &c.

The old Fort of Agrah was called Badalgar (Bad. I. 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Cír Háfr), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

The Fort Badalgar ناکلیارا ۳رناک, not ناکلیارا ۳رناک, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Agrah, cannot be the old Fort of Agrah, because Badáoni (I, 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwállár, not “one of the Forts dependent on Gwállár.”

For Udantgír, on the same page in Elliot, read Udatgír (وڈانگر). It was a Fort in the Sirkár of Mandlíár, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have Ootgír or Deogár.

* Called in the M.S.S. گل کئنی کئنی. The word kual, means ‘a mountain,’ or ‘a mountainpass.’

* In 1016 another false son of Mirzá Sháhrúkh (p. 313) created disturbances and asked Jahángír for assistance against the Túránis. The fate of Mirzá Sháhrúkh’s second son, Mirzá Husain, is involved in obscu-
Sháh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zábulí Hazárahs, and when Q.,
on one occasion, had repaired to Court, he entered Akbar's territory, giving out that
he was going to pay his respects to the Emperor. But Háshím Beg, Q.'s son, who
officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who
now threw himself on the Hazárahs. But Háshím Beg followed him, and took him a
prisoner to Kábul. Q., on his return from India, let him off, and even allowed him to
enter his service. The pretender in the meantime re-engaged his old men, and when
he had five hundred together, he waited for an opportunity to fall on Q. At this junc-
ture, Akbar ordered the pretender to repair to Court. Accompanied by his ruffians, he
entered at noon Q.'s sleeping apartments, when only a few females were present, and
murdered his benefactor (1002). Háshím Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pre-
tender and his men. In the mêlée, the murderer was killed.

For Qásím's brother vide No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Ba'qí Khán, (elder) brother of Adham Khán (No. 19).
His mother is the same Mähum Anagah, mentioned on p. 323. "From Badáoní
[II, 340] we learn that Báqí Khán died in the 30th year as Governor of Gátha-Kata-
gah." This is all the Madsir says of him.

His full name is Muhammad Báqí Khán Kokah. From Badáoní II. 81, we see
that Báqí Khán took part in the war against Iskandar Khán and Bahádúr Khán
(973-73), and fought under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khairábád, in
which Budágh Khán (No. 62) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Báqí
Khán, Mahdí Qásím Khán (No. 36), and Husain Khán Tukriyah (No. 63) had
personal grievances—their Uzbak hatred—against Mu'izzul-Mulk and Rájah Todor
Mall.

61. Mi'r Mu'izzul-Mulk i Músawi, of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Músawi Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to
'Alí Músá Rází, the 8th Imám of the Shi'áhs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different
mother is called Razáws.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpúr to punish Khán Zamán (No. 13),
who had despatched his brother Bahádúr and Iskandar Khán Uzbak (No. 48) to the
district of Sarwárd.1 Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (vide No. 60) under
Mu'izzulmulk. Bahádúr, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to nego-
tiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants.

1 Most MSS. have سرور. The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badhod, p. 78, has سرور
Sarddr; but again سورور, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got
its name from the Sarw River (آب سرور).
M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahádúr an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khán (No. 90) and Rájah Todar Mall to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahádúr, if he was satisfied of his good intentions. But here also the rancour of Khurásáníns towards Uzbaks decided matters, and Todar Mall only confirmed M. M. in his resolution. Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khán Zamán, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibáhir Khán (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahádúr near Kháirábád. Muhammad Yár, son of Iskandár Khán's brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandár who stood behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The Imperialists thinking that the battle was decided, commenced to plunder, when suddenly Bahádúr, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.'s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budánh Khán (No. 58) taken prisoner, but many soldiers went over to Bahádúr. Flushed with victory, he attacked the centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from dislike (vide No. 60). Todar Mall's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihár, M. M. got the Parganah of Arah (Arrah) as jagir.

In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihár under Mā'ūnī i Kábúl, tayyílder of Pánsa, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mir 'Alí Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaunpúr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khán Turkmán, jágírdár of Mánikpúr, to hasten to Jaunpúr, and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khán succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itáwah, however, the boat 'foundered,' and M. M. lost his life.


He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank. In the 22nd year, he presented Akbar, according to the Ṭubaqát, with a Maulúdnámah, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the handwriting of Qázá Ghíásuddín i Jámí, a man of learning, who had served under Humayún, and contained an account of the vision which Humáyún had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jáláluddín Muhammad Akbar. This Maulúdnámah Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mir 'Alí Akbar with a Parganah as isá'ám.

When his brother was sent to Bihár, M. 'A. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamáníyah, which "lies 6 kos from Gházípur" (vide p. 320).

1 Badáóní says Todar Mall's arrival was "náptá on Mu'izzul Mulk's fire." Throughout his work, Badáóní shews himself an admirer of Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádúr. With Mu'izz, a Shi'ah of the Shí'ahs, he has no patience. 'Mu'izz's ideas, he says, were 'I and nobody else;' he behaved as proud as Fir'áun and Sháddád; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say—"Ahl i Mashhad, bajuz Imám i shumá, La'natulláhi bar tamám i shumá," 'O people of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imám [Músá Bází], may God's curse rest upon all of you! And also, 'The surface of the earth rejoices in its inhabitants; how fortunate would it be, if a certain Mashhad vanished from the surface of the earth.'

9 Called in the Madaʻir نهایت (though it cannot be Nuddea in Bengal); in my copy of the Savadánah مسیرانه; but Nádínah in Sambhal appears to be meant.
and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpûr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. 'Azîz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihâr, to send M. 'A. A. fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor who imprisoned him for life.

63. Shari'f Kha'n, brother of Atgah Khân (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznîn. After Bairám's fall, he held a tuyûl in the Panjâb, and generally served with his elder brother Mir Muhammad Khân (No. 16).

On the transfer of the Atgah Khâ'il from the Panjâb, Sh. was appointed to the Sirkâr of Qannanj. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohinî, he sent Sh., together with Qâzî Khân i Bâdakhshî (No. 223), Mujâhid Khân, Subhân Qulî Turk, against the Rânâ. He afterwards distinguished himself in the conquest of Kânbhâlmîr. In the 25th year, he was made atâlî to Prince Murâd, and was in the same year sent to Mâlwah as Governor, Shuja'at Khân (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bûz Bahâdûr (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrât. In the 28th year, he served against Muzaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bâb罗qch, which was held for Muzaffar by Chirîkî and Naqîrâ, brother of Muzaffar's wife. The former having been killed, Naqîrâ escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharîf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihâbuddîn (No. 26) to the Dakhîn, to assist Mirzâ 'Azîz (No. 21).

In the 35th year, he went from Mâlwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznîn, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Shâh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

'Nothing else is known of him.' Madsîr.

His son, Bûz Bahâdûr (No. 188), held a jâdgîr in Gujrât, and was transferred to Mâlwah as related above. He served in the siege of Asîr, and in the Ahmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talîngâhs, but was released, when Abûl Fazîl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibrâhîm Khân i Shâiba'ni' (uncle of Khân Zamân, No. 13).

He served under Humâyûn. After the conquest of Hindûstân, Humâyûn sent him with Shâh Abûl Mâ'âlî to Lâhor, to oppose Sikandar Sûr, should he leave the Sawâlikh. After the fall of Mâńkot, he received the Parganah of Sarharpûr, near Jaunpûr, as jâdgîr, and remained with Khân Zamân. During Khân Zamân's first rebellion, Ibrâhîm Khân and Khân Zamân's mother repaired at Mu'îm Khân's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty, Ibrâhîm appearing, as was customary, with a shroud and a sword round his neck, which were only taken off when the Emperor's pardon had been obtained.

In the 12th year, however, Khân Zamân again rebelled, and Ibrâhîm went with Iâkandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrâhîm, at Mu'îm's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khân Khânân.

In the Tabâqât, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

* It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Bâdsoni II. 23, where Sarharpûr, which "lies 18 kos from Jaunpûr," is mentioned as the jâdgîr of 'Abd-urrahmân, Sikandar Sûr's son, who got it after the surrender of Mâńkot.
His son, Ismā'īl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelāh in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultān Husain Khān Jalālīr. Ismā'īl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khwājah Jalāluddīn Mahmu’d Buju’q, of Khurāsān.

The MSS. of the Aín have Muhammad, instead of Mahmu’d, which other histories have, and have besides a word after Muhammad which reads like خیپ and خیپ. This should be no doubt خیپ bujuq, the scripture defectiva of the Turkish خیپ, ‘having the nose cut,’ as given in the copy of the Maḏāʾir.

Jalāluddīn was in the service of M. 'Askārī. He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmsīr, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of Mīr Sāmān, which under the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humāyūn’s return from Persia, Jalāl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznīn, the tawīl of the Prince. His devotion to his master rendered him so confident of the Emperor’s protection, that he treated the grandees rudely, and incessantly annoyed them by satirical remarks. In fact, he had not a single friend.

Akbar on his accession made him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and appointed him to Ghaznīn. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Mun‘im Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznīn so disagreeable, that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznīn, when Mun‘im called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Mun‘im imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalāl’s sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Mun‘im’s men caught him and his son Jalāluddīn Mas‘ūd. Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Mun‘im.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Mun‘im’s character, and takes us more by surprise, as on all other occasions he shewed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

66. Haidar Muḥammad Khān, Akhtah Begī.

He was an old servant of Humāyūn, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when in the defeat near Balkh Humāyūn’s horse had been shot. On the march against Kāmrān who had left Kābul for Afghānistān, the imperialists came to the River Surkhāb, Haidar, with several other faithful Amīrs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyāh-āb, which flows near the Surkhāb, before the army could come up. Kāmrān suddenly attacked them by night; but Haidar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahār and to India, and was appointed to Bayānah (Bad. I., 463), which was held by Ghāzi Khān Sūr, father of Ibrāhīm Khān. After the siege had lasted some time, Haidar allowed Ghāzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghāzi. Humāyūn was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haidar do so again.

† He must not be confounded with p. 67, who ‘ate opium like cheese out of the Jālāluddīn Mas‘ūd mentioned Tuzuk, the hands of his mother.’
After Akbar’s accession, H. was with Tardí Beg (No. 12) in Dihl, and fought under Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kábul. At Mun‘ím’s request, he assisted Ghaní Khán (vide p. 318) in Kábul. But they could not agree, and H. was called to India. He accompanied Mun‘ím, in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kábul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, H. served with Khán i Kalán (No. 16) in Gujrát. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mírzá Qulí, attached to the Bengal army, under Mun‘ím. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (vide p. 376). A son of H. is mentioned below (No. 326.)

Mírzá Qulí, or Mírzá Qulí Khán, Haidar’s brother, distinguished himself under Hámíyún during the expedition to Badakhshán. When Kámrán, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Hámíyún, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, Dost Múhammad, saved him in time.

According to the Tábqád, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (umará i kúbdr), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the Akbarnámah. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abúl Fázi in this list.

67. I’timád Khán, of Gujrát.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

I’timád Khán was originally a Hindú servant of Sultán Mahmúd, king of Gujrát. He was ‘trusted’ (I’timád) by his master, who had allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women. It is said that, from gratitude, he used to eat camphor, and thus rendered himself impotent. He rose in the king’s favor, and was at last made an Amir. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhán, who besides killed twelve nobles. I’timád next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhán. Sultán Mahmúd having died without issue, I’t. raised Razúl Mulk, under the title of Ahmad Sháh, to the throne. Rázú was a son of Sultán Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadábád; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in I’t.’s hands. Five years later, the young king left Ahmadábád, and fled to Sayyid Mubárík of Buhkárâ,’ a principal courtier; but I’t. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sultán Ahmad then thought it better to return to I’t., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and I’t. at last felt so insecure, that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. I’t. now raised a child of the name of Nat’hú (ناثر) to the throne, “who did not belong to the line of kings”; but on introducing him to the grandees, I’t. swore upon the Qurán, that Nat’hú was a son of Sultán Mahmúd: his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sultán Mahmúd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amir

<td>Regarding this distinguished Gujrátí noble, vide the biography of his grandson, | S. Hámíd, (No. 78).

* Some MSS. read Nahtú.
had to believe the story, and Nat'hú was raised to the throne under the title of Sultán Muzáffar.

This is the origin of Sultán Muzáffar, who subsequently caused Akbar's generals so much trouble (vide pp. 326, 334, 335).

It. was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amírs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was, that incessant feuds broke out among them. It. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khán, son of Itímádúl Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sultán Muzáffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mírzás, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, It. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sultán, and went to Dúngarpúr. Two nobles, Alí Khán and Jhújhrú Khán, took Sultán Muzáffar to him, went to Chingiz in Ahmadábád, and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mírzás seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahrunch and Súrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sultán Muzáffar fled one day to Sher Khán Fúládí and his party, and It. retaliated by informing Sher Khán that Nat’hú was no prince at all. But Sher Khán's party attributed this to It.'s malice, and besieged him in Ahmadábád. It. then fled to the Mírzás, and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrát.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khán's party had broken up. The Mírzás still held Bahrunch; and Sultán Muzáffar, who had left Sher Khán, fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (vide No. 362). Itímád and other Gujráti nobles had in the meantime proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques and struck coins in his name. They now waited on the Emperor. Baróda, Champánúr, and Súrat were given to It. as tughúl; the other Amírs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mírzás. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Ikhtiyárúl-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took It.'s and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. It. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Sháh-báź Khán (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, It. was released, and charged with the superintendence of the Imperial jewels and gold vessels. In the 22nd year, he was permitted to join the party who under Mír Abú Turáb (vide p. 198) went to Makkah. On his return, he received Patan as jásír.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shíhábuddín Ahmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gujrát, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered It.'s former inability to alyay the factions in Gujrát. No sooner had Shíháb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. It. did nothing, alleging that Shíháb was responsible for his men; but as Sultán Muzáffar had been successful in Káţ’húfár, It. left Ahmadábád, and went to Shíháb, who on his way to Court had reached Kárí, 20 kos from Ahmadábád. Muzáffar used the opportunity and took Ahmadábád, Shíháb's men joining his standard.

Shíháb and It. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrát, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly in a party of Gujrátí who had left Muzáffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. It. paid them well, and
sent them under the command of his son, Sher Khan, against Sher Khan Fuladi, who was repulsed. In the meantime M. 'Abdurrahim (No. 29) arrived. Leaving I'timiad died at Patan, he marched with Shihab against Muzaffar.

I'timiad died at Patan in 995. The Tabaqat puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

In Abulfazl's opinion, Gujratis are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and I'timiad was the very type of a Gujrat.

No. 68. Pa'yanadah Kha'n, Mughul, son of Haji Muhammad Khan Koki's brother.

Haji Muhammad and Shiah Muhammad, his brother, had been killed by Humayun for treason on his return from Persia. Haji Muhammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Pa'yanadah, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Mun'im from Kabul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khan (No. 19) to Malwa. In the 19th year, he accompanied Mun'im to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwan Dasa against Ranah Partab. In the Gujrat war, he commanded M. 'Abdurrahim's (No. 29) Aurdwal.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghoraghat as jagir, whither he went. This is all the Madsir says regarding Pa'yanadah.

His full name was Muhammad Pa'yanadah. He had a son Wali Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the Tuzuk, p. 144, we see that Pa'yanadah died in 1024 A. H. Jahangir, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. Tuz., p. 68.

No. 69. Jagannath, son of Rajah Bihari Mall (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafuddin Husain (No. 17; vide p. 329). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Man Singh. In the 21st year, when Ranah Partab of Maiwir opposed the Imperialists, Jagannath during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Ram Dasa, son of Jai Mall. In the 23rd year, he received a jagir in the Panjab, and was, in the 26th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mirza Muhammad Hakim from invading the Panjab. In the 29th year, he again served against the Ranah. Later he accompanied Mirza Yusuf Khan (No. 38) to Kashmir. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murad in Kábul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Malwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakhin, he left Murad without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dakhin, he met the emperor at Rantambhur, his jagir, and was then again sent to the Dakhin.

In the 1st year of Jahangir, he served under Prince Parviz against the Ranah, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusrau had been captured, called Parviz to Court (Tuzuk, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 359) had raised at Nagor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3000 horse.

Ran Chand, his son. He was under Jahangir a Commander of Two Thousand, 1500 horse.

1 The Tuzuk, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. Vide also Pádieháchnámah, 1., 6., 318.
Rájáh Manrác, a son of Rám Chand. He accompanied Prince Sháhjáhán on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Sháhjáhán. He had a son Gopál Sing'áh.

70. Makhšús Khán, (younger) brother of Sa'íd Khán (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multán. In the 23rd year, he served under Sháhjáhán Khán (No. 80) against Gajpatí, and three years later, he accompanied Prince Murád to Kábul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muhammad Hakím.

Subsequently, Makheqúq served under Prince Salím. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahángír’s reign. The author of the Madsir has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Mákqiíd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahángír would not give him a mantáb.

71. The author of the A'ín, Abulfazl, son of Shaik Mubarak of Nágor. Abulfazl’s biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismá-il Khán Duldai.

Duldai, or Dúldai, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlás clan (vide p. 341, note).

The Madsir calls him Ismá’il Qulí Beg Dúldai. A similar difference was observed in the name of Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24), and we may conclude that Beg, at least in India, was considered a lower title than Khán, just as Beglar Begí was considered inferior to Khán Khánán.

Ismá’il Qulí was a grandee of Bábár and Humáyún, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humáyún besieged Qandahár, and the Grandees one after the other left M. ’Askari, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahár, Governor of Dávar. When Kábul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwájah (vide p. 365, note 2) attacked Sher ’Áli, an officer of Mírzá Kámrán, who at the prince’s order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (gállik or wiláyat) on its way to Chárikán; but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ’Áli could not reach Kábul, and marched towards Ghaznín, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humáyún. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qárrách Khán, and followed Mírzá Kámrán to Badakhshán. Humáyún followed them up and caught them together with Kámrán, Ism. among them. Ism. was, however, pardoned at Mun’ím’s request.

Ism. accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Díhlí, together with Sháh Abúl Ma’állí to Láhor.

“Nothing else is known of him.” Madsir.

1 So the Madsir. Our maps have Charíkar (Lat. 35°, Long. 69), which lies north of Kábul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istállíf (إسيلة) or Isatiíf lies half way between Kábul and Charíkar.
73. Mi'r Babus (?), the I'ghur.

The Ighurs are a well known Chaghtáí tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different lectio; vide my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The Ma'dair has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Tabaqát.

74. Ashraf Khán Mi'r Munshi', Muhammad Acghar of Sabzwár (?).

He was a Husaini Sayyid of Mashhad (Ma'dair, Mir-dt u'l'Alam). The author of the Tabaqát says, he belonged to the 'Arabsháhi Sayyids; 'but people rarely make such fine distinctions.' Abulfazl says, he was of Sabzwár; but in the opinion of the Ma'dair, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khán was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the Ta'liq and Nasta'liq characters (p. 101, 1. 14). He also understood jáfar, or witchcraft.

Ashraf was in Humáyún's service, and had received from him the poet and title of Mír Munshi. After the conquest of Hindustán, he was made Mír 'Ars and Mír Mád. At Akbar's accession, he was in Díllí and took part in the battle with Hemú (p. 385, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bairám, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Máchhíwár on his way to the Siwáliks where Bairám was. He was well received and got a mançab. In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Málív, he bestowed upon him the title of Ashraf Khán.

In the 19th year, he went with Mú'n'im to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaró, and died in the twentieth year (983) at Gaur (vide p. 376).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mír Abul Muzaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf's grandsons, Hussaini and Burhání, held inferior commands under Sháhjahnán.

75. Sayyid Mahmúd of Barha, [Kündliwá].

'Sayyid Mahmúd was the first of the Bárha Sayyids that held office under the Timúrides.' He was with Sikandar Súr (Baddóní II, 17) in Mánkót, but seeing that the cause of the Afgánis was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bairám, and served in the first year under 'Alí Quli Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Háji Khán in Ajmír (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Sháh Qulí Mahram (No. 46) Fort Jaitáran, and served in the same year under Adham Kókah against the Bhadauriyás of Hatkánt'h (vide p. 323, last line).

After Bairám's fall, Sayyid Mahmúd got a jágir near Díllí. In the 7th year, he brought Mú'n'im Khán to Court (vide p. 318). In the 17th year, he served under the Khán i Kálán (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrát, was present in the battle of Sarnál, and followed up Mírzá Ibrahim Husain. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bárha, and Sayyid Muhammad of Amrohah (No. 140) against Rájáh Madhukar, who had

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1 The Mi'r-dt says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the Mi'r-dt.

2 The best MSS. have ṣīlaṣ. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmír over Páli to Jálíor.
invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwálíár. S. Mahmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Mahmúd was a man of rustic habits, and great personal courage and generosity. Akbar’s court admired his valour and chuckled at his boorishness and unadorned language; but he stood in high favor with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar, he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his “I” occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amirs. “You have gained the victory,” interrupted Aqaf Khán, in order to give him a gentle hint, “because His Majesty’s good fortune (iqbál i pàdisháhí) accompanied you.” Mistaking the word ‘Iqbal’ for the name of a courtier, “Why do you tell an untruth?” replied Mahmúd, “Iqbal i Pàdisháhí did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers: we licked them with our sabres.” The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favors.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amirs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahángir (Tuzuk, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bárha family to be Sayyids. Once Mahmúd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bárha traced their descent. Accidentally a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Mahmúd stood. Jumping into it, he exclaimed, “If I am a Sayyid, the fire will not hurt me; if I am no Sayyid, I shall get burnt.” He stood for nearly an hour in the fire, and only left it at the earnest request of the bystanders. “His velvet-sippers shewed, indeed, no trace of being singed.”

For Sayyid Mahmúd’s brother and sons, vide Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

Note on the Sayyids of Bárha (Sádát i Bárha).

In MSS. we find the spelling باره bárha, and بار bárah. The lexicographist Bahár i ’Ajam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled Jawdhir ul Hurúf, says that the names of Indian towns ending in a form adjectives in بار bár, Tuttah or تحدى Thaṭha, forms an adjective راون bárha; but of بار bár, no adjective is formed, and you say sádát i bárha, instead of sádát i bárhá.

The name Bárha has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral bárak, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahángir; for both the Tabaqát and the Tuzuk derive the name from 12 villages in the Duáb (Muzafírnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrám, the Bárha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abul Farah of Wásiṭ; but their nasabdnáhah, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahángir, in the above quoted passage from the Tuzuk, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bárha—but nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed

1 “From him are descended the most renowned Musalmán families in Northern India, the Barha and Belgram Syuds, and in Khryábad, Futtehpúr Husrá, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found.” C. A. Elliot, The Chronicles of Onao, Allahabad, 1882, p. 93.
the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors, as Sayyid Khán Jahán (Sayyid Abul Muzaffár), and several others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (harda'ad); they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every emperor from the times of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name. They delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindústánis (vide p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amroh, of Mánikpur, the Khánzádahs of Mewá, and even families of royal blood as the Çafawís.

The Sayyids of Bárha are divided into four branches, whose names are—1. Tíhanpírî; 2. Chatbánwírî, or Cháttraurí; 3. Kündliwdít; 4. Jagnéri. The chief town of the first branch was Jánasath; of the second, Sambalbahsí; of the third, Majhárah; of the fourth Bídáuli on the Jamnah. Of these four lines Muhammadán Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz., the Kündliwdít, to which Sayyid Mahmúd (No. 76) belonged; and the Tíhanpírî, of which Sayyid Khán Jahán was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Bárha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Súrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Mahmúd in Akbar’s camp (p. 389) is recorded by all Historians as an event of importance. He and other Sayyids were, moreover, at once appointed to high manqábs. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humánbún; but this is at variance with Abulfází’s statement that Sayyid Mahmúd was the first that served under a Timúrid.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muhammad, Sháh (1131 to 1161), who deposed the brothers Sayyid ‘Abdullah Khán and Sayyid Husain ‘Ali Khán, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Mahmúd under Akbar, and the above two brothers, who made four Timúrides emperors, dethroned and killed two, and blinded and imprisoned three!  

The Sayyids of Bárha are even now-a-days numerous and ‘form the characteristic element in the population of the Muzaffarnagar district’ (Leeds’ Report).

Abulfází mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, viz.—

2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother, (No. 91). 7. Sayyid Jbajhú (No. 221).
5. Sayyid Rágú (No. 165).

2 They made Farrukh Siyar, Ráfutuddaraját, Ráfúuddaúlah, and Muhammad Sháh, emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahánrá Sháh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes ‘Azz-udún, ‘Ali Tabár, and Humánbún Bákht.
The Akbarnámah mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamáluddín, a grandson of S. Mahmúd (vide under 91); S. Sálím; S. Fáth Kháñ, (Bad. II., 180); &c.

The following trees are compiled from the Tuzuk, Pádischákhúmah, and Mádisir.

(a.) Sayyid Mahmúd of Bára, Kúndlákwál—Sayyid Ahmad, his brother.

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Qásím. \\
&2. S. Háshim. \\
&3. S. 'Álî Aqghár. \\
&4. Sayyid Jahángír. \\
&(Pád. I., 439.)
\end{align*}
\]

(No. 105.) (No. 143.) (Pád. I., 1025.)

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Adam, \\
&2. S. Súlaimán, \\
&Tuz. 80. \\
&(Pád. II., 735.) \\
&1. S. Súltán, Çálabát Khán, alias Ikhti-sáq Kháñ. \\
&2. S. Múzaffár, Himmat Kháñ, Pád. II., 735. \\
&3. S. Quṭb. Pád. II., 746. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(b.) Sayyid Dílûr Kháñ (‘Abdul Wáhháb), d. 1042.

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Êsáh, Pád. I., b., 323. \\
&2. S. Khálílúlláh, Pád. I., b., 323.
\end{align*}
\]

(c.) Sayyid Hízâb Kháñ, d. 1047.—Sayyid 'Álam, his brother.

Perished with Prince Shujá', in Rakháng (Arracán).

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Mánqúr. \\
&2. S. Sher Zamán, \\
&3. S. Munáswwar, Láshkar Kháñ. \\
&1. S. 'Álî. Pád. II., 748. \\
&(title, S. Múzaffár Kháñ.) \\
&1. S. Wájíhuddín Kháñ. \\
&2. S. Fírúz, Ikhti-sáq Kháñ, d. 1077.
\end{align*}
\]

The Pádischákhúmah (I., b., 312, 319; II., p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 762) mentions also S. Mák-hán, d. 9th year of Sháhjáhán; S. Síkhan; S. 'Abdulláh; S. Muhammád, son of S. Afzál; S. Khádím; S. Sálár; S. Shíháb.

(e.) Sayyid Qásím, Sháhámat Kháñ [Chátraürf]—a brother

( was alive in the 24th year of Aurángzúb).

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Núcrát Yár Kháñ \\
&(under Muhammad Sháh.)
\end{align*}
\]

(f.) Sayyid Husain Kháñ, d. 1120.

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Ābú Sa’d Kháñ. \\
&2. Ghaírát Kháñ. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(g.) Sayyid 'Abdulláh Kháñ, [Tíhanpúríf].

\[
\begin{align*}
&1. S. Hasan 'Álî Kháñ; title, Quṭbúl- \\
&mulk S. 'Abdulláh Kháñ. \\
&2. Amírul Mámálik S. Husain 'Álî Kháñ. \\
&(killed by Muhammad Sháh.) \\
&3. S. Saífúddín Husain 'Álî Kháñ. \\
&4. S. Najmúddín 'Ál Kháñ.
\end{align*}
\]
For the following notes, I am indebted to R. J. Leeds, Esq., C. S., Mirzapore, who kindly sent me two Urdu MSS. containing a short family history of the Sadat i Bárka, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves. As Mr. Leeds has submitted together with his Report 'a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids,' the following extracts from the Urdu MSS. will suffice.

The date of the arrival in India of the above-mentioned Abul Farah from Wásiت is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Iltitmish (Altamsh), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulâgâ's invasion of Baghdad and the overthrow of the empire of the Khalifahs; while the sons of Abul Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihâbuddin Ghori—two palpable anachronisms.

Abul Farah is said to have arrived in India with his twelve sons, of whom four remained in India on his return to his country. These four brothers are the ancestors of the four branches of the Sayyids. Their names are—

1. Sayyid Dáuíd, who settled in the mauza' of Tihanpir.
2. Sayyid Abuláfil, who settled in the gaphah of Chhatbanúrâ (چہت بنوری - Chhattanur).
3. Sayyid Abulafiai, who settled in the mauza' of Kündlî.
4. Sayyid Najmuddin Husain, who settled in the mauza' of Jhujar.

These four places are said to lie near Pati ál in the Panjáb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of Chhatbanúrâ, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also Chhâtrauni, or چھتتراعی, and Jangri, instead of Jhujar, although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Pati ál, the four brothers went to the Duáb between the Ganges and Jamnáb, from where a branch was established at Bigrám in Audh.

The etymology of bárka is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from báhir, outside, because the Sayyids encamped outside the imperial camp; some from bdráh ímám, the twelve Imáms of the Shi'a, as the Sayyids were Shi'ahs; some derive it from twelve (bdráh) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Taqí Gil Anúspeshahr, is said to contain a bárka of Páthán, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Páthán family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic abrár, pious.

The descendants of S. Dáuíd settled at Dháshír, and form the Tíhanpúrí branch, those of S. Abuláfil at Sambalhâr, and form the Chhatbanúrí or Chhâtrauni branch; those of S. Abulafai went to Majhâra, and are the Kündlíwâls; and those of S. Najmuddin occupied Bidauíf, and form the Jhujârî, or Jangri, branch.

A. The Tíhanpúrí.

The eighth descendant of S. Dáuíd was Sán Qir (؟) (خان قیر). He had four sons—

1 The word قیر occurs also in the lists of Pathán nobles in the Tárikh i Firuzshâhí. The title of قیر or qurbeci, the officer in charge of the qîr (p. 110). But the name Qir is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him خوان قیر or خوان قیر, Khuva Dîr or Khuva Qir (؟).
1. Sayyid 'Umar Shohid, who settled in Jansath, a village then inhabited by Jats and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 302. (g).

The occurrence of the name 'Umar shews that he, at any rate, was no Shi'ah.

2. Sayyid Chaman, who settled at Chatorah, in the Parganah of Joli-Jansath. To his descendants belongs S. Jalal, who during the reign of Shabjahbi his son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad 'Ali and 'Ali Aqghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatorah and Jalalpur respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843-44 the bricks of the ruined family dwellings in Chatorah for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatorah are ascribed to S. Muhammad Calah Khan, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. Sayyid Hund. He settled at Bihari, Muzaffarnagar. He had six sons—

I. Sayyid Quth, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilaaspur in the Muzaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Khethri Sayyids.

II. S. Sultan, whose descendants hold Sirdarul.

III. S. Yusuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihari and Dhalnah (one MS. reads Dubalnah).

IV. and V. S. Jum and S. Man, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naqruddin. To his descendants belongs S. Khán Jahan i Sháhjahan, p. 392 (d). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, S. Manpur built Manzurpur, and his descendant hold nowadays Manzurpur and Khatauli; his second son Muzaffar Khán [Sher Zamán] built Muzaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. Sayyid Ahmad. He settled at Koral in Joli-Jansath, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tátar Khán, and Diwán Yár Muhammad Khán as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Aurangzib.

B. The Chhatbandri, or Chhatrauri, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abulfazl is called S. Hasan Fakhruddin who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalpara, the rajas of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhah, is said to have had four sons—

I. Sayyid 'Ali.

II. Sayyid Ahmad, a descendant of whom, S. Ranaub 'Ali Khán, served under Muhammad Sháh.

III. S. Tajuddin, whose son, S. 'Umar, settled at Kakrauli.

IV. S. Sáldar (perhaps the same on p. 392, 1. 11 from below), who had two sons S. Haidar Khán, and S. Muhammad Khán. The descendants of the former settled at Miránpur, which was founded by Nawáb S. Shahámat Khán, evidently the same as on p. 392, (l. 10). S. Muhammad Khán settled at Khatora (“a village so called, be-

1 The Pádissháhímdah, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalal and S. Shama. A S. Jalal is mentioned Tuz., p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwád (vide No. 99).
cause it was at first inhabited by Káitha³). Among his descendants are S. Nuqrat Yár Khán, (p. 392), and Ruknuddaulah.

C. The Kúndliwalis.

S. Abul Fazáil settled at Majhara, which is said to have been so called, because the site was formerly a jungle of műnj grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are mafqûd-ul-khâbar, i. e., it is not known what became of them. The Kúndliwalis which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhara being altogether deplorable.

The Kúndliwalis are now scattered over Majhara, Hâshimpûr, Tang, Tanderah, &c.

D. The Jângars.

The son of S. Najmuddin, S. Qamaruddin, settled at Bihauli. A descendant of his, S. Fakhruddin left Bihauli and settled at Bâri in Joli-Jânsath, and had also zamindâris in Chandaurî Chandaurah, Tulaspûr, and K'hari. Now-a-days many of this branch are in Bihauli, Ilâqah Pânipat, and Dihlt.

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bârha still exist are—Mirânpûr, K'hatauli, Murzafarnagar, Joli, Tâs-ha, Bak'herah, Majhara, Chataurah, Sambalhara, Tang, Bilâspûr, Mornah, Sûrdâsh, Kîlâdah, Jânsath.

After the overthrow of the Tihanpurí brothers [p. 392, (g.)], many emigrated. Sayyids of Bârha exist also in Lak'hnau, Bareli, 'Apwlah, in Audh; also in Naginah, Mainan, and Chandpur in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Joli Sayyids is said to exist in Pûrniah (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint 'Abdullah Kirmáu of Bîrbhúm claim likewise to be related to the Bârha Sayyids.

During the reign of Aurangzib, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunnî tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sâdât i Bârha under Muhammad Shâh (vide Elphinstone, 4th edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhâsí (بهسی), which lies on the K'hatauli road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors during their palmy days had collected.

³ As this place is said to have been founded by Hizâbr Khán [p. 392, (c.)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kúndliwâl. His brother, S. 'Alam perished with Prince Shujâ' in Arracan; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, ten were Bârha Sayyids, the remaining twelve being Muqulids.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urdû MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sâdât i Bârha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India,—now so accessible—and completed from inscriptions and sanads and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kúndliwalis, who are the very opposite of mafqûd-ul-khâbar.
76. 'Abdullah Khan Mughul.

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the Maâsir or the Tabaqât. He has been mentioned above, p. 309, l. 21. Akbar's marriage with his daughter displeased Bairám, because 'Abdullah's sister was married to Kámrán, of whose party Bairám believed him to be. When Bairám, during his rebellion (p. 317), marched from Dîlpâyâr to Jálîndhar, he passed over Thîrárah, where 'Abdullah defeated a party of his friends under Wâli Beg (p. 329, No. 24).

'Abdullah Khan Mughul must not be confounded with 'Abdullah Khán Ţûbâk (No. 14).

77. Shaikh Muhammad i Bukhârî.

He was a distinguished Hindústání Sayyid, and maternal uncle (tughâdi) to Shaikh Farîd i Bukhârî (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fâ:tú Kháçah Khâl Afgán handed over the Fort of Chanâr to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaikh Muhammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a tâyûl in Ajmîr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaikh Mu'nî i Chishfâ's tomb, as the khâdíms were generally at feud about the encomiums and distribution of vows presented by pilgrims. Nor had the efficacy of their prayers been proved, though they claimed to possess sufficient influence with God to promise offspring to the barren and childless.

In the 17th year, Shaikh M. was attached to the corps under Mîrzâ 'Azîz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmadâbâd. After the Emperor's victory at Sarnâl, Ibrâhîm Mîrzâ joined Husain Mîrzâ, Shâh Mîrzâ, and 'Âqil Mîrzâ, at Patan (Gujrât); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Agrâh. The other three Mîrzâs remained in Patan, and entered into a league with the Fûlîdî party (vide No. 67). Mîrzâ 'Azîz had been re-inforced by the Mîlahî contingent under Qutbuddîn (No. 28), Shâh Budâghh (No. 52), and Matlûb Khán (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaikh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqâh to Sûrat. Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kokâh left Sayyid Hâmîd (No. 78) in Ahmadâbâd, and moved against the Mîrzâs in Patan. The Mîrzâs and Sher Khán Fûlîdî, however, wished to delay the fight, as their re-inforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khán sent proposals of peace through Shaikh M. to M. 'Azîz. Shâh Budâghh advised M. 'Azîz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and 'Azîz drew up his army. He himself, Shâh Budâghh, Mu'âmunîn i Farânhûdî (No. 128), Ma'qûm Khán and his son, and Matlûb Khán (No. 83) stood in the centre (gol); Qutbuddîn (No. 28), and Jamâluddîn Injû (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaikh Muhammad, Murâd Khán (No. 54), Shâh Muhammad (No. 95), Shâh Fakhruddîn (No. 88), Mu'azzâf Mughul, Pâyûdâh (No. 68), Hájî Khán Afgán, and the son of Khawâq Khán, on the left wing; Dastâm Khân (No. 79), Naurang Khán (vide p. 334), Muhammad Quli Toqûbâî (No. 129), and Mîhr 'Alî Sîlûd (No. 130), led the van (karâwâl); Bâz Bahâûdûr (No. 188) occupied the Altîmâsh (between the van and the commander); and Mîrzâ Mu'ûnîn and Chirgîs Khân formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khán Fûlîdî and Junâîd âî Karârânî; the right wing by the three Mîrzâs; the left wing by Muhammad Khân (Sher Khán's eldest son) and Sâ dåd Khân; and their van was led by Bâd Khân, younger son of Sher Khán. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of
Patan, 18th Ramazán, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mírzás. Murád Khán (No. 54) preferred to look on. Sháh Muhammad (No. 96) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadábád. Shaikh Muhammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahá-uddin, and Sayyid Jafar, brother of Shaikh Farid (No. 99). The Mírzás also fell upon Sháh Fakhruddin and repulsed him. Qutbuddin even was hard pressed, when M. 'Ázíz by a timely attack with his centre put the enemies to flight. As usual, the soldiers of the enemies had too early commenced to plunder.

Sher Khán fled to Júnágañ, and the Mírzás to the Dakhín.

78. Sayyid Hámid i Bukhári.

Sayyid Hámid was the son of S. Mírán, son of S. Mubárik. Sayyid Mubárik was a Gujrátí Courtier (vide p. 386, note) who, it is said, arrived from Bukhár with but a horse. One day he was attacked by a mast elephant, when he discharged an arrow that entered the forehead of the animal so deep, that only the notch of the arrow was visible. From this event, the people of Gujrát swore by S. Mubárik's arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When I'timád Khán (No. 67) raised Nat'bú to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, S. Mubárik got several Mahalls of the Patan, Dholqah, and Dandoqah (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholqah and Dandoqah were given to his son, Sayyid Mírán, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hámid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrát, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Hámid went over to him, and was favorably received. During the war of Mírzá 'Ázíz Kokáh with the Mírzás (vide No. 77), S. H. was put in charge of Ahmadábád. In the 18th year, Dholqah and Dandoqah were again given him as tayúl. Subsequently, he served under Qubuddin in Kambháit.

In the 22nd year, he was appointed to Multán, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yusuf Khán i Razawi (No. 35), against the Balús. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammad Hakím invaded Láhor, S. H. with the other tayúldárs of the Panjáb assembled and joined the army of Prince Murád, S. H. commanding the left wing. He also served under Akbar in Kábul. On the Emperor's return, he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his jágír.

In the 30th year, he served under Mán Singh in Kábul. On his arrival at Pasháwar, his jágír, S. H. sent most of his men to Hindústán, and lived securely in Bigrám (on our Maps, Beghram), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Músá. This man oppressed the Mahmand and Gharbah (?), Khail tribes, 'who have ten thousand homes near Pasháwar'. The oppressed Afgáns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalálah i Tarík as leader, and attacked S. H. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bigrám; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The Mauseir says, he was killed in 993. In this fight, forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afgáns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamál, son of S. H. He held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamál, during Akbar's reign, was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahángír, to a Hazáríship. He was made Governor of Dillí, vice Shaikh 'Abdul Wahháb, also a Bukhári Sayyid (Tuz. p. 35, l. 8 from below).
Kamal served under Farid i Bukhari (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrav, and commanded the left wing in the fight near Bhoirgami, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Barba who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Ya'qub, son of S. Kamal, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse, and died in the third year of Shahjahan's reign. The Madar says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shahjahans's grandees given in the Padishahnamah (L b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hamid, of the name of Sayyid Baqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khan, son of Rustam i Turkistan.

The correct name of this grandee is Dastam رستم, a very unusual name, though most MSS. of the Ain and many of the Akbarnama give رستم, Rustam. The Madar correctly places his name under the letter D.

His father's name was Rustam. His mother—her name is not clearly written in the MSS. of the Madar and Akbarnama, which I have seen, either Nujibak or Bukhyah—was a friend of Muhum Anagah (vide No. 19), and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khán, in the 9th year, served under Muhammad Khan Uzbek (No. 61) against Abdallah Khán Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served under Mirzá 'Aziz Kokah in the battle of Panah (vide No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and got a flag. In the 22nd year, he was appointed to the Cíbah of Aymig, and got Rantanbhur as tuyút. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year, Uchhá, son of Balbhad, and Mohan, Sír Dáś, Tilúksi, sons of Rájá Bihári Mái's brother, came without permission from the Panjáb to Lúni (?), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwáhás, advised them to return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious. Akbar then ordered D. to hold out threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them. D. had at last to do so; but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight, the three

1 The geographical details given in the Akbarnama are unsatisfactory.

Abulfazl mentions the Qaśba (small town) of Lúni (لPhones) as the birth-place of the Kachhwáhá rebels; the fight, he says, took place in a village (maus'á) of the name of Thort, and Dastam died at Sherpúr, which is also called a Qaśba. But the Akbarnámah leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The Tabaqat, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khán was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhúr. The only places near Rantanbhúr which resemble the above three, are Bounlee, Tohra, and Shergarh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpúr Territory for 1850. The road from Shergarh (about 4 miles S. E. of Rantanbhúr to Bounlee is bisected by the Banas River. Rantanbhúr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chambal and the Banas, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N. W. of it. There are two villages of the names of Tohra, one about 3 miles S. W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. Bounlee, or Bauñli, would be بهنلي, or بونلي, which will be found below as the head of a Parganah in Sirgkar Rantanbhúr, and the change of بهنلي to بونلي is very simple. The greatest difference lies in Sherpúr and Shergarh.

The Akbarnámah says, the fight took place on the 10th Aban of the 25th year.
nephews of the Rájah were killed. Dastam received a wound from Uchli, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchli, and killed him. Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse. His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers. The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (988).

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpur. Akbar said that even D.'s mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because D., with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.

The Maasir says, he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantambhur was then given to Míráz 'Abdurrahím (No. 29) as jagir.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Sháhba'z Khá'n i Kambú.


 처음에 티비 아드바이 루즈두 있는 사람들 드루드티스의

The Afgáns are the first, the Kambús the second, and the Kasmíris the third, *et secondeurs* must be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahángír, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Sháhba'z was Hájí Ismá'íl, a disciple of the renowned saint Baháuddín Zakariyá of Multán. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an *ashrafí,* or goldmuhur, for the name of every prophet he would mention; but as Baháuddín could not pay the money, Hájí Ismá'íl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafi for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Hájí Ismá'íl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambús are proverbial in Hindústán for sagacity and quickness of apprehension.

Sháhba'z at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done; but the excellent way in which he performed the duties of *kotwáli,* drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Ámir and appointed Mír Tozak (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khá'n (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mír Bakhsáí. In the 21st year, he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpúr, especially against Kallah, son of Ráí Rá'm, and grandson of Ráí Máldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwánah. Sháhba'z first took Fort Daigár (?), where a large number of Rásthor rebels were killed; after this he took Dúnáráh, from where he passed on to Siwánah, which on his arrival capitulated (984).

In the same year, Sháhba'z was sent against Rájah Gajpatí. This Rájah was the
greatest Zamindár in Bihár, and had rendered good services during Mum‘ím’s expedition to Bengal. But when Dádd, king of Ojísá, invaded Bengal after Mum‘ím’s death at Gaur in 983, Gajpatí rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihár. Farhat Khán (No. 145) tuyáldár of Arah, his son Farhang Khán, and Qarátáq Khán, opposed the Rájah, but perished in the fight. When Shahbáz approached, Gajpatí fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespúr, where the whole family of the Rájah was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergán, which was held by Śrī Rám, Gajpatí’s son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtás. Its Afghan commander, Sayyid Muhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junaíd i Kararáf, had been hard pressed by Muzaффár (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shahbáz, asked for protection, and handed over the Fort. Sh. then repaired to court, where he received every distinction due to his eminent services.

In the 23rd year (986), Sh. marched against the proud Ráná Partáb, and besieged the renowned Fort of Koýbhalmír (called on our maps Komalnáir, on the frontier between Udaipúr and Jodhpúr, Lat. 25° 10’). The Ráná, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a Samnáf, when the Fort was taken. Gogandah and Udaipúr submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 t’ánahs in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipúr to Pár Mandál. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Daudá, son of Ráíi Surján Házá (No. 98), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmír, where disturbances frequently occurred.

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihár; but he did not agree with M. ’Azíz Kokah—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated ‘Arab Bahádúr, and marched to Jagdespúr. At that time the report reached him that Ma’qúm Khán Faranhkúf (No. 157) had rebelled, and ‘Arab Bahádúr and Niyábat Khán had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sultánpúr Bilkarí, 25 kos from Awadh (Faizábád). Ma’qúm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaunpúr, a distance of 30 kos. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemies, that Ma’qúm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.’s right wing attacked the enemies, Ma’qúm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Faizábád). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Ma’qúm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. went again to Court, where he was received by the emperor on his return from Kábúl. At court, Sh. generally gave offence by his pride; and when once, at a parade, the Bakhshí had placed the young Mírzá Khán (No. 29) above him, he gave openly vent to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Shí Darbáří (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.’s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. ’Azíz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihár, Sh. with other Amírs was sent there. He followed up Ma’qúm Khán Kábulí to G’horág’hát, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhatí (p. 342), plundered Baktarápúr, the residence of Tsá, took Súnnárgánw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. Tsá afforded Ma’qúm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Súnnárgánw; Ma’qúm was to go to Makkah; and
Sh. was to withdraw. This was accepted, and Sh. crossed the river expecting the terms would be carried out. But the enemies did nothing; and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers shewed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Tândah, all advantages being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the _tayyildara_ of Bihár were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Ma'qum. In the 30th year, he and Čádiq Khán (vide No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhátí, and even sent a detachment to Kokrah(कोकरह), which lies between Orsá and the Dak'hín. Modhú Singh, the Zamíndár of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sa'id (No. 25) was made Governor of Bengal, and the disturbances had mostly been suppressed, Sh. returned to Court. In the 34th year, he was made _Kotwal_ of the army. He was then sent against the Afgáns of Sawád; but he left his duties without order, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made _atdilq_ to M. Shábrukh, who had been appointed to Málwah and was on his way to Prince Murád in the Dak'hín. During the siege of Ahmadnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr i Nau, 'which is called _Burhánabad_,' asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shi'áhs, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called _Langar i Dwadah Imám_, the very name of which must have stunk in Sh.'s nostrils. The inhabitants 'seeing that they could not rely on the word of the Mughuls,' emigrated. The Prince was irritated; and when Čádiq Khán (No. 43) was appointed his _atdilq_, Sh. left without permission for Málwah. Akbar gave his _jägir_ to Shábrukh, and transferred Shahbáz.

In the 43rd year, Sh. was sent to Ajmír as Commander of the _manqald_ of Prince Salím (Jahángir), whom Akbar has asked to go from Iláhábád against the Ráná. But Sh. was now above seventy years old, and as he had been in the habit of eating quicksilver, he commenced to suffer from pain in his hands and wrists. He got well again, but had in Ajmír another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salím took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Iláhábád without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shahbáz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmír within the hallowed enclosure of Mu'ín i Chishti. But the custodians of the sacred shrine refused to comply, and Sh. was buried outside. At night, however, the saint appeared in the dreams of the custodians, and told them that Shahbáz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shahbáz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. His opposition to Akbar's 'Divine Faith' has been mentioned above (p. 188). He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word _murid_ (disciple) on his signet. His Sunní zeal, no doubt, retarded his promotion as much as his arrogance; for other less deserving officers held higher commands. He observed with great strictness the five daily prayers, and was never seen without the rosary in his hand. One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fathpur and seized Shahbáz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the 'asr, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun, not to miss the proper
time. Hakim Abul Fath (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Hakim ‘Ali who stood near him, “I shall indeed call Shahbaz a pious man, if he insists on saying the prayer, alone as he is with the emperor;” (for the prayer had been abolished by Akbar at Court). When the time of prayer had come, Sh. mentioned it to the emperor. “Oh,” replied Akbar, “you can pray another time, and make amends for this omission.” But Sh. drew away his hand from the grasp of the emperor, spread his dupattah shawl on the ground, and said not only his prayer, but also his vird (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar slapping all the while his head, saying, ‘Get up!’ Abul Fath stepped up, and interceded for Shahbaz, whose persistency he admired.

Abul Azal says that Shahbaz was an excellent and faithful servant; but he blames him for his bigotry. In liberality, he says, he had no equal, and people whispered that he found the Parus stone (vide Book III, Cubah of Malmah). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmputre he had 9000 horse. Every Thursday evening, he distributed 100 Ashrafis to the memory of the renowned Ghausussiqloin (Abdul Qadir i Jilani). To Kambus he gave so much, that no Kambus in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mir Baksh, he introduced the Dagh law, the most important military reform of Akbar’s reign (vide pp. 242, 255, 256).

Shahbaz’s brother, Karamullah, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Sarej (Madissors). The Madissors mentions a son of Shahbaz, Ilhamullah. He was Wazi-yahnwis (p. 255) of the Sirkár of Baglanah, where he died.

The Tuzuk (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbaz Khan, who during the reign of Shabjahán was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, Bakshi and Wazi-yahnwis of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shabjahán’s reign.¹

81. Darwish Muhammad Uzbek.

The Madissors says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Tabagát merely say that he was dead in 1001.

From the Akhbarmanah (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bairam. He was sent by Bairam together with Muzaffar ‘Ali (No. 37, and p. 317, l. 3) to Sher Muhammad Diwanah, who despatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the Akhbarmanah (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 250),—where for Darwish Uzbek Khwajah, read Darwish Uzbek o Muzaffar Khwajah. From the fact that Abulazal has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bairam’s submission.

82. Shaikh Ibrahi’m, son of Shaikh Musá, elder brother of Shaikh Salim of Fatpur Sikri.

¹ Ranbaz Khan is wrongly called Niaz Khan in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Padisháhn. I, b., p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, Ranbaz Khan, as in the Tuzuk.

Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk, p. 150, says that Ranbaz’s name was Khubbullah; but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should perhaps be Habibullah.

In the list of Akbar’s grandees in the Tabagát, Nizam says, ‘At present (in 1001) Shahbaz is Mir Baksh of Malwah.’
His father, Shaikh Mūsá, lived a retired life in Sikri. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Sikri Shaikhs to pray for him, which they did; and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salim), Akbar looked upon the Shaikhs with particular favor. To this lucky circumstance, the Sikri family owes its elevation.

Shaikh IbAhim lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year, he was made T'hánahdbr of Ládláí, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year, he was made Governor of Fathpúr Sikrí. In the 28th year, he served with distinction under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár and Bengal, and was with Vázír Khán (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutb of Orísá. When Akbar, in the 30th year went to Kábul, he was made Governor of Agrah, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the Tabaqádt, he was not only the brother, but also the son-in-law of Shaikh Salim i Sikríwáí.

83. 'Abdul Matlab Khán, son of Sháh Budágh Khán (No. 52).

The Mādīr makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

'Abdul Matlab accompanied Sharafuddin Hoeain (No. 17) on his expedition to Mírtha. In the 10th year, he served together with his father under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahádur Khán, and fled from the battle-field of Khairábád (pp. 372, 382). In the 12th year, he served under Muhammad Quli Khán Barlás (No. 31) against Iskandar Khán in Audh. He then retired to his tuyūl in Málwah.

In the 17th year, he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. 'Azíz Kokah and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 390). In the 23rd year, when Quţbuddín's men (No. 28) brought Muzaffar Husain Mírzá from the Dák'hin to Court, 'Abdul Matlab attached himself as convoy, and saw the Mírzá safely to Court. In the 25th year, he accompanied Ismá'il Quli Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyábát Khán 'Arab. In the following year, he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Daulat, son of 'Ali Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kábul. In the 27th year, Akbar honored him by being his guest in Kálpí, his jágir.

In the 30th year, he accompanied M. 'Azíz Kokah to the Dák'hin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalálah Táríki, the Afghán rebel. One day, Jalálah fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Núrín Khán (No. 212), Salim Khán (No. 132), and Sheroyah Khán (No. 168). They were in time assisted by Muhammad Quli Beg, and routed Jalálah, who escaped to the mountains. 'Abdul-matlab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight." He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzád, was under Jahángír, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. I'tibár Khán, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was 'Ambar. He was one of Bábar's Eunuchs. When Humáyún left Qandahár for Tráq, he despatched I'tibár and others
to conduct Maryam Makini (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952, he left Kábul and joined the emperor, who attached him to Prince Akbar's suite.

In the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, he accompanied Akbar's mother and the other Begums from Kábul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Díhlí, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Rájah Bí'r Bal [Bír Bár], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dás (Moásir; the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Baddóni, II. p. 161, calls him Brahman Dás), and was a Bhad, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call badífarosh, 'dealers in encomiums.' He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Baddóni, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kálpí to Court, where his bosnates in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindi verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of Kab Ráí, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate, and had him constantly near himself.

In the 18th year, Rájah Jai Chand of Nagarkot, who was at Court, happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nagarkot was given to Kab Ráí as jágir. He also received the title of Rájah Bír Bár. But Jai Chand's son, Buddh Chand (or Budh Ch., or Badi Ch.,—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, as related above, forced Husain Qulí to raise the siege, and Bír Bár, in all probability, did not get his jágir. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád, 24th Rábi' II, 981. (Vide note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year, he was sent with Bái Lon Karan to Dúngarpúr, the Ráí of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zain Kokah (No. 34) conducted Rájah Rám Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bír Bár spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year, Zain Khán Kokah marched against the Yúsufzáis in Bíjor and Sawád; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bír Bár was sent there together with Hakim Abul Fath (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abulfází or Bír Bár should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar's wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 204, 344). Bír Bár and nearly 8000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered.

How Akbar felt Bír Bár's loss, has been mentioned on p. 205. There is also a letter on this subject in Abulfází's Maktábát.

The following passages from Baddóni (Ed. Bibl. Ind., pp. 357, 358) are of interest—

"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year

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3 Just as Jotik Réi, the (Hindú) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fáízi] had the title of Malik-ushshahrú'ard, or 'King of Poets.'

4 On p. 344, read Bíjor for Wajír.

5 A similar catastrophe befell Aurang-zíb, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amin Khán were killed in the Khairáb Pass, on the 3rd Muharram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. Moásir i' Alamgíri, p. 117. Vide Journal A. S. Bengal, for 1882, p. 261.
(966) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bir Bar, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindús by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bir Bağ's loss, and invented the story that Bir Bağ had been seen in the hills of Nagarkot, walking about with Jogis and Sannásís. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bir Bağ was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of Yúsufzai; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogis, inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Ahádi was therefore sent to Nagarkot, to enquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity.

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bir Bağ had been seen at Kálinjar (which was the jágír of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bir Bağ had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bir Bağ had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to court; and the Hindú Krorí (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bir Bağ. The Krorí could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bir Bağ in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty went actually through a second mourning; but he ordered the Krorí and several others to come to Court. They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed His Majesty before, and the Krorí had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine."

Bir Bağ was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindustán.

The hatred which Badsóní, Shahbáz Khán (No. 80), and other pious Muslims shewed towards Bir Bağ (vide pp. 183, 188, 192, 199, 204) arose from the belief, that Bir Bağ had influenced Akbar to abjure Isláam.

Bir Bağ's eldest son, Ídálah, is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Hundred (No. 387). He was a spendthrift; and as he got no promotion, and his property was squandered away, he resigned court life, and turned faqír, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. Ikhlá's Khán I'tibár, the Eunuch.

The Módísir does not give his name. The list of Akbar's grandees in the Tabaqát has the short remark that Ikhláq Khán was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahr Khán, (Muhammad) Aqghar, a servant of Humáyún.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read Bahrádur Khán. The Módísir does not give his name. The list of the Tabaqát mentions a 'Bahr Khán, a Kháqah Khail Afgán, who held a command of Two Thousand.' Bahr Khán Kháqah Khail is also mentioned in several places in the Akbarnámah. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abulfazl in this list. Perhaps we have to read Pâhár Khán, instead of Bahár Khán; vide No. 407. The notice in the Tabaqát implies that he was dead in 1001.
88. Sha'h Fakhrud'din, son of Mir Qásim, a Músawi Sayyid of Mashhad.

Sháh Fakhrúd'din came, in 961, with Humáyún to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he served in the army which was sent against 'Abdullah Khá'n Uzbar (No. 14). In the 16th year, he was in the manyátá, or advance corps, commanded by Khá'n i Kalán (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patán, he sent Sh. F. and Hakim 'Ainulmulk to Mir Abú Turáb and I'timád Khá'n (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to I'timád whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M.'Azíz Khá'n (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patán (p. 396). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrat (p. 325, note, where according to the Akbarsámáh we have to read 21th Rabí’ II., for 4th Rabí’ I.). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqábat Khá'n. In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patán (Gujrat), vice Tarso Muhammad Khá'n (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, Tabagát).

89. Rájáh Ra'm Chand Baghelah.

A few MSS. read Bhagelah, which form Tod says is the correct one. Baghelah, however, is the usual spelling.

Rám Chand was Rájah of Bhat'h (or Bhattah, as the Madísir spells it). Among the three great Rájahs of Hindústán, whom Bábar mentions in his Memoirs, the Rájahs of Bhat'h are the third.

Rám Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tánsín, regarding whom vide the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year, the emperor sent Jaláluddín Qúrchi (No. 213) to Bhat'h, to induce Tánsín to come to Agrabh. Rám Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Agrabh, and the first time that Tánsín performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lak'hs of Rupees. Tánsín remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindústán.

When Aqaf Khá'n (I.) led his expedition to Ga'dha (p. 367), he came in contact with Rám Chand; but by timely submission the Rájah became 'a servant' of Akbar. In the 14th year, Rám Chand lost Fort Kálínjar, as related on p. 369. He sent his son, Bir Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Sháhábád, he ordered a corps to march to Bhat'h; but Bir Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to court. Rájáh Bir Bár and Zain Kokáh were selected for this office, and Rám Chand came at last to court, where he was well received.

R. Ch. died in the 37th year, and Bir Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rájah. But on his way from court to Bhat'h, he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the

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1 The Lucknow Edition of the Akbarsámáh (III., p. 222) calls him Náqíb-Khán (?).

2 On p. 367, Rá'm Chand is by mistake called Rá'm Chandr.
38th year (1001; vide p. 358). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bándhú of which Bikramájít, a young relation of Rám Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rájah Patrdl (No. 196) with troops to Bándhú, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (c’ándngha). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismb’il Quli Khbn (No. 46) to Bándhú, to convey Bikramájít to court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bándhú from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramájít, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bándhú was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year, Durjidhán, a grandson of Rám Chand, was made Rájah of Bándhú. In the 21st year of Jahángír’s reign, Amr Singh, another grandson of Rám Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihlí. In the 8th year of Shájbahán, when ‘Abdul-lah Khán Bahádúr marched against the refractory zamindár of Ratánpúr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anúp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rájah Pahár Singh Bandelah, Jágírdár of Chaurághadh, attacked Anúp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairhm, a zamindár of Chaurághadh, Anúp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewá (which after the destruction of Bándhú had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Ḥalábát Khán, Governor of Hláhábád (vide p. 392) conducted him to Court, where Anúp turned Muhammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bándhú and the surrounding districts.

90. **Lashkar Khán**, Muhammād Husain of Khurásán.

He was MİR BAKSHI and MİR ‘ARZ. In the 11th year, Muzaffar Khán (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year, he came one day drunk to the Darbár, and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse, and then put him into prison.

He was subsequently released, and attached to Mun’ím’s Bengal corps. In the battle of Takarói (p. 375), he was severely wounded. Though his wounds commenced to heal, he did not take sufficient care of his health, and died, a few days after the battle, in Orísá.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (**Másísir**, 1,000).

The **Másísir** has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment, which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of **Lashkar Khán** was conferred by Jahángír on Abúl Hasan Maḥmúd, and by Shájbahán on Jún Nisár Khán Yádghár Beg.

91. **Sayyid Ahmad** of Bárha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Mahmúd (p. 392). In the 17th year, he served in the **mánqáld**, which, under the command of Khán i Kalán (No. 16) was sent to Gujrát. After the conquest of Ahmadábád, he was ordered with other Amírs to pursue the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí (p. 396), who had removed their families and property from Patan to Ídar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of the Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mírzá ‘Abdulrahím (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muhammad Husain Mírzá, Sháh Mírzá, and Sher Khán Fúládí, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. ‘Azíz.

In the 20th year, S. A. and his nephews S. Qásim and S. Háshim quelled the
disturbances in which Jalaluddin Qurchi (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984, he served under Shahbaz Khan (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwana. According to the Tabaqat, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abul Fazl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p. 289, l. 4 from below.

Sayyid Ahmad’s son, S. Jamaluddin, was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chitor (p. 368).

This S. Jamaluddin must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamaluddin who was executed in 993 (Badoní II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Mahmud (No. 75), S. Qasim being called his uncle.


He came with Humayun to Hindustan. In the 11th year (973), he was sent together with Sháh Qulí Náranjí (No. 231) to Gañha-Katangah, because Mahdí Qasim Khán (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kákar served also under Mu’izzul-Mulk (No. 61), and was present in the battle of Khairábád. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnál (middle of Sha’bán, 980; vide p. 333). He was then attached to Munim’s corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981; Madsir, 980).

93. Ra’i Kalyán Mall, Zamindar of Bikánir.

He is the father of Rái Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 357.

94. Ta’hir Khán, Mir Farághat, son of Mir Khurd, who was atáq to Prince Hindal.

His name is not given in the Madsir. Tha Tabaqát merely says that he was a grandee of Humayun, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son Báqí Khán, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of Akbar’s companions. Together with Dastam Khán (No. 79), Qutluq Qadam Khán (No. 123), Peshraw Khán (No. 280), Hakim ul Mulk, Muqbil Khán, Shimal Khán (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwájah Mu’azzam, brother of Akbar’s mother.

95. Sha’h Muhammed Khán of Qalát.

As Qalát belongs to Qandahár, he is often called Sháh Muhammad Khán i Qandahári. The Madsir says, that the name of the town of Qalát is generally spelt with a ↓, Q; but that the Hazaráhs pronounce Kalát, with a K.

Sháh Muhammad Khán was a friend of Bairám, and was with him in Qandahár, which Humayun had given Bairám as jágir. Bairám, however, left it entirely in S. M.’s hands. Bahádur Khán (No. 22) was then Governor of Dáwar, and had bribed several grandees to hand over Qandahár to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the conspirators. Bahádur then marched against Qandahár. S. M. knew that he could expect no assistance from Humayun, and wrote to Sháh Táhmásb of Persia that it was Humayun’s intention to cede Qandahár; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahádur, and take possession of the town. Táhmásb sent 3000 Turkmen troopers furnished by the jágirdárs of Sistán, Farán, and Garmísir. Their leader, ’Ali Yár, surprised Bahádur and defeated him so completely, that Bahádur could not
even keep Dáwar. He therefore fled to India. S. M. had thus got rid of one danger; he treated the Persian Commander with all submissiveness, but would not hand over the town. Sháh Táhmasp then ordered his nephew, Sultán Husain Mirzá, son of Bahrám Mirzá (vide No. 8, p. 313), Wáli Khalífah Shámilü, and others, to besiege Qandahár. The siege had lasted for some time, when Sultán Husain Mirzá felt disgusted and withdrew. Táhmasp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultán Husain Mirzá with 'Alí Sultán, Governor of Shiráz, to Qandahár with positive orders to take the town. 'Alí Sultán was shot during the siege, and Sultán Husain Mirzá remained encamped before the town without doing anything. At this juncture, Akbar, who in the meantime had succeeded to the throne, ordered S. M. to hand over Qandahár to the Persians, according to Humáyún's promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahár, observes the author of the Madosir, differs from Munshi Sikandár's version in his great work entitled 'Alamárdá Siyárdári. According to that history, Táhmasp, at the very first request of Sháh Muhammad, sent Sultán Husain Mirzá with Wáli Khalífah and other nobles to Qandahár. They defeated Bahádúr; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahár, Táhmasp sent 'Alí Sultán with a stronger army, and appointed Sultán Husain Mirzá governor of Dáwar and Qandahár. Sháh Muhammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindústán.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar's reign in India, was made a Wábn, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968), he led the van in the battle near Sárángpúr, in which Báz Bahádúr lost Múlah, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbek (No. 14). In the 12th year, he was made governor of Kot'ha. In the 17th year, he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzá Azíz Kaká, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 396).

Regarding 'Adil Khán, S. M.'s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Rá'i Surján Hádá. He is often merely called Ráí Hádá. The Hádás are a branch of the Chauháns. The Sírkár of Rantambhúr is called after them Hídautí. Ráí Surján was at first in the service of the Rána, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantambhúr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p. 368), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantambhúr, and R. S., despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudá and Bhoj (No. 175) to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honor. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent, and killed several people, among them Shaikh Baháuddín Majzúb of Badáon, but was cut down by one of Muzaффár Khán's men. As R. S.'s sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's goodwill towards them; and he sent them back to their father. At R. S.'s request, Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantambhúr was annexed (Sháwwál, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gaḍha-Katangah from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanádh (Chunár).
Soon after, Daudā fled and created disturbances in Būndī. Zain Khān Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Būndī, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudā who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shahbāz Khān (p. 400). Not long after, Daudā fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muzaffar's (No. 37) death, in Bihār. The Madāsir does not mention the year of his death. From the Taqāqat, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Rāi Bhoj, vide below, No. 175.

97. SHA'HAM KHĀN JALĀĪR.

Jalāir is the name of a Chaghthāi tribe.

Sha'ham’s father was Bābā Beg, who had been under Humāyūn governor of Jaunpur. Bābā Beg took also part in the battle of Chausa, in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh. The Emperor fled to Agrah, and ordered Bābā Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begums. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Bābā Beg was killed by an Afghan near the imperial tent.

Sha'ham Khān was made an Amīr by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966), he served together with the two Jalāirs mentioned below, Hāji Muhammad Khān i Sīstānī (No. 55), Chalma Beg (58), Kamāl Khān Ghakkar, and Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), under Khan Zamān (No. 13) in the Jaunpur District against the Afghāns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of 'Adil, Mubāriz Khān, after Bairam’s death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year, Sh. Kh. served against Khān Zamān.

In the 19th year, he served under Munīm in the Bengal and Orissan wars, was present in the battle of Takaroi and pursued with Todar Mall the Afghāns to Bhdrak (p. 375). After Munīm’s death at Gaur (p. 376), the grandees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year, he took part in the battle near Ag Mahali (p. 331). In the 24th year, he was jagirdār of Hājipūr (opposite Patna). After Muzaffar’s death (No. 37) in 988, before Todar Mall had arrived, he defeated and killed Sa‘īd i Badakhshi, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued 'Arab Bahādur, whom Shahbāz Khān (p. 400) had defeated. In the 26th year, Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Ma‘qūm Khān i Farangkhudī (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrāch over Kalyānpūr to Muhammadabad, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpur. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahār Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzipūr, and Qāsim from Jaldipūr, united their contingents, and pursued Ma‘qūm so effectually, that he applied to M. 'Azīz Koka, to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year, he was made Governor of Gadh, and soon after, of Dihlī. In the end of the same year, he accompanied Sulṭān Murād, who conducted M. Sulaimān (No. 5) to court. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he assisted Čādiq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalālah Tārīkī in Terāh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar made Dihlī his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore repri-
manded. Two years later, he served in the 'Asir war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zí Hajjah, 1009.

The Ṭabdqát says that Sháham Khán was in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnámah mentions two other Jaláir Grandees—

1. Sultán Husain Khán Jaláir. He was mentioned above, p. 384, l. 2.

2. Muhammad Khán Jaláir. The Ṭabdqát says of him, 'he is an old Amir, and is at present (1001) mad.' He served under Khán Zamán in the war with Hemú. In the beginning of the 4th year, all three Jaláirs served under Khán Zamán against the Afgáns in the Jaunpúr District.

98. A'asaf Khán (III.), [Mirzá Qiwámuddín] Ja'far Beg, son of Badi'uzzamán of Qazwín.

His father Mirzá Badi'uzzamán was the son of Aghá Múlla Dawátdár of Qazwín (vide p. 369). M. Badi', during the reign of Sháh Tahmásb, had been vazír of Káshán, and Ja'far had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Ja'far Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghúsáuddín 'Alí Aqaf Khán II. (No. 126), on his return from the Idar expedition. The new Dágh law having then been introduced (vide p. 242), Akbar made Ja'far a Commander of Twenty (Bisti) and attached him to the Dákhilís (p. 232) of his uncle. According to Badání (III., 216) people attributed this minimum of royal favour to the malice of Ja'far's uncle. The post was so low, that Ja'far threw it up in disgust, and went to Bengál, to which province Múzzafl'ar Khán (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with him, when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shamsuddín i Kháí (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fathpúr, Ja'far met with a better reception than before, was in a short time made a Commander of Two Thousand, and got the title of Aqaf Khán. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshí, vice Qázi 'Alí. In his first expedition, against the Ránah of Udaipúr, Aqaf was successful.

In the 32nd year, he was appointed Thánahdár of Sawád (Swat), vice Ismá'il Quli Khán, who had been reprimanded (p. 361, where for Wajír read Bijor). In the 37th year, Jalálah Raushání fled to 'Abdullah Khán Uzbek, king of Túrání; but finding no support, he returned to Teráh, and stirred up the Afrídí and Urángaf Afgáns. Aqaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zain Khán Kokah, defeated Jalálah. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Wahdat 'Alí, who was said to be Jalálah's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year, Aqaf was sent to Kashmír, M. Yúsuf Khán (No. 36) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jágír holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kábulí (No. 191), Muhammad Quli Afsár, and Hassan 'Arab, were the most important. The cultivation of Zafírání (saffron, vide p. 84) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qázi 'Alí, i. e., at one lac of kharwars, at 24 dáms each (vide p. 346). Aqaf only stayed three days in Kashmír, and returned to Lábhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmír had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jágír holders, Aqaf was made Governor of
the province. In the 44th year, (beginning of 1008), he was appointed Divān i kāl, vice Ḍār Ḵān (No. 106).

In 1013, Prince Salīm (Jāhāngīr) rebelled against Akbār; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbār's mother, and Salīm was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrat as tughūl, and gave up the Cābahs of Ilāhābād and Bihār, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihār was given to Ḍāfā who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jāhāngīr's accession, Ḍāfā was called to court, and appointed atdīlī to Prince Parvīz, who had taken the command against the Rānā. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jāhāngīr, after suppressing Khusrau's revolt, left Lābor for Kābul, and as Shārīf Khān Amīr ul Umār remained dangerously ill in India, Ḍāfā was made Vakīl and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels. But he never trusted Jāhāngīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Ḍāfā's death (Tuzuk, p. 109).

From the time of Akbār's death, the kings of the Dākhīn had been restless, and Malik 'Ambar had seized upon several places in the Bālāgẖát District. The Khān Khānān, (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jāhāngīr sent Prince Parvīz to the Dākhīn, with Ḍāfā Khān as atdīlī, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rājāh Mān Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodī, Khān i A'zam, (No. 21), 'Abdullah Khān, “each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country.” But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amīrs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige (p. 326). Not long after, in 1021, Ḍāfā died at Burhānpūr. The Tārīkh of his death is—

A hundred times Alas! for Ḍāfā Khān!

The Tuzuk (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Ḍāfā Khān is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and leaping off branches with his own hands in his gardens; and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand. In religious matters, he was a free-thinker, and one of Akbār's disciples (p. 200). He was one of the best poets of Akbār's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawi, entitled Nūrānāmah, ranks after Nizām's Shīrīn Khusrav. Vide below among the poets of Akbār's reign.

Ḍāfā kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. Mīr zā Zain u'dbidin. He was a commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. He had a son Mīr zā Ja'far, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same takhallus (Ja'far).

He, Zāhīd Khān Kokah, and M. Shāfī (Pādešāh-u-khān; Sāqī, Mādsīr), son of Saīf

1 It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as insignia on Divāns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

2 Mughul Historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dākhīn kings. The word which they generally use, is dunyādār, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the AKBARNAmah.
2. Sudder Khan. He was under Shihjahán a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Sháhjahán.

3. Mírza 'Ali Aqghar. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Pendarah expedition, he created dissensions between Sháh Shujá' and Mahábat Khán. He served in the war against Jujhhr Bandelah, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamúní, as related in the Pádisísáhámdmáh. He had just been married to the daughter of Mút'amíl Khán Bakhshí (author of the Iqbalndmáh i Jakángírí); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Sháhjahán married her to Khán Daurán. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. Mírza 'Askari. He was in the 20th year of Sháhjahán a Commander of 500, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the Pádisísáhámdmáh mention two relations of Aqaf—
1. Muhammad Čdílik, son of Mírza Sháhí, brother or nephew of Aqaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Sháhjahán's reign. 2. Muqím, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.


The Iqbalndmáh, according to the Madsír, says, he belonged to the Músáwí Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhári Sayyids' trace their descent to Sayyid Jalál i Bukhári', seventh descendant of Imám 'Alí Naqi Alhádí.

The fourth ancestor of Shaikh Faríd was Shaikh 'Abdulghaffár of Dihlí, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Sayúrghál tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaikh Faríd was born as Dihlí (Tuzúk, p. 68). He entered Akbar's service early. In the 28th year, when M. 'Azíz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bhár army, S. F. accompanied Vazír Khán (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwán, where Qutlí of Orísá had collected his Afghánás. Qutlí having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlí's treachery (vide Stewart's Bengal). In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of 700, and gradually rose, till the 40th year, to a command of 1500. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshí, and had also for some time the Daftar i Táns in his charge, i. e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jágírí holders.

His elevation under Jahángír, was due to the decided support he gave Jahángír, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusráu at Bhairónwál. When Prince Salim occupied Iláhábád during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to mangabs and giving them jágírás, Akbar favoured Prince Khusráu so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salím's men were sent to Gujrát. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salim to stay outside the Fort of Agra; and M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) and Rájah Mán Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusráu's succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and
asked Shaikh Farid to take the command. But Sh. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salim outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5000, received the title of Çâhibussaif wa-lgalam, and was appointed Mîr Bakhshî.

A short time after, on the 8th Zî Hajjah, 1014, Prince Khusrau suddenly left Agra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lâhor. Sh. F., with other Bukhârî and many Bârba Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahangîr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharîf Khân Amir ul Umarî, and Mahâbat Khân, who were hostile to Sh. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sultân Khusrau had gone to Lâhor, and besieged the town, when he heard of Sh. F.'s arrival with 12000 horse at the Ab i Sultanpur. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Bîâh, which Sh. F. had just crossed. Khusrau was immediately attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bârba and Bukhîrî Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Saif Khân, son of Sayyid Mahmûd Khân Kundîwâl, (p. 392) and Sayyid Jalâl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bârba Sayyids opposed to 1500 Badakhshî troopers, and had not S. Kamal (p. 397) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of Padshah salamat, the Bârba Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Saif Khân got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalâl died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of Khusrau's troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. Khusrau's jewel-box fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhaironwâl.  

In the evening Jahangîr arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Parganah of the name of Fathâbâd, and was given Sh. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of Murtaza Khân, and was appointed governor of the Čâhâb of Gujîrât. In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahangîr an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 mîngâl, 15 surkhs, and was valued at 25000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaikh oppressed the people in Gujîrât, he was recalled from Ahmadábâd (Tucuk, p. 73). In the 5th year, he was made governor of the Panjûb. In 1021, he made preparations to invade Kângrah. He died at Pat'han in 1025, and was buried at

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1 This title we also find in old inscriptions, e. g. in those of Tribeni and Sât-gânw, Hûglî District. It means Lord of the sword and the pen.

2 Bhaironwâl, on our maps Bhypoval, lies on the road from Jâlindhar to Amritsar, on the right bank of the Biâh. After the defeat, Khusrau fled northwards with the view of reaching Rahts beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Râwi, the Chanâb, and the Jhelam. On coming to the Chanâb, at a place called Shahpûr (a very common name in the Panjûb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodharah, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the Tijbqat i Nasiri.--on our maps So'dra, N. E. of Vazîrâbâd—and induced some boatmen to take him over. But they left him in the lurch, landed him on an island in the middle of the Chanâb, and swam back. This came to the ears of the Chaudrî of Sodharah, and a report was sent to Abul Qâsim Tamkîn (No. 199), one of Jahangîr's officers stationed at Gujîrât (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanâb, opposite to Vazirâbâd). He came, took Khusrau from the island, and kept him confined in Gujîrât. The news of the capture reached Jahangîr at Lâhor on the last Muharrum 1015, i.e. 52 days after Khusrau's flight from Agra. On the 3rd Çafar, Khusrau, Hasan Beg i Badakhshî (No. 167), and 'Abdulrahim Khur, were brought to Jahangîr in the Bâgh i Mîrzâ Kâmarî.
Dihli (Tuz. p. 159). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dihli, entitled Asáruqânáddól, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhári. Of Farid's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (dállán). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaikh in the 9th year or 1033 A. H., instead of in the eleventh year, or 1025. Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a Saráé built by Shaikh Farid in Dihli, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیل خانه, jel khánah).

According to the Tuzuk, p. 65, Salímgádh (Dihli) belonged to S. Farid. It had been built by Salim Khán the Afghan during his reign in the midst (dar miyán) of the Jamnah. Akbar had given it to Farid.¹

When Shaikh Farid died, only 1000 Ashrafs were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the Táríkh of his death—

داه خرد آرون (1025, A. H.).

'He gave, and left (carried off) little.'

Shaikh Farid was indeed a man of the greatest liberality. He always gave with his own hands. Once a beggar came to him seven times on one day, and received money; and when he returned the eighth time, Farid gave him again money, but told him not to tell others; else they might take the money from him. He gave widows a great deal, and his jágr lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrat, he had a list made of all Bukhári Sayyids in the province,² and paid for every marriage feast and outfit; he even gave pregnant women of his clan money for the same purpose for the benefit of their yet unborn children. He never assisted singers, musicians, or flatterers.

He built many saráís. The one in Dihli has been mentioned above. In Ahmadábád, a mahállá was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhárá. In the same town he built the Manjí and Tomb of Sháh Wájjhuddín (died 988; Badáoni III, 43). He also built Farídábád near Dihli, the greater part of the old parganah of Tílpáth being included in the parganah of Farídábád (Elliot's Glossary, Beames' Edition, II, p. 123). In Láhor also, a Mahállá was built by him, a large bath, and a chauk, or bazar. The Government officers under him received annually three khil'ats; to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahángír, did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghan of the name of Sher Khán, had taken leave in Gujrat, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh.

¹ The family must have had large possessions in Dihli; for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Dihli, he stayed in Sh. Farid's mansion, and Abulfazl (Akbarnámah III, p. 196) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamannah.

² In Dihli, Ahmadábád, and many other places in Gujrat, do we find Bukhári Sayyids. Vide Nos. 77, 78.
Farid was in Kalinga on his march to Kángrah. The Shaikh ordered Dwárká Dás his Bakshi, to pay the man his wages, and the Bakshi wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day's pay. But Farid got angry, and said, 'He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay.' The man got 7000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

"Night and day," exclaims the author of the Madsír, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaikh Farid had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muhammad Sa'íd and Mir Kháñ. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the Emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahátat Kháñ, whom Jahángír had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Kháñ. Sh. F. demanded of the emperor Mahátat's blood; but Mahátat got together several 'respectable' witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mir Kháñ had been killed by Muhammad Sa'íd, and Shaikh F. had to remain quiet.

Muhammad Sa'íd was alive in the 20th year of Sháhjáhn, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (Pádísíkhán, II, 743).

Sayyid Ja'fúr, Sh. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 397, l. 5).

The Pádísíkhánámah (I, b., 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions Sayyid Ba'dr, son of Shaikh Farid's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and Sayyid Bhtakar, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. Sama'ñí Kháñ, son of Chálmáh Beg.

For Sama'ñí we often find in MSS. Sámáj. The Turkish samán means hay, so that Sama'ñí, or Sámán-chi would mean one who looks after the hay.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the Madsír, nor the Tabaqát. Nor have I come across his name in the Akbarndámah. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Sama'ñí Kháñ will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardí Kháñ, son of Qiyá Kháñ Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 344. The Tabaqát says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrát).1

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1 Tardí Kháñ is also mentioned in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 19, l. 15. But this a mistake. It should be Tur Kháñ, not Tardí Kháñ. The word tógáí, l. c., also is a mistake, and should be Tóbái. Pages 18, 19 of the Tuzuk treat of Akbar's forced march to Patan in Gujrát (vide p. 325, note, and p. 406, l. 10). The Madsír (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, b.) mentions the 4th Rabi' I. as the day when Akbar left Agra; but from the Akbarndámah (Lucknow Edition, III, 18 ff.) it is clear that Akbar left Agra on the 24th Rabi' II, 981, and engaged the armies on the 9th day after his departure, i.e., on the 6th Jumá I., 981. Hence the date 5th Jumá I., 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, Tuzuk, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumá I., 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of Akbar's reign, and the
102. Mihtar Khán, Anísuddín, a servant of Humáyún.

The word mihtar, pr. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humáyún’s servants. Thus in the Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I. p. 269,—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, &c., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khán was the title of Anís (uddín). He was Humáyún’s treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rántanbhúr had been conquered (vide No. 96), the fort was put in his charge. In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984), he accompanied Mán Singh on his expedition against Ráná Partáb of Maiwár, and distinguished himself as leader of the Chandáwul (rear). In the 25th year, he held a jógír in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Ma’ám Khán Faránkhúdí (No. 157).

Anís was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar’s death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the Tábaqát, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2600.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahángír’s reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the Madsír correctly, he was a Kátí, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Múnis Khán, his son, was during the reign of Jahángír a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. Abú Tálib, son of Múnis Khán, was employed as treasurer (khizdnách) of the Cúbah of Bengal.

103. Rái Durgá: Sisodíah.

Ráí Durgá is generally called in the Akbarnámah, Ráí Durgá Chandráwaṭ ( ). The home of the family was the Parganah of Rámpúr, also called Islámpúr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar’s reign, Ráí Durgá accompanied Prince Murád on his expedition against Mírzá Muhammad Hakím of Kábul. In the 28th year, he was attached to Mírzá Khán’s (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrát war. In the 30th year, he was with M. ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in the Dak’hin. In the 36th year, he followed Prince Murád to Málwah, and later to the Dak’hin.

In the 45th year, Akbar sent him after Muzaffar Husain Mírzá. He then accompanied Abúfázíl to Násik, and went afterwards home on leave. He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission.

He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahángír’s reign.

According to the Tuzuk (p. 63), he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahángír says, he had at first been in the service of Ráná Udai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of a Commander of Four Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The Tábaqát says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The Madsír continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.
Genealogy of the Rāo of Rāmpūr (Iślāmpūr), Chītōr.

1. Rāi Durgā Sisodīah
   (Chandrāwat)

2. Rāo Chandā (Jahāngīr)
   (a.) A son (b.) Rāp Mukund

3. Rāo Daudā (Shaḥjahān)

4. Rāo Hattī Singh (Do.)
   [died childless]

5. (a.) Rāo Rāp Singh —— 6. (b.) Rāo Amr Singh
   [died childless]
   (Aurangzib)

7. Rāo Muḥkam Singh

8. Rāo Gopāl Singh

9. Rāo Rātan Singh

Rāo Rātan Singh turned Muḥammadan, and got the title of Muṣlīm Khān (Aurangzib-Jahāndār Shāh).

104. Maḍhu' Singh, son of Rājah Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 333). In the beginning of the 21st year (Muharram, 984) he served under Mān Singh against Rānā Kīkā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Gogandah (21st Rābī' I., 984). In the 30th year, he accompanied Mīrzā Shaḥhurkā (No. 7) on his expedition to Kashmir. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rājah Bhagwān from Thānāh Langar, where he was stationed, to ‘Alī Manjīd, where Mān Singh was.

In the 48th year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2000 horse. According to the Tabāqāt, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2000.

His son, Chattr Sāh, or Sattr Sāl, was at the end of Jahāngīr’s reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhīm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dak’hin, in the 3rd year of Shaḥjahān’s reign. His third son, Ugar Sēn, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (vide Pādisahān-

1 There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus in the Pādisahānāmah, Ed. Bibl. Indica, I, b., 306, he is called Mārhi Singh; but Hatti Singh in the same work, Vol. II, p. 730, and Hathi, on p. 374.

2 It was said above, p. 339, l. 1., that the battle of Gogandah was fought in 986. This is the statement of the Tabāqāt, which the Mādāir follows in its biographical note of Rājah Mān Singh. But from the Akbarnāmāh and the History of Bādawī, who was present in the battle, and brought Akbar Mān Singh’s report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on the 2nd Muharram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rābī’ I., of the same year.

It has been remarked above (p. 356, note 1), that the chronology of the Tabāqāt is erroneous. Bādawī ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days, and a confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The Akbarnāmāh is the only source for a history of Akbar’s reign, and the Sawdānīs should be the guide of Historians.
105. Sayyid Qa‘сим, and 148. Sayyid Ha‘шим, sons of Sayyid Mah- 

múd Khán of Bárha, Kúndlíwál (No. 75).

In the 17th year, S. Qásim served under Khán ‘Alám (No. 58), in the pursuit of Muhammad Husain Mírzá, who after his defeat by M. ‘Ázíz Kokh (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dak’hín.

S. Háshím served, in the 21st year, with Ráí Ráí Singh (No. 44) against Súltán Déorah, ruler of Sarohí, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year, both brothers served under Sháh-báž Khán (No. 80) against the Ráná. In the 25th year, when Chandr Sen, son of Máldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had jádíra in Ajmúr, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the káráwál of Mírzá Khán (No. 29) in the Gujrát war.

S. Háshím was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmadábád. S. Qásim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thánahábdár of Patan. When Mírzá Khán went to Court, leaving Qúlíj Khán as Governor of Ahmadábád, Qásim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muzaffar, Jám (zamíndár of Little Káchh), and K’hangár (zamíndár of Great Káchh).

On the transfer of Mírzá Khán, Khán i A’zám (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrát. Qásim continued to serve in Gujrát, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Súltán Murád’s Dak’hín corps.

Qásim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1500. Regarding their sons, vide p. 392.

112. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.


He is also called Rájah Ráí Sá’l Darbári, and is the son of Ráí Ráí Mall Shaikháwat, in whose service Hasan Khán Súr (father of Sher Sháh) was for some time.

As remarked above (p. 328, No. 23), the Kachhwalás are divided into Rájáwats and Shaikháwats. To the latter branch belong Rájahs Lóy Káran, Ráí Sá’l, &c.; the former contains Mán Singh’s posterity (the present rulers of Jaípur).

The term Shaikháwat, or Sheikháwat, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muhammadan Shaikh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called Shaikh.1 Hence his descendants are called the Shaikháwat Branch.

Ráí Sá’l was employed at Court, as his title of Darbári indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahángír, he was promoted, and served in the Dak’hín. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Ráí Sá’l was in the Dak’hín, Mádhú Singb and other grandchildren of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Ráí Sá’l’s paternal possessions.2 But Mat’hrúra

1 He is the same as the Shaikhjí of Jaípur genealogies. Shaikhjí is said to have been a grandson of Udáikara, twelfth descendant of Dholá Ráí (p. 320).
2 Called in the Mádsír, Khan-dár or Ghandár, ‘near Amber.’
Dis, a Bengali, who was Ráí Sál's Munshí and Vakil, recovered a portion of his master's lands.

After Ráí Sál's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamdárs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Ráí Girdhar, Ráí Sál's son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the Akbarnámah we see that Ráí Sál entered early Akbar's service; for he was present in the battle of Khairábád (p. 382), in the fight at Sarnál (p. 333), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note).

The Pádisháhánámah (I., b., p. 314) mentions another son of Ráí Sál's, Bhoj Ráj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The Tábaqát says that Ráí Sál was, in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand. Abulfazl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This manṣab is unusual, and Ráí Sál stands alone in this class. It does not occur in the lists of Grandees in the Pádisháhánámah. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Manṣab after the Hazárí was the Hazár o pánçádî, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.


This grandee must not be confounded with Muhíbb 'Alí Khán Bahádúr (p. 422). Muhíbb 'Alí Khán is the son of Mir Nizámuddín 'Alí Khalífah, the "pillar of Bábár's government." He had no faith in Humáyún, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdí Khvájah, Bábár's son-in-law. Mahdí, a short time before Bábár's death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mir Khalífah happened to be in Mahdí's tent; and when he left, Mahdí, thinking himself alone, put his hand to his beard, and exclaimed, "Thou shalt by and by follow me." He had scarcely uttered these words, when he observed Muqím i Harawi' in the corner of the tent. Muqín reported these words to Mir Khalífah, and upbraided him for giving Mahdí his support. Mir Khalífah thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdí, and raised, on Bábár's death, Humáyún to the throne.

His son Muhíbb 'Alí Khán distinguished himself under Bábár and Humáyún. His wife was Náhíd Begum, daughter of Qásím Kokah. Qásím had sacrificed himself for Bábár. Bábár had fallen into the hands of 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbek, when Qásím stepped forward and said that he was Bábár. He was cut to pieces, and Bábár escaped. In 975, Náhíd Begum went to Thátháh, to see her mother, Hija Begum (daughter of Mirzá Muqín, son of Mirzá Zul-nún). After Qásím Kokah's death, Hájí Begum married Mirzá Hasan, and after him, Mirzá Tsá Tarkhán, king of Sind. Before Náhíd Begum reached Thátháh, Mirzá Tsá died. His successor, Mirzá Báqí ill-treated Hájí Begum and her daughter. Hájí Begum therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. Báqí's person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Hájí Begum was put into prison. Náhíd Begum escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sultán Mahmúd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muhíbb 'Alí

1 Father of the Historian Nizámuddín Ahmad, author of the Tábaqát i Akbarí. 

Muqím was then Díwán i Begúldát.
to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack That'hah. Náhid Begum did so on coming to court, and Akbar, in the 16th year (978), called for Muhibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muhibb set out, accompanied by Mujáhid Khán, a son of his daughter. Sa'íd Khán (No. 25), Governor of Multán, had also received orders to assist Muhibb; but at Sultán Mahmúd’s request, Muhibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sultán Mahmúd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack That’hah without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmir, and not from Bhakkar. Muhibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sultán Mahmúd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Mahmúd had 10000 horse assembled near Fort Mát'hilah (ماثیلہ). Muhibb attacked them, dispersed them, and took soon after the fort itself. He then fitted out a larger corps, and moved to Bhakkar, where he again defeated Mahmúd. The consequence of this victory was, that Mubarak Khán, Sultán Mahmúd’s vazîr, left his master and went with 1500 horse over to Muhibb. But as Mubarak’s son, Beg Oghlí, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sultán Mahmúd, Muhibb wished to kill Beg Oghlí. Mubarak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muhibb’s power. Muhibb therefore killed Mubarak, and used the money which fell into his hands, to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar.

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair. The swelling which is peculiar to the district, decimated the people; and the bark of the Sirs tree (p. 228), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sultán Mahmúd, at last, sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salim, if Muhibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmúd) to court; for he said, he could not trust Muhibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesú, Bakáwal-begi, to Bhakkar. Before Mir Gesú arrived, Sultán Mahmúd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mujáhid Khán just besieged Fort Ganjábah, and his mother Sámi’á Begum (Muhibb’s daughter) who felt offended at Akbar’s proceedings, despatched a few ships against Mir Gesú, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqim i Harawi also arrived and dissuaded Muhibb from hostilities against Mir Gesú. The latter now entered Bhakkar (981), and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him. But neither Muhibb nor Mujáhid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muhibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mir Gesú, according to which Mujáhid should be allowed to go to That’hah, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Lohari. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mir Gesú despatched a flotilla after Mujáhid. Muhibb upon this withdrew to Mát’hilah. Sámi’á Begum fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesú’s men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one

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1 The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the Tārikh i Majmúi (vide No. 239), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot’s History of India (1, p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abulfazl’s account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson’s Mir Gesú, we have to read Mir Gesú. His biography is given in the Māsīr. 2 Generally called Ganjábah.
night. Next day, Mujâhid arrived in forced marches, defeated the enemy,1 and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muhammad Tarsun Khán (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muhibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muhibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of Mîr 'Arz. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of Mîr 'Arz, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihlí. Muhibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihlí in 989.

Muhibb is placed in the Tabaqât among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abûlâzîl says that it is called in old books Mas-đârah. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch, is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Loharí, and near it is the Indus.

Mûrzá Shâh Husân Arghân, king of That'hah, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother Sultân Mahmúd. After Shâh Husain's death, Sultan Mahmúd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mûrzá 'Isá Turkhán (p. 362) at That'hah. Both were often at war with each other. Sultân Mah- núd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before That'hah, it was attached to the Câbâh of Multán.

[Muhibb 'Ali Khâ'n Rahtâ'si']

Like Muhibb 'Ali Khán, son of Mîr Khalîfah, Muhibb 'Ali Khán Rahtâ'si is put in the Tabaqât among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abûlâzîl has not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the Akbar-nâmah and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtâs in S. Bihâr, he is generally called Rahtâ'si. This renowned Fort had passed, in 943, into the hands of Sher Shâh. During his reign, as also that of Salîm Shâh, Fath Khán Batâ'î commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaimán and Jumâid i Kararâni. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. As related above (p. 400), he handed it over to Shabbáez Khán (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatì and his son Sri Râm (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb 'Ali Khán governor of Rahtâs, and Shabbáez Khán made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Habîb 'Ali Khán (vide No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yûsuf Mîîtî, who had collected a band of Afghâns and ravaged S. Bihâr. His death affected his father so much, that he became temporarily insane.

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1 If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 241), the Târikh i Ma'qâmî would contradict the Akbar-nâmah. Mujâhid Khán is again mentioned, l. c., p. 282.
In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Čúbah, Muhibb was ordered to join Vazir Khán (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year, Bihárá was given to the Kachhwáhabs as jāgír, and Akbar called Muhibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multán. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muhibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muhibb took ill, and died, on the emperor's return, near the Koh i Sulairán. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the Akbarnámah (III, p. 245) a place Muhibb 'Alípír is mentioned, which Muhibb founded near Rahtás.

108. Sulta'n Khwájah, 'Abdul 'Azím, son of Khwájah Kháwand Dost.

He is also called Sultán Khwájah Naqshbandí. His father Kháwand Dost was a pupil of Khwájah 'Abdushshahid, fifth son of Khwájah 'Abdullah (generally called Khwájaqán Khwájah; vide No. 17, p. 322), son of the renowned saint Khwájah Náciruddín Ahrár (born 806, died 29th Rabi' I, 895).

When 'Abdushshahid came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Parganah Chamhri. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sultán Khwájah, though neither learned in the sciences nor in tapawwuf (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor. In 984, he was made Mir Hají, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sultán Khwájah was to distribute six lacs of rupees and 12000 khil'atos to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year), he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed Čadr of the realm (p. 273). He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992). He was buried outside the Fort of Fathpír, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dánýál.

His son, Mir Khwájah, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badóní and Abúlfázl, Sultán Khwájah belonged to the elect of the 'Divine Faith' (vide p. 204).


His name is not given in the Mádsir and the Tubagdá. The Akbarnámah mentions a Khwájah 'Abdullah who served in the war against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbek (No. 14), in Málwah (871-72), during the last rebellion of Khán Zamán (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnál (middle Sha'bán, 980; vide p. 333). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnámah, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

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1 Not given on the maps.

2 Naqshband was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwájah Bábáuddín of Bakhárá, born 728, died 3rd Rabi' I, 791. He was called naqshband, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave kamkhdbe adorned with figures (naqsh).

His full name is Khwájah Aminuddin Mahmuód of Haráát. The form Aminá is modern Iraní, which likes to add a long á to names. Amin was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humáyún on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshí of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar's accession, Amin was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of Khwájah Jahá'n. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year, he was accused by Muzaffár Khán (No. 37) of want of loyalty shewn in the rebellion of Khán Zamán. Amin was reprimanded, the great seal was taken from him, and he was dismissed to Makkah.

On his return, he was pardoned. In the 19th year (981-82), Akbar besieged Haji-púr; but Amin had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpúr. When the emperor returned from Haji-púr over Jaunpúr to Agra, Amin followed him. On the march, he was once charged by a mast elephant: his foot got entangled in a tent rope, and he fell to the ground. The accident had an injurious effect on Amin, convalescent as he was. He died near Lakhnáū, in the beginning of Sha'bán, 982.

According to the chronology of the Tábarqát, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amin's brother is mentioned. His name is Mirzá Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of Sháhri. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahángír also conferred the title of Khwájah Jahá'n on the officer (Dost Muham-mad of Kábul) who had served him as Bakhshí while Prince.

111. Ta'ta'r Khán, of Khurásán.

His name is Khwájah Táhir Muham-mad. In the 8th year, he accompanied Sháh Budág Khán (No. 52) and Rúmí Khán (No. 146), and pursued Mir Sháh 'Abdu Ma'áli, who withdrew from Hiğár Fírúzah to Kábul.

He was then made governor of Dihí, where he died in 986.

The Tábarqát says, he was for some time Vazír, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with 'Umar Núrúddín, the Tábarqát states, the death of Sháh Sháh, Prince of Ghilán.

112. Hákí'm Abúfath, son of Mullá 'Abdurrazzáq of Ghilán.

His name is Masihuddin Abúfath. Maulání 'Abdurrazzáq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of Çadr of Ghilán. When Ghilán, in 974, came into the possession of Táhmásb, Ahmad Khán, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and 'Abdurrazzáq was tortured to death. Hakim Abúfath, with his distinguished brothers Hakim Humám (No. 205) and Hakim Núrúddín,¹ left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 175). They went to Court and were well received. Abúfath, in the 24th year, was made Çadr and Amín of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he was captured with several other officers (vide Nos. 98 and 159); but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters.

¹ He is mentioned below among the Poets of Akbar's reign. His takhallus is 'Qárá'. Their fourth brother, Hakim Luṭfúlláh, came later from Iran to India, and received through Abú Fath's influence a Command of Two Hundred (No. 354). He did not live long.
and on the emperor himself. Though only a commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a Vakil.

As related above (p. 344), he accompanied Bir Bar on the expedition against the Yusufzais in Sawad and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded; for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abulfath's insubordinate conduct towards Zain Kokah (No. 34).

In the 34th year, (997), he went with the emperor to Kashmîr, and from there to Zâbulistân. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar's order, Khwâjah Shamsuddîn (No. 159) took his body to Hasan Abdâl, and buried him in a vault which the Khwâjah had made for himself (Tusuk, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abulfath's tomb.

The great poet 'Urfî of Shiáz (vide below, among the poets) is Abul Fath's encomiast. Faizî also has composed a fine marśiâh, or elegy, on his death.

Abulfazl and Badâoni speak of the vast attainments of Abulfath. A rare copy of his Munshid 'î is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwari diminutively Anwârik; and of Khâqânî he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him, to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abulfazl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badâoni III, 167).

Badâoni mentions Abulfath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Isâlm (p. 175).

Abulfath had a son, Fathullah. He was killed by Jahângîr, as he was an accomplice of Khusrav (Tusuk, p. 58).

A grandson of Abulfath is mentioned in the Pâdishâhnâmâh (II, p. 739). His name is Fath Zîâ; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 160 horse.

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113. Shaikh Jamâl, son of Muhammad Bakhtyâr.

His full name is Shaikh Jamâl Bakhtyâr, son of Shaikh Muhammad Bakhtyâr. The Bakhtyâr clan had possessions in Jalâsrâ, Čubah of Agrab.

Shaikh Jamâl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamâl's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Râp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, took immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 26th year, he accompanied Isâ'il Quli Khân (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyâbat Khân. Niyâbat Khân was the son of Mir Hâshim of Nishâpûr; his name was 'Arab. Before his rebellion, he held Jhosâ and Arail (Jalâlsbâs) as jagîr. In the fight, which took place near 'Kantit, a dependency of Panah,' Shaikh Jamâl was nearly killed, Niyâbat Khân having pulled him from his horse.

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1 His Munshid 'î contain interesting letters addressed by Abulfath to his brother Hakim Humân, the Khân Khânân (No. 29), Khwâjah Shams (No. 169), and others.

2 The Bibl. Indica edition of Badhâni (II, 289) says, the fight took place at Gasht (گشت), a dependency of Panah (پانه); but this is a mistake of the
In the 26th year, he marched with Prince Murād against Mīrzā Muhammad Hakim of Kābul.

Shaikh Jamāl drank a great deal of wine. One day, he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall, that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamāl therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a jogi. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamāl was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned; but he continued his old vice, and brought delirium tremens on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zābulistān, Shaikh Jamāl had to remain sick in Lūdhiānah. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamāl has been mentioned above on p. 191.

114. Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories Ja'far Khān Taklū, Taklū being the name of a Qizilsbāsh tribe.

His grandfather, Muhammad Khān Sharaufuddin Oghlū Taklū, was at the time of Humāyūn's flight governor of Harat and lallāh1 to Sultān Muhammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Shāh Tāhmasp i Čaṇfā. At the Shāh's order, he entertained Humāyūn in the most hospitable manner. When he died, he was succeeded in office by his son Qazāq Khān. But Qazāq showed so little loyalty, that Tāhmasp, in 972, sent Ma'qūm Beg i Čaṇfā against him. Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Harat, he died. Ma'qūm seized all his property.

Ja'far thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zāmān, and was made a Khān and a commander of One Thousand. From Badānī (II, p. 161,) we see that he had a jāgir in the Panjāb, and served under Husain Qul Khān (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the Tābaqāt, Ja'far's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Ja'far had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. Sha'h Fana'ī', son of Mir Najāfī.

His name is not given in the Mūsār and the Tābaqāt. From the Akbarnāmā (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālah and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year; vide No. 120).

The poet Fana'ī who is mentioned in Badānī (III, 296), the Tābaqāt, and the Mirāt ut 'A'lām, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar co-

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1 The word lallāh is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the Memoirs of Tāhmasp, the Akbarnārād, &c. I have never seen it used by Indian Historians. From the passages where it occurs, it is plain that it has the same meaning as atālīq, which so often occurs in Indian Histories. Vide p. 357, note.
fered on him the title of Khan. He was a Chaghtai Turk of noble descent. Once
he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three C's—chess, combat,
composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz. conceit.
For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty, it was found that he had
become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. Asadullah Khan, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the Madsir and the Tabaqdt. An Asadullah Khan is
mentioned in the Akbarnamah (end of the 12th year). He served under Khan Zam-
man (No. 13), and commanded the town of Zamansid (p. 320, l. 4 from below). After
Khan Zamán's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaimán, king of Bengal.
But Mun'im (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and took
quickly possession of the town, so that the Afghans under their leader, Khan Khánán
Lodi, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghans into contact
with Mun'im; and as they found him a tractable man, a meeting was arranged, which
took place in the neighbourhood of Patna. This meeting was of importance, inasmuch as Khan Khánán Lodi, on the part of Sulaimán, promised to read the Khutbah,
and to strike coins in Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of
Sulaimán in 980.

The Akbarnamah mentions another officer of a similar name, Asadullah Turkman.
He was mentioned above on p. 382.

117. Sa'adat 'Ali Khan, of Badakhán.

From the Akbarnamah (III, 296) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with
the rebel 'Arab Bahádur. Shahbáz Khán had sent Sa'adat to a Fort near Rahtás,
where he was surprised by 'Arab, defeated and slain. It is said that 'Arab drank
some of his blood.

118. Bu'psi Bairagi, brother of Rájah Bihári Mall (No. 23).

The Madsir says that Rúpsi was the son of Rájah Bihári Mall's brother. He
was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the Tabaqdt, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred.

Jaimall, Rúpsi's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (p. 329). He
served some time under Shāhufuddín (No. 17), jagirdár of Ajmir, and was Thánah-
dár of Mirkha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaimall went to Court. In the 17th year,
he served in Mangald of Káhán Kalán (Vide No. 129), and accompanied the
emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadábad (p. 416, note). In the 21st
year, he served in the expedition against Daudá, son of Ráí Surjan (No. 96), and the
conquest of Bándi (Muharram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a
mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausá, he suddenly died.

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1 According to the Akbarnamah, Baddoni, and the Tabaqdt, Sulaimán died in
980. In Prinsep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, &c., 981 is mentioned as the year of
his death. The Riyád ussaláthin, upon which Stewart's work is based, has
also 981; but as this History is quite
modern and compiled from the Akbarná-
mah and the Tabagdt, 981 may be looked
upon as a mistake. This corrects also
note 1, p. 171.

2 The MSS. call the Fort Késit, &c. It is said to be a
dependency (ax muzd/dt) of Rahtás.
Jaimall's wife, a daughter of Mot'h Rájah (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile; but Udai Singh, Jaimall's son, wished to force her to become a Suttee. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagná'th (No. 69) and Ráí Sál (No. 106) got hold of Udai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaimall wore in the fight with Muhammad Husain Mírzá, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 506, note). Ráípsi was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Málidee) to put on Jaimall's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour. Bhagwán Dás, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Ráípsi's rudeness.

119. I'timá'd Khá'n, Khwájahsará.

He has been mentioned above p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adí (vide No. 140) had died.

Maqúd 'Alí, who killed I'timád, is said to have been blind on one eye. When he explained to I'timád his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that some one should put urine into his blind eye. Maqúd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, I'timád was murdered by Maqúd, whilst getting up from bed.

I'timád built I'timádpúr, 6 kos from Agra'h. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.

120. Báz Baha'dur, son of Shajáwal Khá'n [Súr].

Abulfazl says below (Third Book, Qúbah of Málwah) that his real name was Bázazíd.

Báz Báhadúr's father was Shujá'at Khá'n Súr, who is generally called in histories Shajáwal, or Sajáwal, Khá'n. The large town Shajáwalpúr, or Sajáwalpúr, in Málwah bears his name; its original name, Shujá'atpúr, which Abulfazl gives below under Sirkár Sárangpúr, Málwah, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Sháh took Málwah from Máli (Qádir Khá'n), Shujá'at Khá'n was in Sher Sháh's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salim's reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Málwah. Salim despatched a corps after him, and Shujá'at fled to the Rájah of Dúngarpúr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salim and remained with him, Málwah being divided among the courtiers. Under 'Adí, he was again appointed to Málwah. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Báz Báhadur succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Málwah. His expedition to Gaţla was not successful, Ráni

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1 The Trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of I'timádpúr Mandra about 9 miles E. of Agra'h, in the Parganah of Fathábád, near Samúgar, where Aurangzib defeated Dará Shíkhoh.

2 A few MSS. have Shujá Khá'n for Shujá'at Khá'n, just as one MS. read Shujá'púr for Shujá'atpúr. Elphinstone also has Shujá' (p. 501, note 1). The word 'Shujá'at' should be spelled 'Shujá'at,' whilst خسق is pronounced Shujá; but the former also is pronounced with a u all over India.
Dbg6wati (p. 367) having repulsed him. He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury: his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindústán, especially the beautiful Rúpmati, who is even now-a-days remembered.

In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar’s reign, Adham Kokah (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Málwah. Pir Muhammad Khán (No. 20), ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbak (No. 14), Qiyá Khán Gung (No. 33), Sháh Muhammad Khán of Qandhár (No. 95) and his son ‘Adíl Khán (No. 126), Cúdiq Khán (No. 43), Hábíb ‘Alí Khán (No. 133), Haidar Muhammad Khán (No. 66), Muhammad Qur í Toqáí (No. 129), Qiyá Khán (No. 184), Mírak Bahádír (No. 208), Samání Khán (No. 147), Páyanláh Muhammad Mughul (No. 68), Míhr ‘Alí Sildoz (No. 130), Sháh Fanáí (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Báž Bahádír three kos from Sárangpúr and defeated him (middle of 968). Báž Bahádír fled to the jungles on the Khandesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pir Muhammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mirán Sháh of Khandesh, who assisted him with troops. Pir Muhammad in the mean time conquered Bījágádh, threw himself suddenly upon Burbánpúr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pir Muhammad fled, and was drowned in the Nárábád. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jágilárás left for Agrah, so that Báž Bahádír without opposition re-occupied Málwah.

In the 7th year, Akbar sent ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbak to Málwah. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharjí, Zamíndár of Baglánah, and tried to obtain assistance from Chigíz Khán and Sher Khán of Gujrát, and lastly even from the Nizám ul Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Ráhá Udái Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar’s generosity; for in the 15th year, Akbar ordered Hasan Khán Khizánchí to conduct Báž Bahádír to Court. He now entered the emperor’s service, and was made on his arrival a commander of One Thousand. Some time later, he was promoted to a manşád of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Báž Bahádír and his Rúpmati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjaín. Vide No. 188.

121. U’dái Singh, Mot’h Rájah, son of Rái Máldeo.

The Tabágát says that he was in 1001 a commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpúr.

Akbar, in 994, married U’dái Singh’s daughter to Jahangír. On p. 8 of the Tisák, Jahángír says that her name was Jagat Gosiáni. She was the mother of Prince Khurrám (Shábjahán); vide p. 310, l. 19.

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1 The 6th year of Akbar’s reign commences on the 24th Jumádá II, 968, and the battle of Sárangpúr took place in the very beginning of the 6th year.

2 This officer was often employed on missions. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, he was sent to Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orisá.

In 981, he was at Kambhái, which he left on the approach of Muhammad Husain Mírá, and withdrew to Ahmadábád to M. ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21).
Mírzá Hádí in his preface to Jahángír’s Memoirs (the Tuzuk i Jahángír) has the following remark (p. 6): ‘Rájah Údáí Sing is the son of Rájah Máldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Ráñá Sándá, who fought with Firdaus-makán (Bábar) possessed much power, Máldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious.’

From the Akbarnáma (Lucknow Edition, III. p. 183) we see that Mo’t Rájah accompanied in the 22nd year Çádíq Khán (No. 43), Rájah Askaran, and Ulugh Khán Habshí (No. 135) on the expedition against Múdhukar (26th Rabí’ I, 986). In the 28th year, he served in the Gújrát war with Múzaffár (Akbarnáma, III, 423).

Another daughter of Mo’t Rájah was married to Jaimall, son of Dápí (No. 118).

122. Khwájah Shá’h Mánqúr’ of Shíráz.

Mánqúr was at first Mushríf (accountant) of the Khúshbú Khánah (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Múzaffár Khán (No. 37) induced Sh. Mánqúr to go to Jaunpúr, where Khán Zamán made him his Díwádn. Subsequently he served Mun’im Khán Khánán in the same capacity. After Mun’im’s death, he worked for a short time with Todar Mál in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor Vazír. He worked up all arrears, and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue. The custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of the tax; but this method was now found inconvenient, because the empire had become greater; for at different places the assessment differed, and people and soldiers suffered losses. For this reason, the Khwájah, in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding Dáshedháh roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself which did not then include Orísá, T’hát’hah, Kashmir, and the Dak’hín, was divided into 12 parts, called čúbahs; and to each čúbah a sipákhádár (Military Governor), a Díwán, a Bákhsáhí (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a Mír’ Adl, a Çadr, a Kotwál, a Mír Bahár, and a Wádí’ah Náwí (p. 258) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwájah displayed towards jágír-holders led to serious results. In the 25th year, he lowered the value of the jágírs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihár by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihár were then not completely subdued, and the Afgháns still mustered large forces in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orísá, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mánqúr’s rigour was impolitic; for Akbar’s officers looked upon the old jágír emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afgháns. Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both provinces, and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 per cent. the emoluments of those in Bihár. This Mánqúr cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 60, and Bihár officers an increase of only 20 per cent. He then wrote to Múzaffár to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Sayurghál tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jágír-holders in Jaunpúr, Bihár, and Bengal rebelled. That religious excitement was one of the causes of this Military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal, is best seen from the fact that
not a single Hindú was on the side of the rebels. Todar Mall tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mançúr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Ma'qúm Khán i Farankhúdi (No. 157) and Muhammad Tarson (No. 22). Akbar deposed Mançúr and appointed temporarily Sháh Quí Mahram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mançúr's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, at Ma'qúm Khán i Kábúli's instigation, threatened to invade the Pánjáb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mançúr's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mírzá M. Hakím's Munshí, addressed to Mançúr. Accidentally Malik Sání, Hakím's Díwán, who had the title of Vazír Khán, left his master, and paid his respects to Akbar at Sonpañ. As he put up with Mançúr, new suspicions got aloft. Several words which Mançúr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M. M. Hakím were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Fáridún Khán (maternal uncle to M. M. Hakím) had presented the Beg to the Mírzá. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent whicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Mançúr: he should remain in jail till any of the grandees should stand bail for him; but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Ráí (p. 262) to hang Mançúr on a tree near Sáráí Kot K'hachwáh (beginning of 989).  

1 The chief rebel was M a'qúm Khán i Kábúli, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 189, 342, 361, 400, &c.). He was a Turbañ Sayyid (vide p. 348, No. 37). His uncle, Mírzá 'Azíz, had been Vazír under Humáyún, and Ma'qúm himself was the foster-brother (Ákáá) of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwájah Hasan Naqshbándí (p. 322, 1, 11) who had married the widow of Mr Sháh Abú Ma'áli, Ma'qúm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afgháns, and was wounded in a fight with Kálá Pahár. For his bravery, he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Orísh as特色小镇, when Mançúr and Múzzafar's strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him Ma'qúm Khán i 'Áfí, 'Ma'qúm Khán, the rebel.' His fights with Múzzafar and Sháhjáhán have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to Bádáá (p. 348, note), where he died in the 44th year (1607).  

2 His son Shujá' i Kábúli was under Jáhángír's ThánahábÁr of Ghazánf, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Sháhjáhán, who bestowed upon him the title of Asad Khán. He died in the 12th year of Sháhjáhán's reign. His son, Qubád, was a commander of Five Hundred.  

The editors of the Pádisákánmáín, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shujá's name twice, i. b., p. 304 and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong.  

3 So the Akbarndmáín, Kot K'hachwáh is a village on the road from Karnál to Lodhi Bánah, Lat. 30° 17'; Long. 76° 53'. In the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badañón (II, p. 294, 293) the place is called kajk kot, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called Musharráf Beg, and a few lines lower, again Sharaf Beg. Badañón says nothing of Todar Mall's intrigues. Mançúr was hanged in the very beginning of 989, i. e. the end of the 25th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 5th Cañfar 989 (the Lucknow Edition, III, 326, has wrong 990); and the 27th year commences 15th Cañfar 990, which in the Bibl. Indica Ed. of Badañón (II, p. 300, l. 2, from below) is wrongly called the 26th year.
This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when Akbar came to Kábul (10th Rájah 980), he examined into Mançúr's treasonable correspondence. It was then found, to the sorrow of Akbar, that every letter which had been shown to him had been a forgery, and that Mançúr was not guilty of even one of the malicious charges preferred against him.

It is said, though at the time it was perhaps not proved, that Karamullah, brother of Shahbáz Khán i Kambú (p. 402, l. 19) had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rájah Todar Mall.

Mançúr had been Vazír for four years.

123. Qutlugh Qadam Khán, Akhtah-begi. The Turkish word qutlugh means mubdrak, and qadam i mubdrak, is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet. The Ṭabaqát calls him Qutlí, instead of Qutlugh, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 356.

Qutlugh Qadam Khán was at first in the service of Mirzá Kámrán, and then went over to Humáyún.

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwájáh Mu'ázzam, and served in the same year in Málwágh against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbek (No. 14). In the battle of Khaírábád, he held a command in the van.

In the 19th year, he was attached to Mun'im’s Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takarái (p. 375). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khán, served under Príncipe Murád in the Dák'hin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Daulatábád.

124. 'Ali Quíshi Khán, Indarábi. Indaráb is a town of Southern Qunduz. The straight line drawn from Kábul northwards to Tasifikhán passes nearly through it.

'Ali Quíl had risen under Humáyún. When the Emperor left Kábul for Qandsahr to enquire into the rumours regarding Bairám's rebellion, he appointed 'Ali Quíl governor of Kábul. Later, he went with Humáyún to India.

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under 'Ali Quíl Khán Zamání (No. 13) in the war with Hemú, and accompanied afterwards Khízír Khwájah (p. 365, note 2) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Súr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atgá Khán (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bairám was defeated.

The Ṭabaqát says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. 'Adil Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad i Qaláti (No. 95).

He served under Adhám Khán (No. 10) in Málwágh, and took a part in the pursuit of 'Abdullah Khán Uzbek. Later, he assisted Muhammad Quíl Khán Barlá (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbek, and was present at the siege of Chítor (p. 368). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramazán, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmir and Alwar. 'Adil, who was at that time mu'dtab,

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1 Akhtah means 'a gelding,' and akhtah-begi, the officer in charge of the geldings (vide No. 66). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title 'atbegi, from the Turkish dê, a horse; vide p. 137, Ain 53.
i. e., under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbārs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when 'Adil rushed forward and engaged the tiger, putting his left hand into its mouth, and stabbing with the dagger in his right at the animal's face. The tiger got hold of both hands of his opponent, when others came up and killed the brute with swords. In the struggle, 'Adil received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abulfazl says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (ta'alluq i khātir) with the wife of his father's Diwān; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and 'Adil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyām Khān, brother of 'Adil Khān. Jahāngīr made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as Qardwaalbegi (officer in charge of the drivers).

126. Khwājah Ghīsuddīn Ḥaḍirī (Ali Khān, Aḵf Khān II.) of Qazwin.

He is not to be confounded with Mir Ghīsuddīn 'Ali Khān (No. 161). For his genealogy, vide p. 368. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaikh Shihābuddīn Suhravardī, a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalifa.

Khwājah Ghīsī was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakhshi by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrat war, and received the title of Aḵf Khān. He was also made Bakhshī of Gujrat, and served as such under M. 'Azīz Kokaḥ (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amirs to İdar, 'to clear this dependency of Gujrat of the rubbish of rebellion.' The expedition was directed against the Zamīndār Nārān Dās Rātaghor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm i Naqshbandī, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Aḵf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwāh and Gujrat, to arrange with Shihāb Khān (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the Dāgh (pp. 242, 256). He died in Gujrat in 989.

Mīrzā Nūrūddīn, his son. After the capture of Khusraw, (p. 414) Jahāngīr made Aḵf Khān III. (No. 98), Nūrūddīn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nūrūddīn who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw, and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of İtbār Khān, one of Jahāngīr's eunuchs, and Nūrūddīn had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahāngīr on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwājah Waisi, Diwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nūrūddin and Muhammad Sharīf, son of İtīmāduddaulah, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list

1 Author of the 'Awārif ul Ma'drif. He died at Baghdād in 632. His uncle Abūl-najīl. (died 663) was also a famous saint. Wüstenfeld's Jacut, III. p. 203

of names was also brought up; but Jahángir, at the request of Kháán Jahán Lodi, threw it into the fire without having read it; "else many others would have been killed."

127. Farrukh Husain Khá'n, son of Qásim Husain Khá'n. His father was an Uzbak of Khwárazm; his mother was a sister of Súltán Husain Mírzá.

The Madsir and the Tábaqdt say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (II., p. 335).

128. Mu'ínuddi'n [Ahmad] Khá'n i Faranúkhódí.¹

Mu'ín joined Humáyún's army when the Emperor left Kábul for Hindústán. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Agra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when 'Abdulláh Khá'n Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Málwah, Mu'ín was made a Khá'n. After the conquest, he divided the province into khalíqáh and jágír lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Mu'ín was attached to Mún'ím's Bihár corps. He then accompanied the Khá'n Khá'nán to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaró, and died of fever at Gaur (vide p. 376).

The Tábaqdt merely says of him that he had been for some time Mír Súhála.

For his son vide No. 157.

Badáni (III., p. 157) mentions a Jámi' Masjíd built by Mu'ín at Agra.

129. Muhammad Quli' Toqba'i.

Toqbaí is the name of a Chaghtáí clan. Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khá'n (No. 19) in the conquest of Málwah (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mírzá Sharafúddin (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980), he served in the Mangáld of Khá'n i Kalán (No. 16)². In the 20th year, he was attached to Mún'ím's corps, and was present in the battle of Takaró, and the pursuit of the Afgháns to Bhadrák (p. 375).

¹ Many MSS. have Faranúkhódí. The Mu'jam mentions a place Farankhad, which is said to be near Samarqand.

² Akbar left Fathpúr Síkri for Gujrát, on the 20th Cafer 980 (17th year), passed over Sángání (8 miles south of Japúr), and arrived on the 15th Rahí' I. at Ajmír. On the 2nd Rahí' II., 980, he ordered Khá'n i Kalán (No. 16) to march in advance (Mangáld), and left Ajmír on the 22nd Rahí' II. Shortly before his arrival at Nógor, on the 5th Jamúda I., Akbar heard that Prince Dánýád had been born at Ajmír on the 2nd Jamúda I., 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Ahmadábád on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Shá'bán, 980, the fight at Sarnál took place with Ibnáhím Husain Mírzá. On the 24th Shá'bán, Akbar reached Barodáh, and arrived at Súrá, on the 7th Ramázan, 980. On the 18th Ramázan, 980, Mírzá 'Aziz defeated Muhammad Husain Mírzá and the Fúládis at Patan. Súrat surrendered on the 23rd Shávwál. There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dánýád's birth. The Támık (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jamúda I., 979, which has been given above on p. 309. Badáni (II., p. 139) has the 2nd Jamúda I., 980. The Akbarnámah has the 2nd Jamúda I., and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the Suwádáí also place the event in 980, but say that Dánýád was born on the 2nd Jamúda I., 979.

On the 6th Zí Qa'dah, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the 'Id i Qurbáí (10th Zí Hujáh, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Ják to Agra, which he reached on the 2nd Cafer, 981. After this, Muhammad Husain Mírzá invaded Gujrát, and took Bah-

Sildoz is the name of a Chagháti clan. According to the Tabaqát, he was at first in Bairám's service. In the end of the 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanád (Chunár), which Jamál Khán, the Afghan Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Badáoni II., 32). Akbar offered him five parganahs near Jaunpúr, but Jamál did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 'Ali with vain promises. Mihr 'Ali at last left suddenly for Agrah.

On his journey to Chanád, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badáoni, then a young man, whom he had given lodging in his house at Agrah. On his return from the Fort, Badáoni nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Badáoni calls him Mihr 'Ali Beg, and says that he was later made a Khán and Governor of Chítór.

He served under Adham Khán (No. 10) in Málwah, and in the Gujrát wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hiçár, and honored him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakíná Bánú Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kabul to advise his brother, Mirzá Muhammad Hakim. In the 26th year, he served under Todar Mall against the rebel 'Arab.

The Tabaqát makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwa'jah Ibra'hi'm i Badakhshí'.

He is not mentioned in the Maáśir and the Tabaqát. From the Akbarnámah (II., p. 207) we see that he was Jágfrdár of Sakít (in the Mainpúr District). Near this town there were eight villages inhabited by robbers. In consequence of numerous complaints, Akbar resolved to surprise the dacoits. A great number were killed, and about one thousand of them were burnt in dwellings in which they had fortified themselves. Akbar exposed himself to great dangers: no less than seven arrows stuck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot into a grain pit, which threw the officer who was seated behind him with much force upon him. The fight chiefly took place in a village called in the MSS. بیرونکه or برونکه.

The Tabaqát mentions a Sultán Ibráhím of Aubah (near Harát) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the Ain. He was the maternal uncle of rooch and Kambaít, but was defeated by Qulí Khán and S. Hámid (No. 78). Ikhtiyárul Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadábád. Muhammad Husain Mirzá joined him. Both besieged Ahmadábád. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrát. This is the famous nine days' march (24th Rabi' II., 981 to 4th Jumádá I., 981); vide p. 416, note. Muhammad Husain Mirzá was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ikhtiyár was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, after an absence of forty-three days, at Fath-púr Sikri, 8th Jumádá II., 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 375) that the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnámah, is not a trustworthy edition.

An extraordinary error occurs in the events of the 17th year. The editors have divided the work into three, instead of two parts—the Ain i Akbari is the third part,—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dányál (2nd Jumádá I., 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zi Qa'dah, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between those two days, viz., the conquest of Gujrát and the first defeat of the Mirzás.
Haizamuddin Ahmad, author of the Tabaqät. He conquered Kāmbū and the Dāman i Koh.

132. Salīm Khān Ka'kar.
Several MSS. of the Ain call him Salīm Khān Kūkār 'Alī. The Akbarnama calls him Salīm Khān Kūkār, or merely Salīm Khān, or Salīm Khān Sirmūr. The Tabaqät has Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afgānān.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Mālfwah, and later under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) in Aūdh, and was present in the battle of Khairābād. In 980, he took part in the fight of Saruāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jāgīr dār of Tājpūr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) to Bhāti. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vāzīr Khān having gone to the frontier of Oṛīsā, Jabārī (vide p. 370, note 2) made an inroad from Bihār into G'hōrāghāt, and took Tājpūr from Salīm's men, and Pārniān from the relations of Tarson Khān (No. 32). Jabārī moved as far as Tāṇḍah. The Kotwāl, Ḥasan 'Alī, was sick, and Shāikh Allah Bakhsh Čādr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shāikh Fārīd arrived, and Jabārī withdrew to Tājpūr. In the 32nd year, Salīm served under Māḫāb Khān (No. 83) against the Tārīkūs, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Čādiq Khān against the same Afgānān rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān.
He is not to be confounded with the Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān mentioned on p. 422.

Ḥabīb was at first in the service of Bārān Khān. In the third year, when Akbar had marched to Agra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyyū Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afgānān, and Salīm Shāh had appointed Jhujhūr Khān governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperials, and handed it over to Rāi Sūrjan (No. 96), who was then in the service of Rānā Uḍai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege. Abulfazl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bārān's fall produced.

In the 6th year (968), he served under Adhān (No. 19) in Mālfwah. According the Tabaqät, he died in 970.

134. Jagmāl, younger brother of Rājāh Bihārī Mall (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmāl was mentioned on p. 329. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mīrta'ha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp.

Hīs sōn Kangār. He generally lived with his uncle Rājāh Bihārī Mall at Court. When Ibrāhīm Husāin Mīrzā threatened to invade the Agra District, he was ordered by the Rājāh to go to Dīlī. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition against Rānā Pārtāb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80). When Shahbāz returned unsuccessfully from Bhāti (p. 401), Kangār, Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān (No. 189), Rājāh Gopāl, Mīrzādāh 'Alī (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperials held their ground and killed.
Naurúx Beg Qáqsháł, the leader. They then joined Shahbáž, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpúr Múrcha.

According to the Tabaqát, Kangár was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135. Ulugh Khán Habshi', formerly a slave of Sultán Mahmúd of Gujrát.

Ulugh Khán is Turkish for the Persian Khán i Kalda (the great Khán). He rose to dignity under Mahmúd of Gujrát. The word Habshi', for which MSS. often have Badakhshi', implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch. In the 17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Ahmadábád, he was one of the first Gujrátí nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Çádiq (No. 43) against Rájah Madhukar Bandelah, Zamindár of Undcháh. In the 24th year, he followed Çádiq, who had been ordered to assist Rájah Todar Mall on his expedition against the rebel 'Arab (Niyábat Khán) in Bihár. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabi'tah (p. 356, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

136. Maqou'd 'Ali Kor.

The Tabaqát says that Maqúd was at first in Bárámí Khán's service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the Akbarnámah (II., 96) we see that he served under Qiyá Khán (No. 33) in the conquest of Gujrár.

137. Qabúl Khán.

From the Akbarnámah (II., p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qábúl Khán had conquered the District of Bhambar on the Khámín frontier. One of the Zamindárs of the District, named Jamáil, made his submission, and obtained by flattery a great power over Qábúl, who is said to have been a good-hearted Turk. Jálá not only managed on various pretexts to send away Qábúl's troops, but also his son Yádgáar Husain (No. 338), to Naushárah. The Zamindárs of the latter place opposed Yádgáar, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yádgáar managed to escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamindár. About the same time Jálá collected his men and fell over Qábúl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Rámazan, 978).

Akbar ordered Khán Jákán to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamindárs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yádgáar Husain recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnámah mentions another Qábúl Khán among the officers who served in the Afgánd war in Bengal under Mu'ím Khán Khánán. He was present in the battle of Takarár and pursued the Afgánds under Todar Mall to Bhadrák (p. 375).

Neither of the two Qábúl Khán is mentioned in the Tabaqát and the Maásír.
Commanders of Nine Hundred.


Kola'b is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshán, Long. 70°, Lat. 38°. The District of Kola'b lies north of Badakhshán Proper, from which it is separated by the Amú (Oxus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshán. Hence Kúchak 'Ali is often called in the Akbarnámah Kúchak 'Ali Khan i Badakhshán.

He served under Mun'im Khán against Khán Zamán, and was present at the reconciliation at Baksar (Baxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Mun'im Khán in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaroí (p. 375).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148, and No. 380.

139. Sabdal Khán, Sumbul, a slave of Humáyún.

140. Sayyid Muhammad, Mir 'Adil, a Sayyid of Amroháh.

Amroháh, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to Sirkár Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mír Sayyid Muhammad had studied the Hadis and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Bádáoni was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adil. When the learned were banished from Court (İkhraj i ulama'i), he was made governor of Bhakkar.* He died there two years later in 985 or 986.

From the Akbarnámah we see that S. Muhammad with other Amrohá Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Mahmúd of Bárha in the expedition against Bajáh Madhukár.

He advised the Historian Bádáoni to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious Madad i Ma'dák tenures, an advice resembling that of 'Abdulghafír (vide No. 99, p. 413). S. Muhammad's sons were certainly all in the army; vide No. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawi Khán, Mirzá Mirak, a Razawi Sayyid of Mashhad.

He was a companion of Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the 10th year, he went to the camp of the Imperialists to obtain pardon for his master. When in the 12th year Khán Zamán again rebelled, Mirzá Mirak was placed under the charge of Khán Báqí Khán (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihlí, Bádáoni II, 100). After Khán Zamán's death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a mast elephant; but the driver was ordered to spare him as he was a man of illustrious descent. This was done for five days, when at the intercession of the courtiers he was set at liberty. Shortly afterwards, he received a mançab and the title of Razawi Khán. In the 19th year, he was made Diwán of Jaunpúr, and in the 24th year, Bakhshi of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

* Not all MSS. of the Ain have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 to the Hazáris. But the best MSS. have this mançab. In the lists of grandees in the Pádisháhnámah also the mançab of Nine Hundred occurs.

In 983, the 20th year, (Akbarnámah III, 138). Bádáoni (III. p. 75), has 984.
At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muzaffar Khan (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zī Hajjah, 987) and gone from Tândah to Gaur, Muzaffar sent Razawi Khan, Rāi Patr Dās (No. 196), and Mīr Ahmad Munshi to them to try to bring them back to obedience. Things took indeed a good turn and everything might have ended peacefully, when some of Rāi Patr Dās’s Rājūtas said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rāi Patr Dās mentioned this to Razawi Khan, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāi Patr Dās. Razawi Khan and Mīr Ahmad Munshi surrendered themselves.

The Mādeīr says that nothing else is known of Razawi Khan. The Tabaqāt says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand and was dead in 1001.

Mīrzā Mirak is not to be confused with Mīrak Khān, ‘an old grandee, who died in 975’ (Tabaqāt); or with Mīrak Bahādur (208).

Shāhjahan conferred the title of Razawi Khan on Sayyid ‘Alī, son of Čadrūq-cūdūr Mīrān S. Jalāl of Buhārā.

142. Mīrza’ Naja’t Khān, brother of Sayyid Barkah, and
149. Mīrza’ Husain Khān, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the Tabaqāt, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them Najābat, instead of Najāt, and Hasān instead of Husain.

From the Akbarnāmah (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

Mīrzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihāb Khān (No 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rājāh ‘Alī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qiqāshāl (vide p. 369, note 3), Jabārīr (p. 370), Vazīr Jamīl (No. 200), Sa’īd i Toqbāl, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zī Hajjah, 987, from Tândah to Gaur across the Ganges. Mīr Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muzaffar sent his grandees [Mīr Jamāluddīn Husain Injū (No. 164), Razawi Khān (No. 141), Timūr Khān (No. 215), Rāi Patr Dās (No. 196), Mīr Adham, Husain Beg, Hakīm Abulfāth (No. 112), Khwājah Shamsuddīn (No. 159), Ja’far Beg (No. 98), Muhammad Quli Turkmān (No. 203), Qāsim Khān i Sīstānī, Twaz Bahādur, Zulf ʿAlī Yazdī, Sayyid Abū Isbāq i Qafawī (No. 384), Muzaffar Beg, &c.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mīr Najāt stayed with Vazīr Jamīl, although Muzaffar, who was Najāt’s father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 26th year he was at Sātgānū (Hūglī). Abulfazl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fathābād (No. 54), and Qiyā Khān in Orisā (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (Akbarnāmah, III, 201). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afghāns under Qutlū, who looked upon the revolt as his opportu-
inity. Mir Naját also was attacked by Qutlu and defeated near Salimábád (Salámainábád), S. of Bardván. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Húgli.² Bába Kháń Qáphán sent one of his officers to get hold of Naját; but the officer hearing of Qutlu's victory, attacked the Afgháns near Mangalkot, N. E. of Bardván. Qutlu, however, was again victorious.

143. Sayyid Ha'ishim, son of Sayyid Mahmúd of Bárha. Vide No. 105, p. 419.

144. Gházi Kháń i Badakhshî.

In MSS. Gházi is often altered to Qázi, and Badakhshí to Bakhshí, and as Gházi Kháń's first title was Qázi Kháń, his name is often confounded with No. 225. Other Gházi Kháńns have been mentioned above, on pp. 367, 384.

Gházi Kháń's name was Qázi Nizámín. He had studied law and Hadís under Mullá 'Táhir, of Bhrám, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the muríd of Shaikh Husain of Khwárázim, a renowned Cái. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulámain, king of Badakhshán (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of Qázi Kháń. At the death of Humâyún, Sulámain wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kábal and besieged Mun'im (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulámain sent Qázi Kháń to Mun'im to prevail on him to surrender. But Mun'im detained him for several days, and treated him 'to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshí cannot enjoy even in peaceful times.' The good dinners made such an impression on Qázi Kháń, that he advised Sulámain to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulámain thereupon returned to Badakhshán.

Subsequently, Qázi Kháń left his master, and went to India. At Khánpúr, he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpúr (Akbar III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed Purvánchí writer (p. 263). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon him the title of Gházi Kháń, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Gházi Kháń commanded the left wing of Mán Singh's corps in the war with the Ráná. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as faqîr, and distinguished himself in Bihár against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultán Khwájah died (No. 108).

Gházi Kháń is the author of several works (vide Bodásoni III, 153).

The sijdáh, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the court, was his invention (vide p. 159, note).

His son Husámuddín. Akbar made him a commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Kháń Kháńán (No. 29) to the Dak'híin. Suddenly a change came over Husám, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as faqîr at the tomb of Nizámuddín Auliá in Dihl. The

¹ The MSS. of the Akbarnámah call him Bartab Bár Firingí, or Partáb Firingí.
Khán Khánán persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Husám next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body over with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husám lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihlí. Khwájah Báqi Billah (born at Kábúl and buried at Dihlí) conferred on him power of 'guiding travellers on the road of piety.' He died in 1034. His wife was Abulfázl's sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwishs, and fixed an annual sum of 12000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. Vide Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farhat Khán', Mihtar Sakái, a slave of Humáyún.

The MSS. have Sakái and Sakdhi. Farhat Khán is first mentioned in the war between Humáyún and Mirzá Kámrán, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bábá of Koláb lifted up his sword to strike Humáyún from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat and put to flight. When Humáyún left Lábor on his march to Sarbind, where Sikandar Khán was, Farhat was appointed Shiğdar of Lábor. Subsequently, Mir Sháh Abul Ma'áli was appointed Governor of Lábor. He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead. Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjáb.

After Akbar's accession, Farhat was made Tuyüldár of Korrah. He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mirzá near Ahmadábad. When the Mirzá was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farhat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihár and was made jágídár of Arah. In the 21st year (984), Gajpatí (p. 400) devastated the district. Farhang Khán, Farhat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain. Farhat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (vide No. 80).

146. Ru'mí Khán', Ustád Jalábí (?), of Rúm.

He is not mentioned in the Tabagát and the Madásir, and but rarely in the Akbarndmák. In the 20th year, he and Bágí Khán (No. 60) and 'Abdurrahmán Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begums from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadán Begum, Salimah Sultan Begum, Hájí Begum, Gulázár Begum, Sultan Begum (wife of Mirzá 'Askarl), Umm Kulsüm Begum (granddaughter of Gulbadán Begum), Gujáír Aghá (one of Bábár's wives), Bibi Çafiyah, Bhi Sarw i Sahí and Sháhám Aghá (wives of Humáyú'n), and Salimah Khánum (daughter of Khizr Khwájah). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rúmí Khán has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Sama'ñjí Khán' Qurghu'jí. Vide No. 100.

He was a grandee of Humáyún. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The Tabagát says, he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2000. In the same work, he is called a Maghul.

1 Akbarndmák I, 416. At the same time, Mir Bábús (No. 73) was appointed Funjdar of the Panjáb, Mirzá Sháh Sultan was made Amin, and Mihtar Jauhar, treasurer.
In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968), he served in Málwah under Adham Khán (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sárangpúr. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qásim Khán i Nishápúr (No. 40) and pursued 'Abdallah Khán Úzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khán Mir Munshí (No. 74), to go to Rantambhúr and suppress the disturbances created by Mirzá Muhammad Husain in Málwah. Later, he held a jágír in Aráh.¹ He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the Akbaránámah (III, 150) we see that he also served in the 21st year under Khán Jahán (No. 24), and was present in the battle of Ag Mahall. In the 30th year, he was in Málwah and was ordered to join the Dakhín corps. Two years later, he served under Sháháb Khán (No. 26) against Rájah Madhukar.

143. Sha'hbeg Khán, son of Kúchak 'Ali Khán of Badakhshán (No. 138).

His name is not given in the Ma'dísír and the Tabagát. Amín Beg, a Párncdí under Sháhjáhán, appears to be his son.

149. Mirza' Husain Khán, brother of Mirzá Naját Khán (vide No. 142).

150. Hakí'm Zanbi'l, brother of Mirzá Muhammad Tábíb of Sabzvár.

Zanbi'l means 'a basket.' In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakím Zanbi'l Beg. Badání says, he was a muqarríb, or personal attendant on the emperor.²

151. Khuda'wand Khán i Dakh'íni'.

Khudáwand Khán was a Nizámsháhi Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called Mashkád. He was of course a Shí'ah.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well-known for his personal courage. When Khwájah Mirák of Içfahán, who had the title of Chingiz Khán, was the Vá'íl of Murtazá Nizám Sháh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barár as jágír. The Masjíl of Rohánk'héra'í³ was built by him.

In 993, when Mir Murtazá of Sabzvár (No. 162) commanded the army of Barár, and was no longer able to withstand Çalábát Khán Chirgis in the Dakhín, Kh. accompanied M. Murtazá to Hindústán. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Patán in Gujúrát as tā'údil.

He was married to Abulfážl's sister, and died in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (Bádání II, 372, where in the Túrtak of his death the word Dakh'íni must be written without a h).
Once Abul Fazl had invited several grandees, Khudwänd among them. The dishes placed before Kh. contained fowls and game and different kinds of vegetables, whilst the other guests had roast meat. He remarked it, took offence, and went away. Although Akbar assured him that Abul Fazl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindustání custom, Kh. disliked Abul Fazl, and never went again to his house. ‘Hence Dakhínus are notorious in Hindustán for stupidity.’

The Šabáqát puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The Maásir has 997.

152. Mîrza’dah ‘Ali Khán, son of Muhtarim Beg.₁

He served in the 9th year in Mándwah during the expedition against ʿAbdulLAh Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrát war under the Khán i Kalán (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qásim Khán Kású, who with a corps of Afghánas ravaged the frontiers of Bihár. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shábab Khán in the war with Ráná Partáb.² He then served in Bihár under Khán i A’zám (26th year) and in Bengal under Shábab Khán (vide No. 134, p. 436). In the 30th year (993), he was present in the fight with Qutól near Mangalkot (Bardwán). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qásim Khán (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmir. Not long after, in 996 (32nd year), he was killed in a fight with the Kashmiris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdulLAh Khán (No. 189).

Badání (III. p 326) says, he was a poet. He places his death in 996.


Chélah means ‘a slave.’ The Šabáqát says he was a Qurchi, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a Ḥazdírí, and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwájah Mu’azzám. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chándr Sen, during which Jalál Khán (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Ahmad (No. 91) and Shábab (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwánah.

155. Sháh Ghází Khán’ a Sayyíd from Tabríz.

The Šabáqát calls him a Turkmán, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served, in the 19th year with Mírzá’dah ‘Alí Khán (No. 162) against Qásim Khán Kású.

He may be the Sháh Ghází Khán mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fázíl Khán’, son of Khán i Kalán (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 322.

157. Mâ’ou’m Khán’, son of Mu’ín uddín Ahmad Faránkhúdí (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Mâ’úm Khán i Khábulî (p. 431, note). Mâ’úm was made a Ḥazdírí on the death of his father, and received Gházpúr as tuyúl. He joined Todar Mall in Bihár, though anxious to go over to the rebels (p. 351).

₁ He is also called Míržá’d ‘Alí Khán. My text edition has wrong Míržá’ ‘Alí Khán. For Muhtarim many MSS. read wrongly Muhram.

² Generally called in the Histories Ráná Khíd. His father, Muhtarim Beg, was a grandee of Humáyún’s Court.
Not long afterwards, Mirzâ Muhammad Hakîm, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjâb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Ma’qûm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpûr and drove away Tarson Khân’s men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpûr and accepted Awadh as tâyûl. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Shâh Quli Mahram and Râjhâ Bir Bâr had failed to bring him to his senses, Shahbâz Khân, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 400.

After his defeat near Awadh, M. threw himself into the town; but as several rebel chiefs had left him, he absconded, without even taking his family with him. He applied to two Zamîndârs for assistance; but the first robbed him of his valuables, and the latter waylaid him, and had it not been for a bribe, M. would not have escaped. About this time one of his friends of the name of Maqûd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahrâch. Vâzîr Khân (No. 41) and others moved from Hâjipûr against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muhammadâbâd, he resolved to surprise Jaunpûr, when the tâyûdârs of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. ‘Azîz Kokah (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Parganâh Mîhsâ, Sirkâr Champâran, as tâyûl. But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. ‘Azîz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Agra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar’s mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbâr, he was killed on the road. An enquiry was ordered to be held, but without result, and people believed that Akbar had connived at the murder. Compare with this the fate of Nos. 61 and 62, two other Bihâr rebels.

158. Tolak Khân Qu’chi’în.

Tolak commenced to serve under Bâbar. He joined Humâyûn on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kâbul, and M. Kâmran came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humâyûn’s grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zahák (زهک) and Bâmiyan, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kâbul, to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegî.

Tolak accompanied Humâyûn to India. After the emperor’s death he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mîr Shâh Abul Ma’âli. Afterwards, T. went to Kâbul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar’s reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghanî Khân, son of Mun’îm Khân (No. 11), who was in charge of Kâbul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bâbâ Khâtûn, his jâgîr, collecting men to take revenge on Ghanî. A favourable opportunity presented itself, when Ghanî one day had left Kâbul for a place called Khwâjah Sayyârân (خواجه سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khân fell upon them. Ghanî, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwâjah Awâsh (خواجه اواش), a place two kos distant from Kâbul. But he
was opposed by Fazl Beg (Mun'im's brother) and his son Abulfath (called wrongly Abdul Fath, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghani go. Ghani immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindustan. Ghani overtook him near the Ab i Ghorband, and killed Bâbâ Quáchín and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isândiyâr managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jâ'gir in Mâl'wâh, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under the Khân Khâñán (No. 29) in Mâl'wâh and Gujrât, and defeated Sayyid Daulat in Kambhât. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Quilj Khân (No. 42) in the conquest of Baharâch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 'Azîz Kokah was to be sent to the Dak'hin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 'Azîz Kokah and Shihâbuddîn, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mân Singh against the Afgâns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwâjah Shamsuddîn Khawa'fî.

Khawâfî means 'coming from Khawâf,' which is a district and town in Khurâsân. Our maps have 'Khâfî' or 'Khâfî', due west of Harât, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the Mu'jamulbulldîn, "Khawâfî is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishâpûr. Near it lies on one side Bûshanj which belongs to the district of Harât, and on the other Zûzan. Khawâfî contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjân, Sirâwand, and Kharjard)." Amin Bâzî in his excellent Haft Iqîm says that the district of Khawâfî is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, 'Alî Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fâris and Shîrân,' were Khawâfîs. The author of the Zakhiralulkhawîn says that the people of Khawâfî were known to be bigoted Sunnîs. When Shâh 'Abbâs i Çafâwî, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawâfî, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shî'âs, the companions of the Prophet (sâbî i shâbâh); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Muzzafîr. Although then no one

1 They succumbed to Timur. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, give 57 years, from A. H. 741 to 798.

Amin Bâzî mentions also several learned men and vazirs besides those mentioned in the Mu'jam, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawâfî.

The number of Khawâfîs in the service of the Mu'ghul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Mâsaîr has notes on the following,— Mirzá Izzat (under Jahângir); Mirzá Ahmad, and Mu'tamid Khân Muhammad Çâlih (under Shâhjâhân); Sayyid Amir Khân, Shaikh Mir, Khwâjah Mir Khawâfî Çâlabat, 'Inâyat Khân, and Mu'tâfî Khân (under Aurangzîb). The lists of grandees in the Pâdishâhânâmah mention several other Khawâfîs. In later times we have the name of 'Abdurrazzáq Çimcânm uddaulah Aurangbâdî, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mir Kamâluddîn Khawâfî, had served under Akbar.

For Khawâfî, some MSS. have Khâfî. The Historian Muhammad Hâshîm Khâfî Khân has also been supposed to be a Khawâfî, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as Rîmî Khân, Ghâznâî Khân, Hâshî Khân. The authors of the Pâdishâhânâmah and the Mâsaîr never use the form Khâfî.
was converted, the Khawāfīs are now as stanch Shī’ahs as they were formerly bigoted Sunnis.

Khwājah Shamsuddin was the son of Khwājah ‘Alā uddīn, who was a man much respected in Khawāf. Shams accompanied Muzaffar Khān (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Ma’ṣūm-i Kābulī had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half-dead, when at the request of ‘Arab Bahādūr he was let off and placed under ‘Arab’s charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Sirhind, Rājāh of Kharkhā (Bihār). As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not make his way to the Imperial army. He collected men, attacked the rebels, and carried off some of their cattle; and when some time after dissensions broke out among the mutineers, he found means to escape. Akbar received him with every distinction, and appointed him, in the same year (69th), to superintend the building of Fort Aṭāk on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.

After this, Shams was for some time Diwān of Kābul. In the 39th year, when Quṭb Khān (No. 42) after the death of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) was made Cúbahdār of Kābul, Shams was made Diwān of the empire (Diwān i kūl), vice Quṭbī. When Akbar, in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Agra, to proceed to the Dakhīn, the Begums with Prince Khurrām (Shāhjahān) were left in Lāhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjāb, in which office he continued, after Akbar’s mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begums to Agra.

Shams died at Lāhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bābā Hasan Abdāl having been used for other purposes (p. 425), he was buried in Lāhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called Khawāfṣpūrah.

1 Singrām later fought with Shabbāz Khān (No. 80), and ceded Fort Mahdā. Though he never went to Court, he remained in submission to the Imperial governors of Bihār and Bengal. In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign, Jahāngīr Quṭb Khān Lālah Beg, governor of Bihār, sent a corps against Singrām, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Muhammadan, and received the name ‘Rājāh Roz-āzīrīn,’ was confirmed in his zamindāris, and reached under Jahāngīr the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāhjahān, he served with Mahābl Khān in Bakh, against Jhujār Singh Bundela, in the siege of Pārendāh, and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rājāh Bīhrūz served in Qandahār, in the war between Aurangzīb and Shāh Shujā’, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Pālāma (4th year of Aurangzīb). Rājāh Bīhrūz died in the 8th year of Aurangzīb’s reign. *Vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for December, 1870.*

2 The author of the Madāsir repeats Abulfazl’s etymology of the name ‘Aṭāk,’ which was given on p. 374; note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindi aṭāk, prevention, a bar, “because Hindūs will not go beyond the Indus.” But there is no instance on record that Hindūs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, and others, were governors of Kābul and Zābulistān, and had their Rājpūts there; and during the reign of Shāhjahān, the Rājpūts distinguished themselves in the conquest of Bālkh and the siege of Qandahār.

Abulfazl’s etymology is also doubtful; for in the Akbarnāmah (II, 302) he mentions the name ‘Aṭāk’ long before the building of the Fort (III, 335).

* The twelve Diwāns, who in 1008 had been appointed to the 12 Ḍūls, were under his orders. *Diwān i kūl* is the same as *Vasir i Kūl*, or *Vasir i Maṭlaq*, or merely *Vasir*. 
He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shaikh Farid i Bukhárf (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwájah Múmin Khawwáfí, was made, on his death, Dirwáán of the Panjáb. Múmin’s son, ’Abdul Khálíq, was a favourite of Aqaf Khán IV. (p. 369). He was killed by Mahábat Khán, when Aqaf had been removed by Mahábat from Fort Atd and imprisoned.

160. Jagat Singh, eldest of Rájah Mán Sing (No. 80).

Kunwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mirzá Ja’far Aqaf Khán (No. 98) against Rájah Bású, zamindár of Mau and Pa’chán (Núr púr, N. E., Panjáb). In the 44th year (1008), when Akbar moved to Málwáh, and Prince Salim (Jahángír) was ordered to move against Ráhá Amr Singh, Mán Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal as nádíb of his father. While still at Agra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.’s daughter, vide p. 310 and No. 175.

Mahá Sing, Jagat’s younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghán under ’Usmán and Shujúwal Khán to attack him. They defeated him and Partáb Singh, son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás, (No. 336), near Bhadrák in Oríśá (45th year). Mán Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afgháns near Sher púr ’Atáí, between Shiúrí (Sooree) in Bhirbhum and Muráhidábád, recovered Lower Bengal and Oríśá.

Mahá Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. Naqíb Khá’n, son of Mir ’Abduulláh of Qazwín.

Naqíb Khá’n is the title of Mir Ghíásuddin ’Álí. His family belongs to the Saífi Sayyíds of Qazwín, who were known in Irán for their Sunní tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahyá was ‘a well known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time.’

‘In the opening of his career, Mir Yahyá was patronized by Sháh Táhmásp i Cháfawí, who called him Yahyá Ma’qúm, and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron’s mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mir ’Abdulláh, were the leading men among the Sunnis of Qazwín. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of A’zarbáiján, to order Mir Yahyá and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Içfáhán. At that time, his second son, ’Alá-uddaulah was in Azarbájín, and sent off a special messenger to convey this intelligence to his father. Mir Yahyá being too old and infirm to fly, accompanied the king’s messenger to Içfáhán, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A. H. 962, at the age of 77 years.’

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1 I. e. exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.
2 Mir Yahyá is the author of a historical compendium, called Lubbuatulwad-ríkhá, composed in 1541. Vide Elliot’s Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ’Aláuddaulah
*Mîr 'Abdullâfîf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother’s communication, fled to Gilân,* and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humâyún went to Hindûstân, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne.

By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hâfiz. The Mîr was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,* that each party used to revile him for his indifference.

*When Bairâm Khân had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Agra, with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjâb, the emperor sent the Mîr to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his soveraign.* Elliot, Index, l. c.

Mîr 'Abdullâfîf died at Sîkri on the 5th Rajab, 981,* and was buried at Ajmîr near the Dargâh of Mîr Sâyyid Husain Khîng-Suwâr.

'Abdullâfîf had several sons. The following are mentioned—1. Naqîb Khân; 2. Qamar Khân; 3. Mîr Muhammad Sharîf. The last was killed in 984 at Fathpur by a fall from his horse while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II., 230). For Qamar Khân, vide No. 243.

Naqîb Khân arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjâb (Akbarn. II., 23), and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II., 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar’s pardon to Khirn Zamân, for whom Mun’îm Khân had interceded (II., 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadâbâd (p. 435, note), and in the following year to Patna. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Idar (III., 165), and was sent in the following year to Mîlwâh or Gujrât, after the appointment of Shîhâb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khân served under Todar Mall and Čâdíq Khân in Bîhâr against Ma’dûm i Kûbûli (III., 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqîb Khân.* Though during the reign of Akbar, he did not

wrote under the political name of Kâmî, and is the author of the Naftis ul Masâir, a ‘tasâkirah,’ or work on literature. Badâoni (III., 97) says he composed a Qâsidah in which, according to the manner of Shi‘ahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnis, and among the latter his father and elder brother (‘Abdullâfîf), whom he used to call Hasrat i Aqâ, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mîr Yahyâ’s death two years earlier.

1 The MSS. of the Masâir have جمال صیلاتی; so also Badâoni, l. c.

* He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of qu‘b i ‘a‘lî, ‘peace with all,’ the Persian term which Abul-‘fazl so often uses to describe Akbar’s policy of toleration. Abul-‘fazl (Akbarn. II., 23) says that ‘Abdulâfîf was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindûstân of being a Shi‘ah.

* Elliot has by mistake 971. The Târikh of his death in the Masâir and Badâoni (III., p. 99) is fa‘krî dî lî Yâ-Sîn, ‘the pride of the descendents of Yâsin (the Prophet)’—981, if the long alif in dî be not counted 2, but 1.

* Kewal Ram, according to Elliot, says in the Tuzkiran ul Umurd that the title was conferred on Naqîb Khân in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Ma’dûm Khân i Kûbûli on the Imperialists under Todar Mall and Čâdíq Khân. This night attack is related in the Akbarnâmah (III., 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Gya; but Abul-‘fazl says nothing of Naqîb’s ‘gallant conduct;’ he does not even mention his name.
rise above the rank of a Hasdrí, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar's reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 104. Several portions of the Tárikh i Alfi also (p. 106) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāzí Tsā, who had come from Irán to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Sháh Ghásí Khán (vide No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakínah Bánú Begum, sister of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqīb Khán, in the 38th year, reported that Qāzí Tsā had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb's cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahàngír, N. was made a Commander of 1500 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmír, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Mu'in i Chishti's tomb (Tuzuk, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mír Mahmúd, Munshi Útamadíkh, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Badáoni III., 321).

Naqīb's son, 'Abdulla'tíf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yúsuf Khán (No. 36), and died insane.

Naqīb Khán, like his grandfather, excelled in history. It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the Rauzat ufaqí by heart. Jahàngír, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badáoni, who was Naqīb's school fellow and friend, says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqīb. Once on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, he responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one.

162. Mír Murtaza' Khán, a Sabzwhí Sayyíd.

Mír Murtaza Khán was at first in the service of 'Adil Sháh of Bijnápúr. Murtaza Nizám Sháh called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barár, and later Amír ul Umárá. He successfully invaded, at Nizám Sháh's order, 'Adil Sháh's dominions. But Nizám Sháh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakíl, Sháh Quli Čalábá Khán; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the tuyúldarás of Barár, were dissatisfied. Čalábá Khán being bent on ruining them, Mír Murtaza, Khudáwánd Khán (No. 151), Jamshed Khán i Shírází, and others, marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar. Čalábá Khán and Sháhzádah Mírán Husain surprised them and routed them. Mír Murtaza lost all his property, and unable to resist Čalábá Khán, he went with Khudáwánd Khán to Akbar, who made him a Commander of One Thousand.

M. M.: distinguished himself under Sháh Murád in the Dák'ihin invasion. When the Prince left Ahmadnagar, Čádiq Khán (No. 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barár), and M. M. in Itchpúr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gáwíl, near Itchpúr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wájjihuddín and Biswás Ráo, to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Dányál, and received a higher Mankáb, as also a flag and a nāqqárah.

Mír Murtaza is not to be confounded with the learned Mír Murtazá Sharíf i Shírází (Badáoni III., 320), or the Mír Murtazá mentioned by Badáoni, III., 279.
163. Shamsi', son of Khan i A'zam Mirzâ Kokâh (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on pp. 327 and 328. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsi ¹ was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahângir's reign, he received the title of Jahângir Quli Khan, vacant by the death of Jahângir Quli Khan Lalâh Beg, Governor of Bihâr, and was sent to Gujrat as niâb of his father. Mirzâ 'Aziz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Çûbah; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsi was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaunpûr. Whilst there, Prince Shâhjâhân had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending 'Abdullah Khan Firúz-Jang and Râjâ Bahîm in advance towards Ilâhâbâd. On their arrival at Chausá, Shamsi left Jaunpûr, and joined Mirzâ Rustâm (No. 9), Governor of the Çûbah of Ilâhâbâd.

On Shâhjâhân's accession, Shamsi was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mançâb. A short time after, he was appointed to Sûrat and Jûnâgâdh, vice Beglar Khan. He died there in the 5th year of Shâhjâhân's reign (1041).

Shâmsî's son, Bahrâm, was made by Shâhjâhân a Commander of 1000, 500 horse (Pâlishâh. I., b. 309), and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrat, he built a place called after him Bahrâm-pûrah. He died in the 18th year of Shâhjâhân's reign (Pâlishâh. II., p. 733).

164. Mîr Jâmâ'îludîn Husain, an Injû Sayyid.

From a remark in the Wâzâf it appears that a part of Shiráz was called Injû; vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mîr Jamâ'îludîn Injû belongs to the Sayyids of Shiráz, who trace their descent to Qâsim arrâsî ibn i Hasan ibn i Ibrâhîm Ţabûtíbâ i Husainî. Mîr Shâh Mahmûd and Mîr Shâh Abû Turâb, two later members of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shâh Ţahmûsp i Ŭafâwî, at the request of the Chief-Justice of Persia, Mîr Shamsuddîn Asadullâh of Shushtâr, the first as Shâhîkull Islâm of Persia, and the second as Qâzî-Îquzâz. Mîr Jamâ'îludîn is one of their cousins.

Mîr Jamâ'îludîn went to the Dak'hin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injûs. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrat wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 396). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muzaffar (Akbarnâmah, III., p. 255). In the 30th year (993), he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, A'zam Khân (No. 21) on his expedition to Gaâhâ and Râúsîn (Akbarn. III., 472). In the 36th year, he had a jâğîr in Mâlwâh, and served under A'zam Khân in the Dak'hin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazârî took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of Asîr had been conquered, 'Adîl Shâh, king of Bijâpûr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dânyâl. To settle matters, Akbar despatched the Mîr in 1009 (Akbarn. III., 846) to the Dak'hin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishtâh, he went to Aghrah, in order to lay before the emperor 'such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dak'hin.'

¹ Shamsi is an abbreviation for Shamsuddîn.
At the end of Akbar’s reign, Mir J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favorite of Prince Salim, he was promoted after the Prince’s accession to the post of a Chahár-Hazári, and received a naqqárah and a flag. When Khusrau rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusrau the kingdom of Kábul with the same conditions under which M. Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 414) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No. 167), Khusrau’s principal agent, told Jahángir that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamáluddin had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as Panjhazári. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mírzá ‘Azíz Kokáh (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself (‘Azíz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahángir consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihár. In the 11th year, Mir Jamál received the title of ‘Azaduddauláh. On this occasion, he presented the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bijápúr. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow ydgút fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other ydgúts and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahángir pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees per mensum. The highest rank that he had reached, was that of a brevet Panjhazári with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahángir’s accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled Furhang i Jahángiri, of which he was the compiler. The first edition of it had made its appearance in 1017.¹

After having lived for some time in Bahráich, Mir Jamál returned to Ağrah, where he died.

Mir Jamáluddin had two sons. 1. Mir Aminuddín. He served with his father, and married a daughter of ‘Abdurrahím Khán Kháánán (No. 29). He died when young.

2. Mir Husámduddín. He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Kháán, brother’s son of Ibráhím Kháán Fath-Jang (Núr Jahán’s brother). Jahángir made him Governor of Asír, which fort he handed over to Prince Sháhjáhábn during his rebellion. On Sháhjahábn’s accession, he was made a Commander of 4000, with 3000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of Murtázá Kháán. He was also made Governor of T’hat’háh, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mir Husámn’s sons— 1. Çimçámuddauláh. He was made Diwán of Sháh Shujá‘ in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Oríá with a command of 1500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. Núrúlláh. He is mentioned in the Pádhásháhndmah (I., b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

¹ Regarding the Furhang i Jahángiri, wide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, pp. 12 to 15, and 65 to 69.
165. Sayyid Raju, of Barha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (vide p. 391) of the Barha clan Raju belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Man Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannath (No. 69), against the Rana. While serving under the latter, Raju commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgahr, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rana’s troops. In the 30th year, Jagannath and Raju attacked the Rana in his residence; but he escaped.

Later, Raju served under Prince Murad, Governor of Malwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Raja Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Malwa, Raju had to lead the expedition. In the 40th year, he served in the siege of Ahmadnagar. Once the enemies surprised the Imperialists, and did much damage to their cattle. Raju attacked them, but was killed in the fight together with several of his relations (1003 A. H.).

166. Mir Shariff i A'muli.

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 176. In the 30th year, (993) Prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mir Sharif was appointed Amin and Qaddr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Man Singh in Kabul. In the 36th year, he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihar and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmir as aqta’, and the Pargannah of Mohan near Lakhnau as tuyut. During the siege of Asir, he joined the Imperial camp with his contingent, and was well received by the emperor.

He is said to have risen to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand. He was buried at Mohan. On his death, neither books nor official papers were found; his list of soldiers contained the names of his friends and clients, who had to refund him six months’ wages per annum.

Jahangir in his memoirs (Tuzuk, p. 22) praises him very much.

The Tabaqdt says, ‘Mir Sharif belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with qusfa, and is at present (1001) in Bihar.’

Note on the Nuqtawiah Sect (لاقطية).

It was mentioned above (p. 177) that Mir Sharif spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmud of Basakhwân. The curious sect which Mahmud founded, goes by the name of Mahmudiyyah, or Wadidiyyah, or Nuqtawiyah, or Umand. Mahmud

1 The Lucknow edition of the Akbar-namah (III., p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mir Sharif was at Jahangir’s accession a Commander of 2500 (Tuzuk, p. 22).

2 Badonil (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has Basakhwân; the MSS. of the Masir Badakhwân (with a long penultimate) and on other places Badakhwan, without a w; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistân (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer’s Translation have Masajeda, a shifting of the diacritical points.

* The name nuqtawî was evidently used by Badûnî, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have Nabatî, which was given on p. 176. For Umand, Shea’s translation of the Dabistân has Imand; but in (umand) is, no doubt, the plural of amin.
called himself Shakhz i Wdhid, or ‘the individual,’ and professed to be the Imám Mādī, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistán and Shea’s Translation, he lived about 600 A. H.; but the MSS. of the Māsdīr have A. H. 800, which also agrees with Badāwī’s statement that Mahmūd lived at the time of Timur. The sect found numerous adherents in Iran, but was extinguished by Shāh ‘Abbās i Māzī, who killed them or drove them into exile.

Mahmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Quran (Sur. XVII., 81), ‘Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (mhmūd) station.’ He maintained that the human body (jarad) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection, ‘Mahmūd’ would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qurān, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the nuqtah i khāk, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term nuqtah i khāk has given rise to their name Nuqtawīs.


Some of Mahmūd’s doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the ‘man of the millennium,’ transmigration of souls, &c., have been mentioned above, and Mir Sharif i Amuli could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the ‘Alam Airāi Sikandarī, as the Māsdīr says, mentions Mir Sharif i Amuli under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Shāh ‘Abbās i Māzī’s reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh ‘Abbās, Jalāluddin Muhammad of Tabriz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, proposed that Shāh ‘Abbās should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death, should sit on the throne. This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of; the criminals threw lots, and Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusrau of Qazwin, was raised to the throne. He reigned for three days, and was then killed. Soon after, Darwish Khusrau was hanged. His ancestors had been well-diggers, but he was a dervish, and though he had been wise enough never to speak of his Nuqtawiyah belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Kāshān, whom ‘Abbās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the Nuqtah doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abulfazl in Akbar’s name. Mir Sharif i Amuli, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrābād to Hindūstān.

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the Māsdīr remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mir Sharif was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dīpālpūr in Māhwāh; and besides, Sharif i Amuli was mentioned in no Tazkirah as a poet.

려 (渴望), i.e., who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Shāh ‘Abbās I. of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngīr. ।
Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar, after his stay in Kashmir, marched to Zhbulistan, and passed through the district of Pak‘hali, which is 35 kos long and 26 broad, and lies west of Kashmir. In Pak‘hali, Sultan Husain Khan i Pak‘haliwál (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamindár belonged to the descendants of the Qârlyghs (قاوغا), whom Timur on his return from India to Tûrsâ had left in Pak‘hali as garrison. After following Akbar’s Court for a few days, Sultan Husain Khan withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pak‘hali (Akbarndmah III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg’s temporary absence at Court, Sultan Husain Khan again rebelled, assumed the title of Sultan Naqruldin, and drove away Hasan Beg’s men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 46th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar’s reign, in charge of Kábul, receiving Fort Rohthsá (in the Panjáb) as jágir.

In the beginning of Jahângír’s reign, he was called from Kábul to Court. On his way, at Mat’hwurá (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusrau, who had fled from Agrah on Sunday, the 8th Zi Hajjah, 1014. From distrust as to the motives of the emperor which led to his recall from Kábul, or “from the innate wickedness of Badakhshán,” he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshi troopers, received the title of Khán Dábá, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusrau was ’Abdurrahim, Dîwán of Láhor. After the defeat near Bhaírogwál on the Biah, the Afghans who were with the Prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the empire; but Hasan Beg proposed to march to Kábul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohthás, which were at the Prince’s service. Hasan Beg’s counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohthás, Khusrau was captured on the Chanáb. On the 3rd Çafar 1015, the Prince, Hasan Beg, and ’Abdurrahim, were taken before Jahângír in the Bâgh i Mírzá Kámrán, a villa near Láhor, Khusrau himself, according to Chingiz’s law (batorah i Chingist), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Hasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 451), was put into a cow-hide, and ’Abdurrahim into a donkey’s skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars.

1 Badakhshán is the adjective formed from Badakehán, as Kásh from Kásh-dán. The words Shaikh ‘Umari are to be taken as an adjective formed like Akbarsháhí, Jahângírî, &c., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus Shaikh ‘Umari would mean ‘belonging to the servants of Shaikh ‘Umár,’ and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the Bâbar-rídán, or ‘nobles of Bâbar’s Court.’

Hasan Beg is often wrongly called Husain Beg. Thus in the Tuzuk, p. 25, ff.; Pdáishdán, I, p. 306; Akbarndmah III, 598.

2 Generally spelt روہنیس The fort in Bihár is spelt without waw, رهنتیس, though both are identical.

3 So the Tuzuk. The Madásir has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound بیسم and هشتیم. But Jahângír on his pursuit reached Hodal on the 10th Zi Hajjah, and the Tuzuk is correct.

4 Vide p. 414, note. There is another Bhaírogwál between Wazirábád and Siál-kot, south of the Chanáb.
'As cow-hides get sooner dry than donkey-skins,' Hasan died after a few hours from suffocation; but 'Abdurrahim was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon. The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusrav were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bagh-i Mirza-Kamran to the Fort of Lahor, and Khusrav, seated on an sorry elephant, was led along that way. People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusrav, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do you homage."

Hasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 346. His son Isfandiyar Khan, was under Shahjahan, a commander of 1500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shahjahans reign (Paddishah. I., 476; I., b., 304)

The Afrif Beg i Shaih Umar mentioned in the Paddishahin. (I., b., 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Sheroyah Khan, son of Sher Afkan Khan.

Sher Afkan Khan was the son of Quch Beg. Quch Beg served under Humayun, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several grandees to save Maryam Makani, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausa (vide No. 96, p. 410). When Humayun fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mirza Kamran in Kabul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Iran, and was made governor of Qalat. Later he received Zakay-Bamiyan as jagir, but went again over to Kamran. Humayun, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroyah Khan served at first under Mu'izz (No. 11) in Bengal and Orissa. In the 26th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Murad to Kabul. In the 29th year, he served under 'Abdurrahim (No. 29) in Gujrat, and was present in the battle of Sarchik (Abkarnamah III., 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Mastab Khan (No. 83) against Jalalah Tariki (p. 403). In the 30th year, he was made a Khan, and was appointed to Ajmir. According to the Tabaqat, he was a Hazarai in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Abkarnamah (III., p. 500) says, 'On the same day Nazar Be, and his sons Qanbar Be, Shahdi Be (No. 367), and Baqi Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor."

Shadi Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Mastab Khan (No. 83) against the Tirkis. He may be the Shadi Khan Shahdi Beg, mentioned in the Paddishahnamah (I., b., 308) as a commander of One Thousand. Be is the abbreviation of Beg. Nazar Be is not to be confounded with Nazar Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalal Khan, son of Muhammad Khan, son of Sultan Adam, the Gakkhar.

171. Mubarak Khan, son of Kamal Khan, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the Madsir, the hilly districts

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1 In Zu Hajjab, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yuzbashi, or commander of 100, and was sent to Kashmir (Tuzuk, p. 79). In the Tuzuk, he is called 'Abdurrakhim Khan, 'Abdurrahim the Ass.'

2 When the news was brought to Akbar that Man Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists and the death of Bir Bar in the Khisar Pass, had defeated the Tirkis at 'Ali Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Rab I., 304).
between the Bahat and the Indus.\footnote{Mr. J. E. Delmerick informs me that the Gakk'har inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindi and Jhelam districts from Khânpûr on the borders of the Hazârah district along the lower range of hills skirting the Ta'biyâs of Rawul Pindi, Kukhûtta, and Gûjar Khán, as far as Domeh in the Jhelam district. Their ancient strongholds were Phârwâlah, Sul탄pûr, and Dangûl. They declare that they are descended from the Kâiani kings of Iran. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kasmir, and took possession of half of it. The Gakk'har then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmir. The 19th descendant, Zain Shah fled to Afghânistân, where he died. His son, Gakk'har Shâh, came to the Panjab with Mahmud of Ghaznî, and was made lord of the Sind Sâgar Duâb. Malik Bir is said to have been the grandfather of Tatûr, whose father was Malik Pilû. \textit{Vide} Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakk'har. Journal, A. S. B., 1871.} At the time of Zainulâbîdin, king of Kasmir, a Ghaznî noble of the name of Malik Kid (دک, or کید), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kâbul, took away these districts from the Kasmiris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilab (Indus) and the Sawâlíks and the frontier of modern Kasmir.\footnote{The \textit{Madîr} says, he subjected the tribes called خزندگی, پشتون, جنگلی, کپی, باریک, تاجی, جنگلی, بهویران, مسکور. Mr. Delmerick says, the Khataras inhabit the western parts of the Rawul Pindi district. The second tribe is that of the Janjûvak who inhabit the western parts of the Rawul Pindi and the Jhelam districts; their tract is called \textit{Janjûvak} to this day. The fourth, he says, may, be the \textit{Jodraks} (ژورک), a great clan about Pinjûr. The fifth, he believes is intended for the \textit{Kokhârd} (کوکپار), a tribe of some importance in Pind Dâdan Khán. The sixth and the eighth are the Chad (چهبد) and Mangarâl (منگرال) large tribes in Jammû. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for \textit{pakhtûn} or hill tribes, which were the \textit{Dhûnds} (دهوک) and \textit{Sattûs} (سخت).} Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalân, and Malik Kâlan by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Sultan Tatûr, who rendered Itâlar valuable service, especially in the war with Râna Sânká. Sultan Tatûr had two sons, Sultan Sârang, and Sultan Adam. Sârang fought a great deal with Sher Shâh and Salim Shâh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghâns. The Fort Rohtas was commenced by Sher Shâh with the special object of keeping the Gakk'har in check. Sher Shâh in the end captured Sultan Sârang and killed him, and confinèd his son Kamâl Khán in Gwâliâr, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sultan Adam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghâns. Once Salim Shâh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwâliâr Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamâl Khán, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamâl went to his kinfolks; but as Sultan Adam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely with his brother Sâ'id Khán, avoiding to come in conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamâl paid his respects to the emperor at Jâlindlur, was well received, and distingûished himself in the war with Hemû, and during the siege of Mânko. In the 3rd year, he was sent against the Miyânâh Afghâns, who had revolted near Saronj (Mâlwâh), and was made on his return jâgîrdâr of Karah and Fathpûr Huswâh. In the 6th year, he served under Khân Zamân (No. 13) against the Afghâns under the son of Mubâriz Khán 'Adî (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamâl Khán begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakk'har district, which was still in the hands
of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khan i Kalân (No. 16) and other Panjábí grandees, to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamál Khán; if Sultán Adam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultán Adam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultán Adam. The Panjáb army, therefore, and Kamál Khán entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Adam after a severe engagement near the 'Qaşbah of Hilán.' Sultán Adam and his son Lašhḵārī were handed over to Kamál Khán, who was put in possession of the district. Kamál Khán killed Lašhḵārī, and put Sultán Adam into prison, where he soon after died. (Akbarndmah, II, 240ff.)

It is stated in the Ţabqāt that Kamál Khán was a commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972.*

Mubámrá Khan and Jalál Khán served in the 30th year under Mírzá Sháhrúkh, Bhusón Dás, and Sháh Quli Mahram, in Kashmir (Akbarndmah, III, 486). The Ţabqāt calls both, as also Saʿíd Khán, commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Saʿíd Khán was married to Prince Salim; vide No. 225, note.

172. Tašh Beg Khán Mughul, [Ţáj Khán].

Tašh Beg served at first under Mírzá Muhammad Hákím, king of Kábul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service. He received a jāgīr in the Panjáb. According to the Akbarndmah (III, 489), he went with Bīr Bêr (No. 85) to Sâwâd and Bijor, and distinguished himself under 'Abdul Mašlāb (No. 83) against the Tārkiz (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the Ţá Khail Afghán, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Aṣaf Khán (No. 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Ťáj Khán. When Bâjah Bású again rebelled (47th year), Khwažá Sulaimán, Bakhshí of the Panjáb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulí Khán (No. 42), Hussain Beg i Shaikh 'Umarf (No. 167), Ahmad Beg i Kábulf (No. 191), and Ťáj Khán. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Pathán. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamíl Beg, T. Kh.'s son, received news of Bású's approach. He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent.

Jahángír on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3000. In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kábul till the arrival of Sháh Beg Khán (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed governor of That'hâh, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

178. Shaikh 'Abdullah, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus [of Gwâliár]. Shaikh 'Abdullah at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother Zidullah lived as Faqír, and studied during the lifetime of his

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* Not Hâlân (حیالن), south of Chilinwâlî between the Jhelam and the Chenâb; but Hâlân, or Hil, which Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dangâlî, Sultán Adam's stronghold.

So in my MSS. of the Ţabqāt. The author of the Madsir found 970 in his MS., which would be the same year in which Kamál Khán was restored to his paternal inheritance; hence he adds a word to it. He was certainly alive in the middle of 972 (Akbarndmah, II, p. 302)
father under the renowned saint Wajihuddin in Gujrat, who himself was a pupil of Muhammad Ghaus.

Biographies of Muhammad Ghaus (died 970 at Agra, buried in Gwalior) will be found in the Madsir, Badami (III, p. 4), and the Khaizatul Azif (p. 969). He was disliked by Bairam Khan, Shaikh Gadi, and Shaikh Mubarak, Abulnasl's father.
Vide also Madsir i 'Allumgir, p. 166.

174. Rajah Raaj Singh, son of Rajah Askaran, the Kachhwahah.

Rajah Askaran is a brother of Rajah Bihari Mall (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with Cadiq Khan (No. 43) against Rajah Madhukar of Unchah, and in the 25th year under Todar Mall in Bihur. In the 30th year, he was made a commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under Aziz Khokh (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each cibah, Askaran and Shaikh Ibrahim (No. 82) were appointed to Agra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rajah Madhukar under Shihab Khan (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abulnasl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Tabaqat says he was a commander of Three Thousand.

Raj Singh, his son, received the title of Rajah after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakhin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwalior. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Asir. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rai Raja, Patr Das (No. 106), the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundelah, who at Jahangir's instigation had murdered Abulnasl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundelah clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year, the rank of a commander of 4000, 3000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahangir's reign, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

Raja Dips, his son, was a Commander of 1000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rajah, and was made, in the same year, a commander of 1500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasutchtan Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 6th year of Shahjahan's reign, and received the name of 'Tadbdatmand. 1

175. Rai Bhuj, son of Rai Surjan Huda (No. 96).

When Bundi, in the 22nd year, was taken from Dauda, elder brother of Rai Bhuj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhuj served under Mian Singh against the Afghans of Orisa, and under Shaikh Abulnasl in the Dakhin (Akbaru. III., 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahangir wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter. Rai Bhuj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahangir resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. But Rai Bhuj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabii' I, 1017, (Tuzuk, pp. 68, 69).

1 Unchah is generally spelt on our maps Oorkeya. It lies near Jhansi on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river 'Dastkhada', mentioned on p. 356, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the Madsir has Satdakbrad.

2 Regarding the Kachchhwaras see my article in the Calcutta Review, for April, 1871, entitled 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History.'
It is said that Rá’thor and Kachhwáhah princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hádí princess was ever married to a Timuride.

**XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.**

176. **Sher Khwájah.**

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itáwah (سادات اتیه) His mother was a Naqsh-bandí (p. 423, note 2). Sher Kh.’s name was ‘Pádisháh Khwájah,’ but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage Sher Khwájah.

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Sa’íd Khán Chaghtái (No. 25) against the Yúsufzáís, and afterwards under Sultá’n Murád in the Dák’in. In the 40th year, the Prince sent him with a corps to Pátań, where he distinguished himself against Ikhláṣ Khán. He continued to serve in the Dák’in under Abúlfázl. In the engagement near Bir he was wounded. He entered the town victoriously, but was besieged. From want of provisions, his men had to subsist on horse-flesh. As in consequence of the swelling of the Gangá (Godávari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abúlfázl arrived and raised the siege. Abúlfázl proposed to leave his own son 'Abdurrahmán at Bir; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahángír. He was with the emperor when Mahábat Khán near the Baháhat had taken possession of Jahángír’s person. After Jahángír’s death, he served with Açaí Khán against Shahryár in Láhóor. In the 1st year of Sháhjahán’s reign, he was made a commander of 4000, with 1000 horse, and received the title of Khwájah Báqí Khán. He was also appointed governor of Thát’háb, vice Mírzá ‘Ísá Tárkhán (p. 369). He died on his way to his province in 1037. Pádisháháh., I., 181, 200.

His son Khwájah Háshím was made a commander of 500 (Pádisháháháh., I., b., 327). Another son, Asúdulláh, is mentioned as a commander of 900, 300 horse, (Pádisháháháh., II., 738).

177. **Mírzá Khurram,** son of Khán ‘A’zam Mírzá ‘Azíz Kokú (No. 21). He has been mentioned above, p. 328.

**XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.**

178. **Quraish Sultá’n,** son of ‘Abdurrašíd Khán, king of Káshghar.

182. **Sulta’n ‘Abdulláh,** brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sultán.

310. **Sha’h Muḥammad,** son of Quraish Sultá’n.

Quraish Sultá’n is a descendent of Chingiz Khán.¹ His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarnámah (III., 684) and the Türikh i Rashídí as follows:—

2. Chaghtái Khán.

¹ Chingiz Khán, in the histories, is often called Quán i Buxaráy.
4. I~U,+ (the MSS. give various readings).

5. Yar& Khán (called after his conversion Sultán Ghiásuddín).

6. Davá Khán.

7. Alásénuqá, or Alásénuqá, Khán.

8. Tughluq Timur Khán.


10. (a.) Muhammad Khán... (b.) Sham' Jahán Khán... (c.) Naqah Jahán Khán.

11. (a.) Sher Muhammad Khán. (b.) Sher 'Alí Ughlán.

12. Uwais Khán, son of Sher 'Alí Ughlán.


14. Sultán Ahmad Khán, known as Aláuchah Khán.

15. Sultán Abú Sa'id Khán.

16. 'Abdurrahshíd Khán.

17. (1) 'Abdul Karím Khán. (2) Quraish Sultán (No. 178). (3) Sultán 'Abdullah (No. 178).

(1) Sháh Muhammad (No. 310). (2) Khudábandah.

After the death of 'Abdurrahshíd Khán (16.), 'Abdulkarím Khán, elder brother of Quraish Sultán, succeeded to the throne of Kháshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudábandah, son of Quraish Sultán, quarrelled with Muhammad Khán, his uncle, and Khudábandah occupied the town of Ţafín. 'Abdulkarím, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraish Sultán to go to Makkáh. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshán and Bálkh, and lastly, with the permission of 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán, to Hindústán. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shíhábdínpu[r, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmír, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraish died in the 37th year, (1000) at Húsípu[r.

179. Qará Bahá'dur, son of Mirzá Mahmúd, who is the paternal uncle of Mirzá Haidar [Gurgání].

Like the preceding, Qará Bahá'dur belonged to the royal family of Kháshghar. Mirzá Haidar's father, Muhammad Husain, was the son of Bábá's maternal aunt.

Mirzá Haidar, during his stay in Kháshghar, had accompanied the son of Sultán

1 Davá invaded India during the reign of 'Aláuddín; vide Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.

2 His daughter is called Tukul Khán. It is said that Timur, after the marriage received the title of Gurgán, the Mughul term for the Persian 'ámád, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called Gurgáníes.

3 Mirzá Haidar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 961 the Túríkh 'Abdurrahshíd, in honor of Abdurrahshíd
Abú Sa'íd on several expeditions to Kashmir, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshán to India, and arrived at Lábor, where Mirzá Kámrán made him his adí during his absence on an expedition to Qundahár, which the Sháh of Persia had taken from Khwájah Kalún Beg. M. Haidar afterwards accompanied Kámrán to Agra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humáyún, to take possession of Kashmir. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Sháh retreated to Lábor, he gave M. Haidar a small corps and sent him to Kashmir. The country being in a distracted state, M. H. took possession of it without bloodshed, and ruled as absolute king for ten years. But afterwards he ordered the khwábah to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humáyún's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris.

The father of Qárá Bahádur was Mirzá Mahmúd; hence Q. B. was M. Haidar's cousin. As he had been with M. H. in Kashmir, Akbar, in the 6th year, ordered him to re-conquer the province, and gave him a large corps. But Q. B. delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Bajaur, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Gházi Kháán, who had usurped the throne of Kashmir. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Málwah, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandú. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qárá Bahádur, vide No. 183.

180. Musaffar Husain Mírá', son of Ibráhím Husain Mírá, [son of Muhammad Sultán Mírá].

Musaffar Husain Mirzá is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:—

| 'Umar Shaikh Mirzá (second son of Timur). |
| Mirzá Báiqrá. |
| Mirzá Mançúr. |
| M. Báiqrá. |
| Wais Mirzá. |
| Muhammad Sultán Mirzá. |

king of Kháshghar. The villa known as Bídgh i Çofái was erected by him. Akbaradmah 111, 586.

The MS. of the Tárikh i Rashidí in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Persian MSS, No. 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt. H. Strachey from Yárkand.

The Tárikh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timur Kháán, who was converted to Islám by Maulána Arshadud-din, and goes down to the reign of 'Abdurrashíd. The second dastfár contains the Memoirs of Mirzá Haidar. The style is elegant.
The mother of Muhammad Sultan Mirza was the daughter of the renowned Sultan Husain Mirza, king of Khurasan, at whose court Muhammad Sultan Mirza held a place of distinction. After Sultan Husain’s death, Muhammad Sultan Mirza went to Babar, who treated him with every distinction. Humayyun also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mirza was killed in the expedition against the Hazaras, and Shah Muhammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mirza had two sons, Sikander Mirza and Mahmud Sultan Mirza; but Humayyun changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mirza, and Mahmud Sultan Mirza that of Shah Mirza.

As Muhammad Sultan Mirza was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (taklif-i bar), and gave him the pargana of A’zampur in Samhhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shah Mirza. At A’zampur, in his old age, Muhammad Sultan M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, 2. Muhammad Hussain Mirza, 3. Mas’ud Hussain Mirza, and 4. Agil Hussain Mirza.

In the 11th year of Akbar’s reign, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, king of Kabul, invaded India and besieged Lāhore; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Shah M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrahim Hussain M. and Muhammad Hussain M. The rebellious Mirzas went plundering from Samhhal to Khán Zamán (No. 13) at Jaumpur; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihlī, and from there invaded Málwah, the governor of which, Muhammad Quli Khán Barlás (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muhammad Sultan Mirza. He died a short time after in his prison at Bismān. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khán Zamán, and conquered Chitor, he made Shihab Khán (No. 26) governor of Málwah, and ordered him to punish the Mirzas.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mirzas unable to withstand Shihab Khán, fled to Chingiz Khán (p. 386), who then ruled over a portion of Gujjurāt. Chingiz Khán was at war with I’timád Khán (No. 67) of Ahmadábād; and as the Mirzas had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahroogh as jágir. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel, that Chingiz Khán had to send a corps against them. Though the Mirzas defeated his troops, they withdrew to Khándesh, and re-entered Málwah. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khán (No. 74), Čaḍīq Khán (No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantanbhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadā, where many soldiers of the Mirzas perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khán had been murdered by Jhujhar Khán, and as Gujrāt was in a state of disorder, the Mirzas, with little fighting, occupied Champánibār, Bahroogh, and Súrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrāt and occupied Ahmadábād. Dissensions having broken out among the Mirzas, Ibrahim Hussain M. left Bahroogh, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar’s camp. Most of Akbar’s Amirs had the day before been sent away towards Súrat in search of Muhammad Hussain M. Hearing of Ibrahim Hussain’s arrival, the emperor despatched Shahbáz Khán (No. 80) after the Amirs, whilst he himself marched to the Mahindri River, where it flows past the town of
Samál. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amirs returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given, and after a hard fight, Ibráhím Husain M. was defeated. He fled towards Agra, whilst his wife, Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Mirzá Kámrán, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, from Súrat to the Dák'hin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Súrat, and left M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadábád, ordering at the same time Qutbuddín (No. 28) to join 'Azíz with the Málwáb contingent. Muhammad Husain M. and Sháh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khán Fúládí, a Gujráti noble, and besieged Paṭán. 'Azíz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 398). Muhammad Husain M. then withdrew to the Dák'hin.

Ibráhím Husain M. and his younger brother Mas'úd Husain M. having met with resistance at Nágor (p. 357), invaded the Panjááb. The governor, Hussain Qulí Khán (No. 24), at that time besieged Núarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mirzáds, made peace with the Rájah, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Mas'úd. Ibráhím Husain fled towards Múltán, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balúchís. He then fell into the hands of Sa'íd Khán (No. 25), and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Agra, Muhammad Husain Mírzá left the Dák'hin, invaded Gujrátb, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambháít by Naurang Khán (p. 334), and joined the party of Ikhtiyárulmulk and the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí. They then marched against Ahmadábád, and besieged M. 'Azíz Kokah. To relieve him, Akbar hastened in forced marches from Agra to Paṭán, and arrived, on the 5th Jumáda I, 981 (p. 416), with about 1000 horse, at a place 3 kos from Ahmadábád. Leaving Ikhtiyár to continue the siege, Muhammad Husain opposed the emperor, but was defeated and wounded. In his flight his horse fell over a bramble, when two troopers captured him, and led him to Akbar. Each of the two men claimed the customary reward, and when Bír Bár, at Akbar's request, asked Muhammad Husain which of the two had taken him prisoner, he said, "The salt of the emperor has caught me; for those two could not have done it." Ikhtiyár on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Husain, raised the siege, and fled with his 5000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ikhtiyár got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhráb Turkmán who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muhammad Husain also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ráí Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Sháh Mírzá had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaffar Husain Mírzá, whom his mother had taken to the Dák'hin, entered Gujrátb and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rájah Todar Mált and Váźir Khán (p. 353), and fled to Júngágadh. When the Rájah had gone, Muzaffar besieged Váźir in Ahmadábád. During the siege he managed to attach Váźir's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Míbr 'Alí Kolábí, who had led the young Muzaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaffar, that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazírábā. Soon after, he was captured by Rájah 'Alí of Khándesh, and handed over
to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he shewed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 38th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultan Khánnum. He also gave him Sirkár Qanauj as tuyúl. Muzaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the tuyúl, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Asir, he sent Muzaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwájah Fathullah, and one day, he decamped for Gujrat. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Súrat and Baglánah, when he was caught by Khwájah Waisí and taken before the emperor. After having been imprisoned for some time, he was let off in the 46th year. He died, not long after, a natural death.

His sister, Núrúnísá, was married to Prince Salim (vide No. 226, note). Gulkáth Begum, Muzaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahángir at Ajmfr.

181. Qundúq Khán, brother of the well-known Bairám Oghlá, The Akbarnámah (1, 411) mentions a Qundúq Sultán, who accompanied Humáyún on his march to India.

For Qundúq, some MSS. read Qundáz. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Múnmíím, and died at Gaur (p. 376).

182. Sultán 'Abdullah, brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sul-tán (No. 178).

183. Mîrzá 'Abdurrahma'n, son of Mirzá Haidar's brother (vide No. 179).

184. Qiyá Khán, son of Çáhib Khán.

In the Tabaqbt and the Akbarnámah he is generally called چب لصحت, which may mean 'Qiyá, the beautiful,' or 'Qiyá, son of Çáhib Hasan.' Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izáfát.¹ It looks as if the reading ماجح خان of the An MSS. was a mistake. The words ماجح حسن are intended to distinguish him from Qiyá Gung (No. 33).

Qiyá served under Shamsuddín Atgah against Bairám (p. 317). He was also present in the battle of Sárangpúr (vide No. 120).

185. Darbár Khán, 'Ináyat [ullah], son of Takaltú Khán, the Reader.

Darbár's father was Sháh Tahmásp's reader. 'Ináyat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbár Khán. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Málwah, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khán Zamán. He accompanied the emperor to Bantanbhlír, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'in i Chíshti in Ajmfr, Darbár Khán took sick leave, and died on his arrival at A'ghra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the Madsir—he was buried in the mausoleum of one Akbar's dogs, which he had built. The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial master.

¹ Thus you say ماجح حسن, for ماجح حسن, the accursed Hulágú.
186. 'Abd urrahma'n, son of Muayyid Duldai.

The name DULDAlI had been explained above on p. 388. 'Abd urrahma'n's great
grandfather, Mir Sháh Malik, had served under Timur. 'Abd urrahma'n was killed in
a fight with the Bihár rebel Dalpat. Vide under his son Barkhurdár, No. 328, and
under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.


When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khán Zamán (No. 13), Qásim
'Ali Khan held Ghásipír. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Súrat, and in the
following year, with Khán 'Alam (No. 58) in the conquest of Patna under Muním.
For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujá'at Khán (No. 51) a pri-
soner to Muním, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Çádiq
(No. 43) against Madhukar Bundeláh, and in the 25th year, under 'Azíz Kokah (No.
21) in Bihár. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Háji Begum,
daughter of the brother of Humáyún's mother (taghát zádah i wálidah i Jannat-ud-dáni),
who after her return from Makkah (p. 441) had been put in charge of Humáyún's tomb
in Dílí, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each
cúbah, Q. A. and Fath Khán Taghluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th
year, from Khairabád to Court, and soon after received Kálpi as jágir. 'Nothing
also is known of him.' Madsir. For his brother, vide No. 390.

188. Bawa Baha'dur, son of Sharif Khán (No. 63).

Vide above p. 383.

189. Sayyid 'Abdulhak Khan, son of Mir Khwánandah.

Some MSS. have ‘Khwánd’ instead of ‘Khwánandah.’ Sayyid ‘Abdulhak had been
brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of ‘Abdulhak Khan
Uzbak. In the 17th year, he was with the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) in the first
Gujrat war. Later, he served under Muním in Bengal, and was with Khán 'Alam
(No. 68) in the battle of Takarolí (p. 375). In 984, he brought the news of Dádd's
defeat and death at Agmahall (p. 331) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt,
he served under Mirzá 'Azíz (No. 21) and under Shabbáz Khán (No. 80), chiefly
against Ma'úm i Farangkhúdí (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qásim
Khán (No. 59) in Kashmír. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a
body of Kashmírs, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. Dha'tu', son of Rájul Todar Mal (No. 39).

Vide above p. 352.

191. Ahmad Beg i Ka'buli.

Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ghiásuddín Tarkhán, a Chagháitá noble who
served under Timur. Like Sháh Beg (No. 57), Táj Khán (No. 173), Abul Qásim
(No. 199), Ma'úm Khán (p. 431, note 1), and Takhtah Beg (No. 195), A. B. entered,
after M. Muhammad Hakím's death, Akbar's service. He was 'made a commander of
700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yúsuf Khán i Razawi (No. 35), a jágir
in Kashmír. He married the sister of Ja'far Beg Aqaf Khán (No. 98).

1 Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tu-
ruk mentions a Qásim 'All on p. 58, l. 2
from below; but according to the Madsir,
During the reign of Jahangir, he rose to the post of a commander of 3000, and received the title of Khán, and also a fag. He was for some time governor of Kashmir. On his removal, he went to court, and died.

From the Tuzuk we see that Ahmad Beg in the first year of Jahangir, was made a commander of 2000, and held Pashawar as jágir. In the second year, he was ordered to punish the Afghán tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khan (No. 42), he was called to court, and confined in Fort Rashtabhur (Tuzuk, p. 136). In the following year, he was released (l. c., p. 146), and sent to Kashmir (l. c., p. 149).

Ahmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers. They are—

1. Muhammad Mas'úd (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Târikís. His son, Aird-cher, was a commander of 1000, 600 horse, and died in the 18th year of Sháhj.'s reign.

2. Sa'id Khán Bahádúr Zafar-jang (second son). He rose during the reign of Sháhjáhán to the high dignity of a commander of 7000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kábul, the Panjáb, and Bihár. He died on the 2nd Ėafar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khánahzád Khán and Lutfulláh, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'id also was severely wounded. Two other sons, 'Abdulláh and Fathulláh, rose to high commands.

3. Mukhlisulláh Khán, Iftíkhár Khán. He rose under Sháhjáhán to a command of 2000, 1000 horse, and was Faujdár of Jammú (Páisháhán. I., p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Sháhj.'s reign.

4. Abúl Bagá. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'id, under whom he served. He was thánahdár of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahár expedition, he got the title of Iftíkhár Khán, at the same time that his elder brother received that of Zafar-jang, and was made a commander of 1500, 1000 horse.


'Ali came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (mulázim) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people and even of animals. To his satisfaction, 'Ali correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to 'Ali 'Adil Sháh of Bijápúr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, 'Adil Sháh suddenly died. ¹

In the 39th year, Hakim 'Ali constructed the wonderful reservoir (hauz), which is so often mentioned by Mughlí historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the

¹ 'Adil Sháh was murdered in 988, by a young handsome eunuch, whom he attempted to use for an immoral purpose. The king was known as much for his justice and goodwill towards his subjects, as for his mania for boys and unnatural crimes. He obtained with some exertion two young and handsome eunuchs from Malík Barid of Bedar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mau-lánu Rázá of Mashhad, poetically styled Rázá, found the târikh of his death in the words Sháh i jahán shud shahid (988), 'The king of the world became a martyr.'
reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six gaz square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up, and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, 'Ali was a commander of 700, and had the title of Jálínús uzzamānī, 'the Galenus of the age.' His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentry or acute diarrhoea, which no remedies could stop. 'Ali had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentry was stopped, costive fever and strangury ensued. He therefore administered purgatives, which brought back the diarrhoea, of which Akbar died. The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusrau at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahāngīr) had an elephant of the name of Gīrānbār, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of A krbū, one of Khusrau's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Rantahman, was selected as tabānchāh, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Shāh-jahān) sat at a window, whilst Salīm and Khusrau were on horseback in the arena. Gīrānbār completely worsted A krbū, and as he mauled him too severely, the tabānchāh elephant was sent off to A krbū's assistance. But Jahāngīr's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salīm to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salīm said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Gīrānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamnah. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khusrau came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for 'Ali, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jahāngīr also visited 'Ali's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 6th Muharram, 1018. Jahāngīr says of him (Tuzuk, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the Qādīnā. "But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man." Once Jahāngīr hinted that 'Ali had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.¹

¹ Badā'ūnī (III., 166) says that 'Ali was the son of the sister of Hākim ul Mulk of Gilān and learned medicine and science under Shāh Fathullah of Shīrāz. He was a rabid Shī'ah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he
He had a son, known as Hakím 'Abdulwahháb. He held a mançab. In the 16th year of Jahangir's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Láhór the sum of 80,000 Rs, which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qizi on it, and the statements of two witnesses. The Sayyids who denied all knowledge, seeing that the case went against them, appealed to the emperor. Jahángir ordered Açaf Khán (No. 98) to investigate the case. 'Abdulwahháb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Açaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported 'Abdulwahháb, and the emperor deprived him of his mançab and jágír. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favor; for in the Padisháhnámah (I, 6., 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, 50 horse.

193. Gujjar Khán, son of Qutbuddín Khán Atgah (No. 28).

He was mentioned above on p. 334.

194. Sadr Jaha’n Mufti./

Mírán Cadr Jahán was born in Pihání, a village near Qanaúj. Through the influence of Shaikh 'Abdunnabi he was made Mufti. When 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, king of Túrán, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islám, Mírán Cadr and Hakím Humán (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to 'Abdullah contained a few Arabic verses which 'Abdullah could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy.

قیل ان الله ذر ولد قیل ان الرسول قد كننا 
ما لنا الله والرسول معا من لسان الوزي نکیف انا

"Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—Then how should I?"

Mírán returned in the 34th year, and was made Cadr (vide p. 274). In the 35th year, at the feast of Abánmáh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Cadr and 'Abdul Hai (No. 230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well-known verse from Háfiz,

در در بادشہ خطابخش جرم برش حافظ ترابة کش شد رنفی پیبعشع

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700; but later, he was made an Amir, and got a mançab of 2000 (vide p. 208).

During the reign of Jahángir, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4000, and received Qanaúj as tuyúl. As Cadr under Jahángir he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020, at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last.

His position to Akbar's 'Divine Faith,' has been explained above (p. 208). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more for it than he. He also

killed Fathullah by prescribing karisah

1 So Badaóní. The Madsir says, Pihání lies near Lak’hnan.
composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Badānī, he repented and gave up poetry as against the spirit of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons:—

1. Mīr Badr i 'Alam. He lived a retired life.

2. Sayyid Nizám Murtazá Khán. His mother was a Brāhman woman, of whom his father had been so enamoured, that he married her; hence Nizám was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2500, 2000 horse. In the first year of Sháhjahán's reign, he was a promoted to command of 3000, and received, on the death of Murtazá Khán Injú (p. 451) the title of Murtazá Khán. He served a long time in the Dak'hn. His tuyīl was the Parganah of Dalaman, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Faujdar of Lakh'hnau. In the 24th year of Sháhj.'s reign, he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms per annum out of the revenue of Pihánī, which was one krór. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons 'Abdul Muqtadir and 'Abdulláh were appointed to mancabs, and received as tuyīl the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihánī. 'Abdul Muqtadir rose to a command of 1000, 600 horse, and was Faujdar of Khairábād.

195. Takhtah Beg i Kābulī [Sardár Khán].

He was at first in the service of M. Muhammad Hákím, and distinguished himself in the wars with India; but on the death of his master (30th year), he joined Akbar's service. He served under Mán Singh and Zain Kokah against the Yúsufzais. As Thánahdár of Pasháwar he punished on several occasions the Tārikas. In the 49th year, he was made a Khán.

After Jahángír's accession, he was made a commander of 2000, and received the title of Sardár Khán. He was sent with Mirzá Gházi Tarkhán (p. 363), to relieve Sáh Beg Khán (No. 57) in Qandahár. As Sáh Beg was appointed governor of Qandahár, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Pasháwar, called the Bāgh i Sardár Khán. His two sons Hayát Khán and Hidáýatullah got low mancabs.

196. Bai Patr Dás, [Rájah Bikramájit], a Khātrí.

Patr Dás was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (muskrīf) of the elephant stables, and had the title of Ráśi Ráyán. He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chitor. In the 24th year, he and Mír Adham were made joint diwán of Bengal. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 439), but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was made diwán of Bihár. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bándhú (p. 407), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made diwán of Kábul, but was in the following year again sent to Bándhú. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3000. When Abúlsal, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bir Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dás to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bir Singh in several engagements, and shut him up in Irich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called
P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5000, and gave him the title of Rājāh Bikramjīt.

After Jahāngīr’s accession, he was made Mir Atlāsh, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (topchī) with a train of 3000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (Tuzuk, p. 10).

When the sons of Muzaffar of Gujrat created disturbances, and Ṣatīm Bahādur had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadābād with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted, up to commands of Yūzbāshīs, or recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the emperor.

‘The year of his death is not known.’ Madīr.

The Rāi Mohan Dās mentioned occasionally in the Akbarnāmah and the Tuzuk p. 50 appears to be his son.


He belongs to the Shaikhzādahs of Lakh‘nau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamāl Bakhtyār (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard, that he got frequently insane.

In the 30th year, when Akbār was in the Panjāb, ‘Abdurrāhīm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siālkoṭ in Hakīm Abulfatḥ’s dwelling. Akbār looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brāhma woman of the name of Kishnā. After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas. In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a pānjuhzādri to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

‘Abdurrāhīm was mentioned above on p. 338.

198. Mednī ‘Rā’ī Chauha‘n.

From the Akbarnāmah we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrat. Nizāmuddin Ahmad, who was with him in Gujrat, says in the Tobaqīt,—

‘Mednī Rā‘ī is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i. e., in 1001) a commander of 1000.’

199. Mi‘r Abūl Qasīm Namakīn, [Qasīm Khān].

The MSS. have almost invariably Tumkīn (نماکین), instead of Namakīn. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mi‘r Abūl Qasīm was a Sayyid of Ḥārāt. He was at first in the service of Mīrāz Muhammad Hakīm, Akbār’s brother and king of Kābul. But he left Kābul, and on entering Akbār’s service, he received Bhirāh and Khushāb in the Panjāb as jāgīr.

As his lands lay within the Namakstār, or salt range, he once presented Akbār, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (namak-haldūf), with a plate and

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1 The namakstār, or salt-range, says the Madīr, is a district 20 kos long, and belongs to the Sind Sāgar Duṣb, between the Bāhāt and the Indus. People break off pieces from the salt rocks, and carry them to the banks of the river, where the price is divided between the miners and the carriers, the former taking ¼ and the latter ¼ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dām to two dāms (one rūpee = 40 dāms) per man, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 man. The salt is also often made into ornaments.
a cup made of salt (namakin), from which circumstance he received the nickname of Namakin.

Abul Qasim served in the war with Dáuíd of Bengal. In the 20th year, he was in Kábúl, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismá’îl Quí Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balúchis. In the 32nd year, the Afgán chiefs of Sawúd and Bajor, and Teráh, waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abul Qasim Krór and Fanjádár of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afgánístán. The chiefs themselves were retained at Court. Renewed fights, in the 33rd year, gave him frequent occasions of distinguishing himself.

Up to the 40th year, he rose to a command of 700. In the 43rd year, he was appointed to Bhakkar. He built the great mosque in Sukkhar, opposite to Bhakkar. The inhabitants accused him of oppressions, and he was deposed. A party of the oppressed arrived with him at Court, and lodged a new complaint against him with 'Abdul Hai (No. 230), the Qází of the imperial camp (urdú). But Abul Qasim, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaikh Ma'rúf, Čadr of Bhakkar, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes. The next day he went to the emperor, and complained of the Qází, stating that there were no complainants, and 'Abdul Hai tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qázís should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the emperor.

Abul Qasim was, soon after, made a Khán, got a higher mançab, and received Gujrât in the Paujáb as tuyúl. In the first year of Jahángír’s reign, he was made a commander of 1500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khúsrau has been mentioned above (p. 414, note 2, where Tumkin is to be altered to Namakin). For his services he was again appointed to Bhakkar with the rank of a commander of 3000. He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town southwards towards Lohári, near the branch of the river called Káhármatrī (کہارمتری), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of Čaffáh i Čafá (the daís of purity). He and several of his descendants were buried in it.

He is said to have been a most voracious man. He could eat—historians do not specify the time—1000 mangoes, 1000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a man. The Madsir says, he had 22 sons, and the Tuzuk (p. 13) says, he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters.

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the Madsir:
Mir Abul Qásim Namakín (settled at Bhakkar in 1015).

Amir Khán. mfrí.
(died 1067 A. H.)

Khán. Sindhi Amir Khán. in 1066 to Prince
(under Aurangzib to Murád Bakhsh.
Farrukh Siyar)

M. Abul Wafá. Abul Khair Khán.
(end of Aurang-
zib’s reign)

Mír Abúl Bcáq Amír Khán rose under Jahángír to a command of 2500, 1500 horse. Through the influence of Yámnunuddáuláh he was made governor of Multán, and in the 2nd year of Sháhjáhán, he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse, and appointed to That’háh, vice Murtúzáí in Injú deceased (p. 451). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyúldáír of Bít in the Dakhín, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Siwístán vice Qará Khán. In the following year, he was again appointed to That’háh, where in 1057 (20th year) he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahángír he was generally called Mir Khán. Sháhjáhán gave him the title of Amír Khán.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murád Bakhsh, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of Sháhnawáz Khán i Cáfawi.1 Amir Khán had a large family. His eldest son, Mír ‘Abdurrázzáq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Sháhjáhán’s reign. His second son, Zíáu’dín Yúsuf, was made a Khán, and held under Sháhjáhán a mancab of 1000, 600 horse. Zíá’s grandson, Abul Wafá was in the end of Aurangzib’s reign in charge of his majesty’s prayer room (ddroghah i já-námáz). Amír Khán’s youngest son, Mír ‘Abdulkarím, was a personal friend of Aurangzib. He received in succession the titles of Multásí Khán, Khánahzád Khán (45th year of Aurangzib), Mír Khánahzád Khán, and Amír Khán (48th year,) and held a command of 3000. After Aurangzib’s death, he was with Muhammad A’zam Sháh; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (bungdáh) at Gwálíár. After the death of Muhammad A’zam and the battle of Saráí Jájú,8 Bahádúrá Sháh made him a commander of 3500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh’s death,

1 Sháhnawáz Khán i Cáfawi is the title of Mirzá Badúzzañmání, alias Mirzá Dakhíni, son of Mirzá Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dírás Bánú Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Aurangzib. Another was married, in 1052, to Prince Murád Bakhsh. Elphinstone (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Sháhnawáz Khán by mistake the brother of Sháista Khán; but Sháista is the son of Yamnuuddáuláh Açaí Khán, elder brother of Náír Jánáh.

8 Saráí Jájú, near Dholpúr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rábí’ I., 1119, and Muhammad A’zam was killed with his two sons Bedár Bakht and Wálí-jáh.
the Bárha brothers made Amír Khán čadr of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abulkhair, was made a Khán by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no mançabe, but lived on their zamíndáris.

2. Mírzá Kashmírí was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (vidsat i ghair-mukarrar, Tuzuk, p. 32), Jahángír ordered his penís to be cut off.

3. Mírzá Hudámuddín. He held a mançabe, but died young.

4. Mírzá Záidulláh. He was in the service of Khán Jahan Lodi.

200. Wázirí Beg Jami'1

Wázirí Jamil, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar’s reign against ’Abdulláh Khán Uzbak, and in the war with Khán Zámán (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahádúr Khán (No. 22) was thrown off his horse, W. J. instead of taking him prisoner, accepted a bribe from him, and let him off. But Nazar Bahádúr, a man in the service of Májnún Khán (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahádúr prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jáigar in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Orísá under Mun’ím Khán. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qágháils; but when they separated from Ma’qúm i Kábuli (p. 431, note) and tendered their submission, W. J. also was pardoned. In the 29th year, he came to court, and served in the following year under Jagnáth (No. 69) against the Ràná. He seems to have lived a long time. Jahángír on his accession made him a commander of 3000 (Tuzuk, p. 8).

He is not to be confounded with the Jamil Beg mentioned under No. 172.

201. Táhir, [son of] Saíful-mulúk.

The Tabaqáát says that Táhir was the son of Sháh Muhammád Saíful-mulúk. His father was governor of Gharyjstán in Khurásán, and was killed by Sháh Táhásp of Persia. Táhir went to India, was made an Amir at Akbar’s Court, and served in Bengal, where he was when the author of the Tabaqáát wrote (1001).

He is also mentioned in Dowson’s Edition of Elliot’s Historians, I., pp. 241, 242.


Regarding the name ‘Manklí,’ vide p. 370, note. The Tabaqáát says that Bábú Manklí was an Afgáni, and a commander of 1000.

He was at first in Dáúd’s service, and occupied G’hórag’hát at the time when Mun’ím Khán had invaded Orísá (p. 370). Soon after, he entered Akbar’s service, but continued to be employed in Bengal. In the 30th year, he suppressed disturbances at G’hórag’hát (Akbarn. III., 470), and took part, in the 36th year, in the operations against Qultú Khán. Two years later, he accompanied Mán Singh’s expedition to Orísá.

He may have lived under Jahángír; for the Manklí Khán mentioned in the Tuzuk (pp. 70, 138) can only refer to him. The Tuzuk (p. 12) mentions a son of his, Hátim. Another son, Mámúd, appears to have been a commander of 500, 300 horse under Sháhjahán (Pédísáhán. I., b., p. 333), though the text edition of the Bibl. Indica calls him son of Yádú Maíkálí (بابو مانکلی) (پابو مانکلی) for Yádú Maíkálí (پابو مانکلی) (پابو مانکلی)
XVI. Commanders of Six Hundred.

203. Muhammad Quli Khán Turkmán [Ashár, p. 411].

He served at first in Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he took the side of the rebels, but left them, and was pardoned by Akbar. In the 30th year, he marched with Múu Singh to Kábul, where he greatly distinguished himself. In the 39th year, when Qulí Khán (No. 42) was appointed to Kábul, Muhammad Quli Khán, his brother Hamzah Beg (perhaps No. 277), and others, were sent to Kashmir, vice Yúsuf Khán (No. 33, and p. 411). In the 45th year, a party of Kashmiris tried to set up Ambá Chak as king; but they were defeated by 'Ali Quli, son of M. Q. Kh. In the 47th year, M. Q. Kh. was made a commander of 1500, 600 horse; and Hamzah Beg, one of 700, 350 horse. New disturbances broke out, when in the following year 'Ali Ráí, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmir. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Saífúlluh (No. 262) from Láhor. In the 49th year, Ambá again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains.

In the 2nd year of Jahángír's reign, M. Q. K. was removed from Kashmir. Hamzah Beg was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 1000.

204. Bakhthýar Beg Gurd i Sháh Mansúr.

The Izqut most likely means that he was the son of Sháh Mançúr, in which case the word gurd (athlete) would be Bakhthýar's epithet. Two MSS. have the word pisáIr (son) instead of gurd.

The Tabáqút says, 'Bakhthýar Beg Turkmán in an Ámir, and governs at present Siwistán.' In the 32nd year, he served against the Tákírís.

205. Haki'm Humánım,3 son of Mir 'Abdurrazzáq of Gilán.

Regarding his family connection, vide No. 112, p. 424. Humánım's real name is Humáýú'n. When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Humáýú'n Quli, or 'slave of Humáýú'n;' but soon afterwards, Akbar gave him the name of Humánım. He held the office of Bakáwal Beg (p. 57), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at court. In the 31st year, he was sent with Çádr Jaháñ (No. 194) to Túrán as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humánım's absence. He returned to India, about a month after his brother's death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabí' I., 1004. Badáoni (II., p. 406) says, the day after Humánım's death, Kánílalá (p. 264) also died, and their property was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, so that they were destitute of a decent shroud.

Humánım had two sons—

1. Hákím Hásiq (حاسیق). He was born at Fathpúr Sikrí, and was a young man when his father died. At Shákhjahán's accession, he was made a commander of 1500, 600 horse, and was sent, in the 1st year, to Túrán as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3000. Later, for some reason, his mançúb was cancelled, and he lived at Agráh on a pension of 20,000 rupees per annum, which in the 18th

3 The MSS. have عت, The Tuzuk mentions 'a Kashmiri of royal blood,' of the name of عت, He was killed by Sher Afkan (vide No. 394) at Bardwán, on the 3rd Qulár, 1016.

3 Humánım, not Hammán, is the Indian pronunciation.
year, was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1008). He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of Ḥādiq. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his diwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salāms; else he got offended.

2. Ḥakīm Khushkhāl. He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1000. He was for some time Bakhsī of the Darūn.

206. Mīrzā Anwar, son of Khān i A'zām Mīrzā Kokah (No. 21).
He was mentioned above on p. 328.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltū Khān of Turkistān.
He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration.

208. Mīrzā Bahādur Arghun.
The Tābaqat says, he reached a command of 2000, and died. From the Akbarnāmah (II., 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwaḥ (vide No. 129), and in the pursuit of Shara'uddin Husain (No. 17).

209. La'l Khān Kola'bī.
He is also called La'l Khān Badaḵshī (vide p. 438), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (Akbarn. I., 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū. Later, he served under Mu'āin in Bengal and Orisā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 376).

210. Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh Salīm.
He is the second (mīyānī) son of Shaikh Salīm of Fatpūr Sīkri. He served at court with Shaikh Ibrāhīm (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985).

211. Iskandar Beg i Badaḵshī.
He is mentioned in the Akbarnāmah (II., 251), as having served in the pursuit of Abūl Maʿālī (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nu'rīn Khān Qu'rčīn.
He served under Mu'izzul Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khaīrābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under 'Abdul Maṭlah (No. 83) and Çādiq Khān (No. 43) against the Tārkīs.

The Tābaqat says he was a commander of 1000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jalal Khān Qu'rčīn.
Akbar was much attached to him. In the 5th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagelāh (No. 89) with the request to allow Tāmsin to go to court. In the 11th year, it came to the emperor's ears that J. was passionately attached to a beautiful boy. Akbar had the boy removed; but J. managed to get him again, and fled with him from Court. M. Yūsuf Razawī pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was
restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwánah, and distin-
guished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rájah Chandr Sen of Márwar.
During the expedition a Rájpút introduced himself to him, who pretended to be Derí
Dáś, who had been killed at Mírt'ha, evidently with the view of obtaining through
him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had
taken refuge with Kallá, son of Rám Ráú and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detach-
ment of imperialists was sent to Kallá’s palace. Kallá now wished to take revenge
on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimál Khán (No. 154) to
help him. Shimál therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.’s
men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men, and entered one night
a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimál. But it happened to be that of Jalál,
who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, Akbarn. III., 140).

It was Jaláí who introduced the historian Budáoni at Court.

214. Parmá’nand, the Khatri.

He is mentioned in Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I., p. 214.

215. Timúr Khán Yakkah.

He served under Mun’ím (No. 11) in Kábul, and, in the 10th year, against Khán
Zamán (Akbarn., II., 236, 326).

The Timúr i Badakhshi mentioned several times in the Akbarnámah (III., 165,
174) appears to be another officer. Vide No. 142.

216. Sa’nî Khán of Harát.

He was born at Harát, and belonged to the Arlátá (اً) clan. According to
the Akbarnámah (I., 379), Maulána Sáni, ‘who is now called Sáni Khán’, was in the
service of Mirzá Hindál; but after the Mirzá’s death (21st Zí Qa’dah, 958) he was
taken on by Humáyyún. He served in the wars with Khán Zamán.

Budáoni (III., 206) says that his real name was ‘Ali Akbar. He was a fair
poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbíhi of Káshán, wrote treatises on the Man of the
Millennium, according to the Nuqtawi doctrines (p. 452). Hence he must have been
alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jama’uddi’n, son of Sayyid Ahmad Bárha (No. 91).

Vide above p. 408. He had also served in the final war with Khán Zamán.


He served in the second Gujrát war after Akbar’s forced march to Patan and
Ahmadábád (p. 416, note).

219. Husain Beg, brother of Husain Khán Buzurg.

220. Hasan Khán Batani.¹

The Tabaqát classes him among the commanders of 1000. He was at first in the
service of the Bengal king Sulaimán, and was present with Sulaimán Mankli (p. 370)
and Kálá Páhár at the interview between Mun’ím and Khán Zamán (No. 13) at
Baksar (Buxar). Akbarn., II., 325.

Hasan was killed with Bir Báy in the Khaibar Pass; vide p. 204. MSS. often call
him wrongly Husain instead of Hasan.

¹ Batani is the name of an Afghán tribe, N. W. of Derá Ismá’il Khán.
221. Sayyid Ohhajhū,' of Bárha.

The Tabaqát says that S. Chhajhú was a brother of S. Mahmúd (No. 75), and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bárha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kúndífwál. His tomb still exists at Majberah, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Munisif Kha’n, Sulṭán Muḥammad of Harát.

223. Qa’ṣi’ Kha’n Bakhshi’.

Some MSS. have Badakhší instead of Bakhshi. Vide No. 144. On p. 383, l. 10, we have to read No. 144 for No. 223.

224. Ḥaj’ī Yu’ūṣuf Kha’n.

He was at first in Kámrán’s service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyá Khán (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yúṣuf Khán, whom Khán Zamán (No. 13) besieged in Qanauj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khán ‘Alam (No. 58) against M. Ibráhím Husain, and was present in the battle of Sarnáb. In the 19th year, he went with Mun’ím to Bengal and Orísá, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 376).

225. Ra’wul Bhi’m of Jaisalmír.

The Tuzuk says (p. 159),—' On the 9th Khurdád (middle of 1025), Kalyán of Jaisalmír was introduced at court by Rájah Khán Dás, whom I had sent to him. Kalyán’s elder brother was Ráwul Bhi’m, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhi’m’s daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of Malikah i Jaháns. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhi’m’s brother to court, invested him with the fík, and made him Ráwul.’

For Kalyán, vide under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahángír’s reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 163).

226. Ḥa’shím Beg, son of Qásim Khán (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Quli Khán (No. 42), the new governor of Kábul, Háshím returned to court. In the 41st year, he served

1 The spelling ‘Chhaḥjú’ is preferable to ‘Jhaḥjú.’
2 The list of Jahángír’s wives on p. 310, may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malikah i Jaháns, daughter of Ráwul Bhi’m of Jaisalmír. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zain Kokáh, mentioned on p. 345. There is a curious discrepancy between Tuzuk, p. 8, and Akbarnámah, III., 594: Jahángír says that Parwiz was his son by Zain Kokáh’s daughter, and Abulfázl says that Parwiz’s mother was the daughter of Khważáh Hásan, Zain Khán’s uncle (vide also p. 344); but there is no doubt that Parwiz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Abán, 967, whilst Jahángír, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zain Khán’s daughter (p. 345). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad’s text of Tuzuk, p. 8, be correct, that Jahángír had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son. (3) Núr-unníshá Begum, sister of Mirzá Muzaffár Hussain, p. 404. (4) A daughter of the king of Khandesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar’s reign. (5) Čálibah Bánú, daughter of Quli Khán, p. 371. (6) A daughter of Khwajáh Jaháns i Kábulí (Dost Muḥammad). (7) A daughter of Sa’íd Khán Gak’khar. Her daughter, Iflat Bánú, is mentioned, Akbarnámah, III., 561. (8) The mother of Daulat Nisá, Akbarnámah, III., 607. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mirzá Sanjar, son of Khızír Khán Hazárah; Akbarnámah, III., 607. (10) A daughter of Ráman Chand Bundelah, (No. 248), married in 1018; Tuzuk, p. 77.
under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bású and other rebellious zamindárs in the north-eastern part of the Panjáb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau. In the 44th year, he served under Faríd-i-Bakhrází (No. 29) before Asir. Later, he went with Sa’ádat Khán to Nasík. After the conquest of Tiranbakh, he returned to court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1500.

In the first year of Jahangír’s reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1500 horse. In the 2nd year, his manjáb was increased to 3000, 2000 horse, and he was made governor of Orísá. In the 5th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwájágí Muhammad Husámí (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orísá. His successor in Orísá was Rájáh Kalyán, brother of Bhím (No. 225).

Háshimí’s son is the renowned Muhammad Qásím Khán Mir Atish. He was, in the 18th year of Sháhjáhán, a commander of 1000, 500 horse, Dároghah of the Topkhánah and Kótwál of the camp. He distinguished himself in Bakh, Andkhúd, received the title of Mu’tamí Khán, and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2000, 1000 horse, and Akhtah Bégí. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3000, and also got the title of Qásím Khán. He then served under Aurangzíb in Qandahár, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4000, 2500 horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sántúr (مانتور), which the ruler of Srinagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dárá Shíkhá a commander of 5000, 5000 sínósháh-duáspáh, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadábád (Gujrát), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Málwah. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujíjain, and keep Prince Murád Bakhlsh in check. When the Prince left Gujrát, the two commanders marched against him ríd Báyswáráh; but when approaching Khánchord, Murád suddenly retreated 18 kos, and joined, seven kos from Ujíjain, the army of Aurangzíb. The two chiefs had received no information of Aurangzíb’s march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujíjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Aurangzíb and Dárá, at Sánigár, Qásím commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhál and Murádábád as tayúsí, as Rustam Khán i Dák-híni, the former jágírdár, had fallen at Sánigár. Qásím was then charged with the capture of Súhímán Shíkhá. In the 3rd year of Aurangzíb’s reign, he was appointed to Mathúrú. On the way, he was murdered by a brother of his, who is said to have led a miserable life (1071). The murderer was executed at Aurangzíb’s order.

227. Múrza‘ Fáridú’n, son of Muhammad Quli Khán Barlás (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 342. His death took place at Udaípúr in 1023 (Tuzuk, p. 131).

228. Yu’suf Khá’n [Chak], king of Kashmir.

Yúsuf’s father was ‘Ali Khán Chak, king of Kashmir. He died from a hurt he received during a game at changán (p. 297), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (peš-koháh i zín). On his death, Yúsuf was raised to the throne (Akbarnámah, III., 237). He first surrounded the palace of his uncle Ābdál,

1 This Sa’ádat Khán had first been in the service of the Dák-híni kings as commander of the Forts of Gálmalah and Tiran-

... bak; but later he entered Akbar’s service.

2 Vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1870, p. 275.
who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdál was shot. A hostile
party, thereupon, raised one Sayyid Mubarak to the throne, and in a fight which
took place on the maidán of Srinagar, where the ‘Id prayer is said, Yusuf was defeated.
Without taking further part in the struggle, he fled, and came, in the 24th year,
to Akbar’s Court, where he was well received. During his stay at court, Sayyid Mubárak
had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yusuf’s uncle, had been made
king. In the 25th year, (Akbar., III., 288), the emperor ordered several Panjáb
nobles to reinstate Yusuf. When the imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmiris
sued for mercy, and Yusuf, whom they had solicited to come alone, without informing
Akbar’s commanders, entered Kashmir, seized Lohar Chak without fighting, and
commenced to reign.

Some time after, Calíh Dívánah reported to the emperor how firmly and independently Yusuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaikh Ya’qúb i Kashmiri, a
trusted servant, with his son Haidar to Kashmir, to remind Yusuf of the obligations
under which he lay to the emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yusuf sent his son
Ya’qúb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the
court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjáb; and Ya’qúb, who had
kiboth been with the emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The emperor then
sent Hakím ‘Alí (No. 192) and Baháuddín Kambú to Yusuf, to persuade him to come,
or, if he could not himself come, to send again his son. As the embassy was without
result, Akbar ordered Sháhrukh Mírzá (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The imperial
army marched over Pakhlí, and was not far from Báráh Múlah, when Yusuf sub-
mitted and surrendered himself (Akbar., III., 402).1 Sháhrukh was on the point of
returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yusuf being kept
a prisoner, the Kashmirí raised Aulád Husain, and, soon after, Ya’qúb, Yusuf’s son,
to the throne; but he was every where defeated. Information of Yusuf’s submission
and the defeat of the Kashmirí was sent to court, and at Srinagar the khusbáh was
read, and coins were struck, in Akbar’s name. The cultivation of za’farán (p. 84)2 and
silk, and the right of hunting, were made imperial monopolies (p. 411). On the approach
of the cold season, the army returned with Yusuf Khán, and arrived, in the 31st year, at
court. Todár Mall was made responsible for Yusuf’s person.

As Ya’qúb Khán and a large party of Kashmirís continued the struggle, Qásim
(No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmir, to put an end to the rebellion. Ya’qúb
was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year, Yusuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jagir in Bihár
(Akbar., III., 547), and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the
37th year, he accompanied Mán Singh, to Orísá, and commanded the detachment, which
marched over Jhárkand and Kokrah3 (Chutiá Nágpúr) to Mednípúr (Akbar., III., 641).

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1 The Akbar-náma (III., 402) calls the pass near Báráh Múlah, where Yusuf
surrendered, Báráh Múlah. The Módarí has Báráh Múlah. It is evidently the same pass

2 It is the old name of Chutiá Nágpúr

3 place of the boar (bárá), which is one of the avatás.

2 Regarding the cultivation of za’farán (saffron) vide also Tuzuk, p. 45.

3 Kokrah was mentioned above on p. 401. It is the old name of Chutiá Nágpúr, one of the parganas of which is
still called Kokrah, or Khukra, as spelt

2 27; kos from Báráh Múlah. The Tuzuk says that Báráh Múlah means
Ya'qúb Khán, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the court had gone to Kashmir (p. 380).

Yúsuf Khán is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nu‘r Qulij, son of Altún Qulij.

Altún or altún is Turkish, and means 'gold.'

Núr Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khán (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Ídar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmúr to Gogundah. In the fight with the zamindár of Ídar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sultán Murád against Mirzá Muhammad Hakim. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khán, who had been made governor of Gujrát. He continued to serve there under the Khánkhánán (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to court.

230. Mi'r 'Abdul Hai, Mir 'Adl.

The Tabaqát calls him Khwájah 'Abdul Hai, and says that the was an Amir. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468,471.

231. Sha'h Quli' Khán Na'rañji'.

Abulfasl says that Sháh Qulí was a Kurd from near Baghdád. He was an old servant of Humáyún. In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Khizr Khán (p. 365, note 2) in the Panjáb. He was much attached to Bairám. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gádha, when Mahdí Qásim Khán (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The Tabaqát calls him a commander of 1000.

His son, Pádisháh Qulí, was a poet, and wrote under the name of Jazá'il. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Farrukh Khán, son of Khán i Kálan (No. 16).

He was mentioned on pp. 322 and 357. According to the Tabaqát, he served, in 1001, in Bengál.

233. Sha'dma'ın, son of Khán i A'zam Kokhm (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 328.

234. Hak'im 'Ainul Mulk, of Shíráz.

He is not to be confounded with Hakím ul Mulk; vide below among the Physicins of the court.


The Rájah of Kokrah who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Sháhbaž Khán (p. 401) is called Mácáh. In the 37th year, Mácáh and Lák'ham Ráí of Kokrah served in Yúsuf Khán's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrám Singh Sháhá of K'harápúr (p. 446, and Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Púran Mall of Gídhóor belonged (Akbarndmah, III., 641).

Kokrah is again mentioned in the Tuzuk i Jahángiri (pp. 154, 165), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihár and the Dak'hín. It was run over, in the beginning of 1025, by Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang, governor of Bihár, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rájahs sent him as tribute. The then Rájah is called Durjun Sál. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihár.

The Tuzuk has (l. c.) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokrah.
He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician Muhaqqiq i Dawwání. The Historian Bâdóní was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much. In the 9th year, he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khán of Gujrat. In the 17th year, he brought I'tímâd Khán (No. 67) and Mír Abú Turáb to the emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to 'Adil Khán of Bijápur, from where, in 985, he returned to court (Bâdóní, II., 250).

He was then made Faujdar of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahádúr and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Bareli, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year, he was made Çadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year, Bakhshí of the Čubah of Āgra. He was then attached to the Dak'hin corps of 'Azíz Kókáh (No. 21), and received Handiah as jâgîr. When 'Azíz, for some reason, cancelled his jâgîr, he went without permission to court (35th year), but was at first refused audience. On enquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handiah on the 27th Zí Hajjah, 1003 (Bâdóní II., 403).

The Mirzâ Masjid, also called Pâdisbáhí Masjid, in Old Bareli, Diirhi Mahallah, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Hakím was Faujdar of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the takhalluq of Dawál.

235. Ja'nis Bahadúr.

Ja'nis Bahádúr was mentioned on p. 345. He was at first in the service of Mirzâ Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zain Kókáh (No. 34) against the Yúsufzâís, and saved Zain's life in the Kháibar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khánkhánán in Thât'hâh, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to court. Later, he served in the Dak'hín. He died in the 46th year (1069). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, Shujá'at Khán Shádî Beg. He was made, in the 7th year of Sháhjabáns reign, a commander of 1000, and received the title of Shád Khán. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Nazr Muhammad Khán of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, vide Sháh Qulí Khán. Afterwards, on the death of Ghaírat Khán, he was made governor of Thât'hâh, and a commander of 2000. In the 19th year, he was with Prince Múríd Bakhsh in Balkh and Badákshán. In the 21st year, he was appointed governor of Kábul, vice Siwá Ráám, and held, in the following year, an important command under Aurângzib in the Qandahár expedition and the conquest of Búst. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3000, 2500 horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahár, and was made, on Sháhjabáns's arrival in Kábul, a commander of 3500, 3000 horse, with the title of Shujá'at Khán. In the 26th year, he served under Dárá Shikoh before Qandahár, and with Rustam Khán Bahádúr at Búst. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muhammad Sa'id.
236. Mi'īr Ta'hir i Mūsawi.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the Tabaqāt, Mi'īr Ta'hir is "the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Razzawī (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery." It would thus appear that Abūl Fazl makes no difference between the terms Razzawī and Mūsawi (vide p. 381, under No. 61).

287. Mi'īrzā 'Ali' Beg ʻAlamshāhī.

He is mentioned in the Akbarnāmah among the grandees who accompanied Mun'īm to Bengal and Orīsā, and took part in the battle of Takarof (p. 375). After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mir Zakī, 'Abī Kor, Shihāb i Badakhshān, and Kūjak Yasāwūl, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned, but Mir Zakī alone was executed. Akbarnāmah, III., 282.

His epithet ʻAlamshāhī is not clear to me.

He must not be confounded with the more illustrious [Mi'īrzā 'Ali' Beg i Akbarshāhī].

He was born in Badakhshān, and is said to have been a highly educated man. When he came to India, he received the title of Akbarshāhī. In the 38th year, he commanded the Aḥādis on Shihrukh's expedition to Kashmir (p. 479).

Later, he served under Prince Murād in the Dak'han. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Čādīq Khān (No. 43) occupied Mahkār. But new disturbances broke out under the Dak'han leaders Aszdār Khān and 'Ain Khān, against whom Čādīq sent a corps under M. 'Ali Beg. He suddenly fell over them, and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (zandān i ak'hārah). In consequence of this defeat, Khudāwand Khān and other Amirs of the Nizāmshāh marched against the imperialist with 10,000 horse, but Čādīq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Rāhūtārah (gūrā) near Daulātābād, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Paṭān on the Gātāvārī, and took Fort Lohgānd. "Both forts," says the author of the Māsārīr, "have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (mismār shuḍḍa), and are so to this day." Later, M. A. B. served under Abūl Fazl, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khānkhānān, in the Dak'han.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 4000, jāgārdār of Sambhāl, and governor of Kashmir. He served in the pursuit of Khusrāv (Tuzuk, p. 30). He served in the pursuit of Khusrāv (Tuzuk, p. 30). He received a tūyūl in Audh. When Jahāngīr went to Ajmīr, he went to court. One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Mu'īnuddīn i Chishtī. On seeing the tomb of Shāh Bāz Khān (p. 401), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! he was an old friend of mine." The same moment, he fell forward, and was buried at the same spot (22nd Rābi' I., 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five (Tuzuk, p. 163).

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1 The Tuzuk (p. 11) says, he belonged to Badakhshān. Perhaps to the ulūs i Dīhlī, a very doubtful term, we have to read ulūs i dulda (p. 388).
238. Ra'm Da's, the Kachwahah.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (or Baupli, vide p. 398). Rám Dás was at first in the service of Ráj Sál Darbári (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the emperor. His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Todar Mall was ordered to assist Mun'im in Bihár, he was made his adi in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace in 'Agra near Hátib-pal, he lived in the guard house, 'always watching with his 200 Rájputs, spear in hand.'

Immediately before Akbar's death, he put his men over the treasures of the palace with a view to preserve them for the lawful heir. Jahángir, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with 'Abdullah Khán to Gujrat and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Rájah and a flag, Rantanbhúr being assigned to him as jâgir (Tuzuk, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of Rájah Karan.

After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahángir wished to make an example of the Amirs who had brought disgrace on the imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amir right royally. Looking at Rám Dás's portrait, he said, 'Now, when thou wert in Ráj Sál's service, thou hadst a tankah per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rájputs think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Rájah Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith.' Rám Dás was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jahángir heard of his death, he said, "My curse has come true; for the Hindús believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus, will go straight to hell."

He was a liberal man, and gave rich presents to jesters and singers.

His eldest son, Naman Dás, in the 48th year of Akbar's reign, left the court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Sháh Quli Khán's men were to bring him back to court by force. But Naman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Rám Dás was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, Dalap Dás, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the Tuzuk (p. 312), a villa near a spring called Inch (장), between Bánpúr and Kákápur in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rám Dás. Vide also Tuzuk, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Khán Niyás'í.

Abulfázi ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahángir, he rose to a command of 2000. Like Mirzá Rustam Çafawi and Abul Hasan Turbatí, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Sháh Quli Khán (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Sháh Quli was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees per annum. Later, he served under the Khánkbánán in the conquest of That'hab, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzá Jání
Beg (No. 47) near Lak’hi; there he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khánkhánan was his friend.

Under Jahángir, he took a leading part in the Dak’hin wars, especially in the fights with Malik ’Ambar near Kharkí, a famous battle field (vide note to No. 265), and continued to serve there under Prince Sháhjahán.

He died in 1037. The tåríkh of his death is Muhammad Khán, the saint, is dead. He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qurán, conversing with holy men, sleeping and eating, each had its fixed time. Nor did he ever depart from his routine except on the march. He never neglected the ablution (tuṣū) prescribed by the law. People told many miraculous stories (khawdriq) of him.

During his long stay in the Dak’hin, he held Ashtí (in the Wardah district) as jágir, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. “At present,” says the author of the Mádáir, “there is only one of his hundred houses left, the store house where his lamps were kept; the whole town and the neighbourhood are deserted, and do not yield the tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (kase namánd kih rushde dáhktah báshad).”

He was buried in Ashtí. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyázi Afgháns. If one of them died, he gave a month’s pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month’s pay to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khán Niyázi, was in the 20th year of Sháhjahán’s reign a commander of 2600 (Pádisháhnámah, II., 386, 726).

240. Abul Musáffar, son of Áshraf Khán (No. 74).

From the Akbarnámah (III., 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderí and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihár

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2 “The emperor Jahángir gave the Ashtí, Amner, Paunár, and Tálígaun (Barár) pargahs in jágir to Muhammad Khán Niyázi. He restored Ashtí, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mughul style. Muhammad Khán was succeeded by Ahmad Khán, who died in 1061. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Ashtí. They are indeed striking monuments of art to find in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Ahmad Khán, the power of the Niyází gradually declined; in time Ashtí itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Marhatta officials, and now nothing remains to them save a few rent-free fields, sufficient merely for their subsistence. The tombs of their ancestors were already falling into disrepair owing to the poverty of the family, when they were taken in hand by the district authorities as worthy objects of local interest, and restored from municipal funds. Late, in consideration of the past history of the family, and the local respect which it commands, the Government conferred on Nawáb Wáhid Khán, one of its representatives in Ashtí, the powers of an honorary magistrate.”

“Kuránjá. A small octroi town in the Arví tahsil of the Wardah district. It was founded some 260 years by Nawáb Muhammad Khán Niyázi of Ashtí.” Extracts from C. Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.
rebels (III., 273). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrat (III., 423, and Baddoni II., 323). Vide also p. 389.

241. Khwa'jagi Muhammad Hussain, Mir Barr.

He is the younger brother of Qasim Khan (No. 59), and had the title of Mir Barr, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th year with Mun'im (No. 11) from Kabul to India. When dissensions broke out between Ghani Khan, Mun'im's son, and Haidar Muhammad Khan Akhthbegi (No. 66), whom Mun'im had left as his dâibs in Kabul, Haidar was called to court, and Abul Fath, son of Mun'im's brother, was sent there to assist Ghani. Muhammad Hussain accompanied Abul Fath. He remained a long time in Kabul. After his return to India, he accompanied the emperor on his march to Kashmir. His honesty and punctuality made him a favorite with the emperor, and he was appointed Mir Bâkâwal (master of the imperial kitchen), and was also made a commander of 1000.

In the 5th year of Jahângir, he officiated for Hâshim (No. 226) as governor of Kashmir. On Hâshim's arrival he returned to court, and died in the end of the 7th year (1021; Tuzuk, p. 114).

He had no children. The Tuzuk says that he was quite bald, and had neither moustache nor beard. His voice was shrill like that of a eunuch.

242. Abul Qâsim, brother of 'Abdul Qâdir Akhând.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. Baddoni (II., 323) calls him a native of Tabriz, and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (akhând). In 991, Abul Qâsim was made Diwân of Gujrat.

243. Qamar Khâ'n, son of Mir 'Abdullaâtif of Qazwin (No. 161).

He served under Mun'im (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takarof (p. 375). In the 22nd year, he served under Shihâb in Gujrat (Akbarn., III., 190), and in the 24th year, under Todar Mall in Bihâr. In the 25th year, he took part in the battle near Sultânpur Bilharî (p. 400, and Akbarn., III., 305).

His son, Kaukab, fell under Jahângir for some fault into disgrace. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, vide Tuzuk, p. 219.

244. Arjun Singh,

245. Sabal Singh,

256. Sakat Singh,

Some MSS. have Durjan instead of Arjun. The name of Sakat Singh, moreover, recurs again at No. 342. There is little doubt that at the latter place we should read Himmat Singh, though all MSS. have Sakat.

Nor is it clear why Abulfazl has not entered the name of Bhâo Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1000, and was gradually promoted, during Jahângir's reign, to a manqab of 5000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the Tuzuk.

2 Abul Fath, who on p. 318 has erroneously been called Abdul Fath, was the son of Fazil Beg, Mun'im's brother. Baddoni II., 56 has Fazil Beg, but the Akbarnâmah and the Mâdsir have Fuzil.

2 The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnâmah (III., 642) has also Durjan, and (by mistake) Sil for Sabal Singh. The Subhân Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Mân Singh.
Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Orlah. Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kâbul. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghâns.

Col. J. C. Brooke in his Political History of the State of Jeypore (Selections from the Records, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXV, 1888) mentions six sons of Mán Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmat, Sakat, Bhim, and Kalyân Singh. The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians; nor are Bhâo and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. Vide ‘A Chapter from Muhammadan History,’ in the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

246. Mustafa Ghilî.

A Sayyid Muṣṭafá is mentioned in the Akbarnâmâh (III., 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrat, and was present in the battle near Maisânâh, 18 kos S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khân Fûlâdi was defeated.

247. Nazar Khân, son of Sa'id Khân, the Gakk'hâr.

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 332. Vide Nos. 170, 171. The Šabaqât calls him Nazar Beg, son of Sa'id Khân, and says that in 1001, he was a Hazârî.

Mughul Historians give the following tree of the Gakk'hâr chiefs—

Sultán Tatár, the Gakk'hâr.

1. Sultán Sárang ............................................ 2. Sultán Adam


Mubârak Khân (No. 171) 1. Nazar Khân (No. 247)

Jalál Khân (No. 170)

Allah Quîl

Jalál Khân was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Quîl, who then served at Kâncrah, was made a commander of 1000, and sent to Bangash (Tuzuk, pp. 307, 308).

Jahângîr, after the suppression of Khusrâu's revolt passed on his way to Kâbul through the Gakkhâ'ar district (Tuzuk, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahât (1st Muharram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohátâ, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000,000 dâmas, 'which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindûstânî money, or 120,000 Persian tumâns, or 1 irû, 2,175,000 'silver Hâlis of Turânî money.' After a march of 42 kos, he came to Tîlah, tîlāh in the Gakk'hâ'ar dialect meaning 'a hill.' He then came to Dih Bhakhrâlah, bhakhrâ meaning 'forest.' The way from Tîlah to Bhakhrâ passes along the bed of the Kâhan river, the banks of which are full kustûr flowers. He then came to Hâtî, which was built by a Gakk'hâr of the name of Hâtî (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakk'hârs, Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1871). The district from Márgalah to Hâtî is called Pô't'hwâr; and from Rohâtâ to Hâtî
dwell the Dhúgiás, a tribe related to the Gakk’hrs. From Hatiá, he marched 4\text{/}4 kos and reached Pakkaá, so called because it has a \textit{pucca} sarái. Four and a half kos further on, he came to Kuráj, which means in the Gakk’hár dialect ‘rugged.’ He then went to Ráwalpínídí, which is said to have been built by a Hindú of the name Ráwal, 
\textit{píndí} meaning ‘a village,’ and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Ráwalpínídí he went to Khárbažah, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (khárbažah). The Gakk’hárs used formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kálápání, and to the Márghálah pass, \textit{mdr} meaning ‘killing,’ and \textit{galá} ‘a carawan.’ “Here ends the country of the Gakk’hárs. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not.”

The \textit{Pādīshāhńámah} (II., 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakk’hár chiefs—

1. Akbar Quli Sultán, a commander of 1500, 1500 horse, died in the 18th year of Sháhjáhán’s reign. His son Murád Quli Sultán, was under Sháhjáhán a commander of 1500, 1000 horse (\textit{Pādīsháhń.} II., 410, 485, 512, 623, 666, 655, 730).

2. Jábár Quli, (brother of Jálál Khán),* 1000, 800 horse.

3. Khízr Sultán, (son of Nazár Khán),* 800, 600 horse, died in the 12th year Shahj.’s reign.

The \textit{Pādīsháhńámah} (I., p. 432) mentions Gakk’hárs’ mules as famous.

The \textit{Mādīr ī‘Alamgrí} (p. 155) also mentions Murád Quli and his son Allah Quli. Allah Quli’s daughter was married to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzīb, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

\textbf{248. Rám Chand}, son of Madhukar [Bundela]. He is also called \textit{Rám Sádá}, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Čádiq Khán (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmir (1000). In the first year of Jahángír’s reign, we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bir Singh Deo, Rám Chand’s younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by ‘Abduľlah Khán, who moved from Kálpí, his jīgdr, to Úndchah. On the 27th Zí Qa’dah 1016, Rám Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahángír had his setters taken off, gave him a dress of honor, and handed him over to Rájáh Básé of Dhámeri. ‘He never thought that he would be treated so kindly’ (\textit{Tuzuk,} p. 42). But Úndchah was handed over to Bir Singh Deo as reward for the murder of Abúfázal.

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* For the geographical details of this passage I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The \textit{Tuzuk} has \textit{Pílah} of \textit{Tílah}; \textit{Bhárá} for \textit{Bhárálah}, and the Persian word \textit{kódánah} for \textit{Kódán (\textit{wák}),} the name of the river near Bhárálah—a most extraordinary mistake; \textit{kor} for \textit{Kúrâr} or \textit{Gúrád}, a village near Manikyálah; \textit{Pónkúkr ár} for \textit{Potheádá.} Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near Hatiá, or \textit{Hátâjzíd}, is called Káíri, and that near Ráwalpínídí is the Láhí, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohan. Sarái Kharbuzah is also called Sarái Mádhú.

On the same page of Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the \textit{Tuzuk}, we have to read \textit{Kháttár} and \textit{Diláh-záªk}, for \textit{Khar} and \textit{Diláh-záªk.} The Kháttárs occupy the district called Khátár, and the Diláh-záks are found in the Ch’hách valley of the Indus.

\textit{Póthwár} is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohan; but Jahángír extends it to the Márghálah pass from Hatiá (30 miles from the Jhelam).

* So according to Mr. Delmerick.
In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahangir married Ram Chand's daughter at the request of her father (vide Tuzuk, p. 77; and No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh. Tuzuk, p. 112.

Muhammadan Historians give the following tree of the Undchah Bundelaha—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Year of Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bharat Chand</td>
<td>Hojala Rao</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Madhubhar Singh</td>
<td>Bharat Chand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jhujhar Singh</td>
<td>Subhan Singh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chander Man</td>
<td>Bikramajit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Masir contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. Vide also Thornton's Gazetteer, under Oorcha.

Beni Das and Bhagwan Das were killed by a Rajput in the 13th year of Shahjahan's reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chander Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1500, 800 horse.

Vide Padishahnamah I., 172 (where another Bundelah of the name of Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425; II., 731, 734.

The Masir i' Alamgiri mentions several Bundelahs, as Satr Sial, Jaswant Singh, Indarman (died 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (l. c., pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). Vide also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazl, is often called in bad MSS. Nar Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the Tuzuk, the 1st volume of Padishahnamah, the 'Alamgirnamah, &c., and in Elphinstone's History. The temples which he built in Mathurah at a cost of 33 lacs of Rupees, were destroyed by Aurangzeb in 1080. (Masir i' Alamgiri, p. 95). 1

249. Rajah Mukatman, the Bhadouriah.

Bhadawar is the name of a district S. E. of Agra; its chief town is Hatkant'h (vide p. 323, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadourians. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted.

The next chief, Mukatman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a mancab of 1000. In 992, he served in Gujrat (Akbarnamah III., 423, 438).

1 The Dutch traveller De Laët has an interesting passage regarding Abulfazl's death (De Imperio Magni Mogul-
Under Jahangir, we find a chief of the name of Rájah Bikramájít, who served under 'Abdullah against the Báná, and later in the Dak'hin. He died in the 11th year of Jahangir and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tárikh (p. 108) mentions a Bhadauriah chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash; but the name is doubtful.

Under Sháhjahán, the head of the Bhadauriah clan was Rájah Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahábat Khán against Jhughár Singh, and in the 3rd year, against Khán Jahán Lodí and the Nizám ul Mulk, who had afforded Khán Jahán protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Daulatábád. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khán Zamán against Sáhú Bhonslah. He died in the 17th year (1063).

In the Pádiehánímáh (I., b., 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1000, 600 horse.

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh, grandson of Kishn's uncle. He served as Rájah and a commander of 1000. In the 21st year, at a darbár, a mast elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with the tusks, when Badan Singh stuck his dagger into the animal which, frightened as it was at the same time by a fire wheel, dropped the unfortunate man. Sháhjahán rewarded the bravery of the Rájah with a khitát, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lacs, which was the assessment of the Bhadwáw district. In the 22nd year, he was made a commander of 1500. In the 25th year, he served under Aurangzáb, and in the 26th, under Dárá Shikoh, before Qandahár, where in the following year he died.

His son Mahá Singh was then made Rájah, and received a manjáb of 1000, 800 horse. He served in the 28th year in Kábul. After Dárá's defeat, he paid his respects to Aurangzáb, in whose reign he served against the Bundelá rebels. In the 10th year, he served under Kámil Khán against the Yúsufzais. He died in the 26th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (vide Maśár i 'Alamgír, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bibl. Ind. edition has wrong Rúdar Singh for Odat S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dák'hin, and was in the 24th year made commander of Chítor (I. c., p. 196).

250. Rájah Ram Chandr, zamindár of Oóryá.

Regarding him vide Stirling's report on Oýrá, Asiatic Researches, vol. X V. His name occurs often in the narrative of Mán Singh’s conquest of Oýrá (37th year of Akbar’s reign).

The province of Khurdah (South Oýrá) was conquered and annexed to the Dúbli empire by Mukarrám Khán (vide No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahangir’s reign (Turákh, p. 215).

251. Sayyid Abúl Qasím, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihár, and in the battle of Sultánpír Bilharí; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzais.

1 So Pádiehánímáh, II., 732. The Másir calls him Bad Singh or Bud Singh.
The Tárikh Ma'qúmí (Dowson, Elliot's Historians I., p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mîr 'Adî, viz. his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazán, 983, and his death there, 8th Sha'bán, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abûfâzî, who is not mentioned in the Ain. On the 9th Zilhajj, 985 (Feb. 1578), I'timâd (No. 119) arrived at Bhakkar.

252. Dalpat, son of Râi Râi Singh.
He has been mentioned above, p. 359.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.


The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abûl Faiz. Faizi is his takhallus. Towards the end of his life, in imitation of the form of the takhallus of his brother 'Allâmî, he assumed the name of Fa'îyâzî.

Faizi was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubârak of Nàgor. Shaikh Mubârak (vide pp. 163, 185, 198, 209) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrá had settled in Siwistân, where he married. In the 10th century, Mubârak's father went to Hindústân, and settled at Nàgor. Several of his children having died one after the other, he called his next child Mubârak. He was born in 911. When a young man, Mubârak went to Gujrat, and studied under Khâlid Abûfâzî of Kâzarûn and Maulâlâ 'Imam of Lâristân. In 950, Mubârak settled at Agra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shâh, he was a Mahdawi, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naqshbandî, then a Hamadânî, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shi'ism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Faizi and Abûfâzî, the greatest writers that India has produced, shews that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaikh Mubârak wrote a commentary to the Qurân, in four volumes, entitled Manba'ul-'uyûn,1 and another work of the title of Jawámi' al-kilâm. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lâhor, on the 17th Zi Qa'dah, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The târikh of his death will be found in the words Shaikh i kâmîl.

Shaikh Faizi was born at Agra in 954. His acquirements in Arabic Literature, the art of poetry, and in medicine, were very extensive. He used to treat poor people gratis. One day, he appeared with his father before Shaikh 'Abdunnabi, the Qâdir, (p. 272) and applied for a grant of 100 big'has; but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shi'ism. But Faizi's literary fame reached Akbar's ears, and in the 12th year, when Akbar was on the expedition to Chitor, he was called to court. Faizi's bigoted enemies in Agra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge, and warned the governor of the town not to let Faizi escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubârak's house; but accidentally Faizi was absent from home. Mubârak was ill-treated, and when Faizi at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most

1 Badáoni (III., 74) calls it Manba'ul nasâ'îl-'uyûn.
hvonbly, and Faizl, in a short time, became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaikh 'Abdunnam.

In the 30th year, he planned a *khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *Wd* of Niztimi. The first, *hfurkii uladwdr*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be a *jawdb* (imitation) of Niztimi's *Yakhzan ulmdr*; the *Sulaimdn o Bilqis* and the *Nal Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each, and were to be *jawdb* of the *Khsurav Shtrin* and *Laili Majnun* respectively; and the *Haft Kishwaar* and the *Akbarndmah*, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond to the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarsdnh*. In the 33rd year, he was made Malikushshu'arh, or Poet Laureate (*Akbarn.,* III., 659). Though he had composed portions of the *Khamsah*, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year, Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the *Nal-Daman*. Faizl thereupon finished the poem, and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Faizl suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Qafar 1004 (40th year). The *tariik* of his death is *Fuyyas i 'Ajam*. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the *Sawdi' ul Ilhm*, and the *Mawdrid ul tilam*, regarding which *vide* below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4500 choice MSS., was embodied with the imperial library.

Faizl had been employed as teacher to the princes; sometimes, he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dak'bin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badbnr, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

*Vide* also pp. 105, 106, 183, 185, 197, 207, 209; and *Journal, Asiatic Society*, Bengal, for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. *Haki'm Miqir*.

According to Badbnr (III., 165), Hakim Miqir was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwájah Shamsuddin Khawafii (No. 159). He died in Burhánpir, and was buried there.

Miqir is mentioned in the *Akbarndmah*, III., p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abulfazl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abulfazl's date with Badbnr's statement; for Badbnr died in 1004 (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1869, p. 143). But both Abulfazl and Badbnr speak of the Hakim as a man of a most amiable and unselisht character.

255. *Yrij*, son of *Mizra Khánkhánán* (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahángir, he was made Çübabdár of Bárár and Ahmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik 'Ambar, especially at K'karki, for which victories he was

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1. Lachmí Narán Shafíq, the author of the *Haqiqat i Hindustán*, says that it was called K'harki from the Dak'bin word *kermak*, which means 'stony', 'a stony place.' It lies 5 kos S.E. of Daulatábád (the old Dhárágarh and Deogir of 'Alauddin Khilji'). K'harki under Jahángir was called Fathábád. In 1024, a canal was dug from K'harki to Daulatábád. Its name was Chahárnahrí, and the *tariik* of its completion is *khair i jdr* (pr. a running benefit). Later Aurangáb changed the name of K'harki to Aurangábád, under which name it is now known. K'harki was the seat of Malik 'Ambar.
made a commander of 5000. In the 12th year, he served under Prince Sháhjahán in the Dak'hin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy, and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramazán, 1026) to Prince Sháhjahán. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahán-afroz, was born at Agrah on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhnánpur, at the age of 1 year, 9 months (Pádisháhánámáh).

According to Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Irj’s tomb is at Burhnánpur. “The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure.” The statement of the Gazetteer that Irj, towards the end of his life, “lived as a recluse” at Burhnánpur, is not borne out by the histories; for according to the Tuzuk (p. 270), he died of excessive wine drinking.

At his death (1028), he was only thirty-three years of age. The manşab of 400, which Abulfazl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him, when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30).

Vide above, under No. 244.

257. ‘Abdullah [Sarfaráz Khán], son of Khán i A’zam Mírzá Koka (No. 21).

Vide p. 328.

It was stated (p. 328) on the authority of the Másir that he received the title of Sarár Khán, which had become vacant by the death of Takhtah Beg (No. 195). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of Sarfaráz Khán. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Másir; for the title of Sarár Khán was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwâjah Yádgár, brother of ‘Abdullah Khán Firdâz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116), when ‘Abdullah Sarfaráz Khán was still alive.

The Másir also says that ‘Abdullah accompanied his father to Gwáríl (p. 317); but the Tuzuk (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rántanbhúr, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

258. ‘Alî Muhammad Asp.

Badáujón says (II., p. 57) that “‘Alî Muhammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jújak Begum, killed Abúl Fath Beg (p. 318).” In the 9th year, he was in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakfám, king of Kábul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989), he served under Prince Murád against his former master (Akbárnámáh, III., 345); in the 30th year (993), he served in Kábul (III., 487, 490). In the 32nd year, he distinguished himself under ‘Abdul Ma’tlab (No. 83) against the Tárikís (III., p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the Akbárnámáh, he is wrongly called ‘Alî Múham-mad Alîj.

259. Mírzá Muhammad.

A Mírzá Muhammad was mentioned on p. 370.


Báyásid’s mother nursed Prince Salím (Jáhângir) on the day he was born (Tuzuk, p. 18). In the 40th year of Akbar’s reign, B. was a commander of 400,
and gradually rose to a command of 2000. After Jahangir's accession, he received a manca of 3000, and the title of Mu'azzam Khan. Soon after, he was made Qubadh dar of Dili (I. c., p. 37), and in the 3rd year, a commander of 4000, 2000 horse. On his death, he was buried at Fathpur Sikri (I. c., p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khan was son-in-law to Islam Khan Shaikh 'Ala'uddin (another grandson of Shaikh Salfin), under whom he served in Bengal. He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kuch Hajj, and brought the zamindar Parichhat before the governor. At the death of his father-in-law, Muhtashim Khan Shaikh Qasim, brother of Islam Khan, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khan continued for one year in his office as governor of Kuch Hajj; but as he could not agree with Qasim, he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Orissa, and conquered the province of Khurdah (I. c., pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse. He seems to have remained in Orissa till the 11th year (1029), when Hasan 'Ali Turkmân was sent there as governor (Tuzuk, p. 308). In the 16th year, M. Kh. came to court, and was made Qubadh dar of Dili and Faqirdar of Mewat (I. c., p. 332).

In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as governor, vice Khanahzad Khan. He travelled by boat. One day he ordered his ship to be moved to the bank, as he wished to say the afternoon prayer, when a sudden gale broke forth, during which he and his companions were drowned.

261. Ghazni'n Khan, of Jâlor.

Ghaznîn Khan was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the Padishâh namah (I., 167) as having served during the reign of Jahângir against the Râna.

Bird in his History of Gujrat (pp. 124, 405) calls him Ghaznavi Khan and Ghazni Khan, and says, he was the son of Malik Khanjî Jâlori. Ghaznî Khan seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sultan Muzaffar. The Khan-khanan, on the 9th Muharram, 998, sent a detachment against Jâlor; but perceiving

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1 Islam Khan was married to a sister of Abulâzî, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islam Khan died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022. Tuzuk, p. 126.

2 The Pâdîshâh namah (II., 64), where Mukarram Khan's expedition is related, distinguishes between Kuch Hajj and Kuch Bihâr. The former was in the beginning of Jahângir's reign under Parichhat, the latter under Lachmî Narâin. Hajj is the name of a famous leader of the Kuch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachâris and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise jura regalia in Kuch Bihâr Proper. Materials for a history of Kuch Bihâr will be found in the Akbar namah (Lucknow Edition, III., p. 208, annals of the 41st year); in the Tuzuk-i-Iahângirî (pp. 147, 270, 211, 223); in the Pâdîshâh namah I., 496; II., 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the Fath-i-Ashân; vide also Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. VII.; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.


Ghaznîn's jagir before Akbar's conquest of Gujrat, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nâgor and Mîr'thâ, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abulfazl, in his description of Qubah Ajmir, IIIrd book, mentions 3½ lacs of rupees, with 2000 horse, as the jama' of Jâlor and Sâphchor (S. W. of Jâlor).
that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznī went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pahār was executed by Jahāngīr. "When I came to Dih Qāziyān, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahār. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jālor, his ancestral home. He is a young man, and was often checked by his mother for his bad behaviour. Annoyed at this, he entered with some of his companions her apartments, and killed her. I investigated the case, found him guilty, and had him executed." (Čafar, 1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznī Khān is Nizām, who died in the 6th year of Shāhjahān's reign. He was a commander of 900, 650 horse (Pādishāhn., I., b., 313).

Ghaznī's brother Fīrūz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (Pādishāhn., I., b., 319).

The Pādishāhnāmah (II., 739) mentions also a Mujāhid of Jālor, who in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.

262. Kījak Khwājā, son of Khwājā 'Abdullāh.

The first volume of the Akbārnāmah (p. 411) mentions a Kījak Khwājā among the grandees who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The third volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kījak Khwājā, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohānī in Bengāl. Vide No. 109.

263. Sher Khān Mughul.

264. Fathullāh, son of Muhammad Wafā.

He appears to be the Fathullāh mentioned in the Akbārnāmah (III., 825) as the sharbatddvr of the emperor. Akbār made him an Amīr. For some fault he was sent to the Dak'īn; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered, and went on sick leave to Māndū, where he died (1008).

265. Rāj Manohār, son of Rājā Loṅkaran.

Rājā Loṅkaran belonged to the Shaikhwat branch of the Kachhwāhahs. He served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh against the Rānā, and went in the same year with Rājā Bir Bār to Dongarpūr, the zamindār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbār's harem. In the 24th year, he served under Todar Mall in Bihār, and in the 24th year, under the Khān Khānān in Gujūrāt.

Manohār, in the 22nd year, reported to the emperor on his visit to Amber, that in the neighbourhood an old town existed, the site of which was marked by huge maunds of stone. Akbār encouraged him to rebuild it, and laid the foundation himself. The new settlement was called Mālo Manohārnagār. In the 45th year,

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1 The word dongar which occurs in the names of places from Sonāth to Māl-wāh and Central India, is a Gond word meaning a forest. There are many Dongarpūrs, Dongargāws, Dongartās, Dongars, &c. Similarly, the word bir in Mundārī signifies a jungle, whence Birbhūm (Western Bengāl). Thus also Jhārkand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutiā Nāgpūr. The above-mentioned Dongarpūr lies on the N. W. frontier of Gujūrāt (Akbārn., III., 169, 170, 477).

2 The maps give a Manoharpūr, north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20'.

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he was appointed with Ráí Durgá Lál (No. 103) to pursue Muzaffar Husain Mírzá (p. 464), who was caught by Khwájah Waisí.

In the 1st year of Jahángír’s reign, he served under Prince Parwíz against the Ránsá, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1500, 600 horse (Tuzuk, p. 64). He served long in the Dák’hin, and died in the 11th year.

His son Prit’hi Chánd received after the death of his father the title of Ráí, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (l. c., p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mírzá Manohar; vide my article *A chapter from Muhammandan History*, Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

266. Khwájah 'Abduussamad, Shirín-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwájah ‘Abduqçamad was a Shirází. His father Khwájah Nizámúl Mulk was Vazír to Sháh Shujía of Shiráz. Before Humáyún left Irán, he went to Tabríz, where ‘Abduqçamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as painter and calligraphist. Humáyún invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kábúl.

Under Akbar, ‘A. was a commander of 400; but low as his mançab was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year, he was in charge of the mint at Fathpúr Sikrí (*Akbarndmah*, III., 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several gúbahs, he was appointed Díwán of Multán.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the *Sūratulikhídţ* (Quran, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (*dánnak i khashkhds*). Vide p. 107.

For his son vide No. 351.

267. Silhadi’ son of Rájah Bihári Mall (No. 23).

268. Ra’m Chand Kachhwáhah.

Vide p. 387.

[Ba’m Chand Chauha’n]. The Massír says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year, he served under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Gujrát, and in the 26th year, under Sultán Murád against M. Muhammad Hakim, king of Kábúl. In the 28th year, he was under M. Sháhrúkh in the Dák’hin. In the fight, in which Rájah ‘All of Khandesh fell, R. Ch. received twenty wounds and fell from his horse. Next day he was found still alive. He died a few days later (41st year, 1005).

269. Baha’dur Kha’n Qúrdír.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrát (*Akbarndmah*, III., 25), in the 26th in Kábúl (l. c., 333), and in the siege of Asfár (1008).

The *Pádisahánámah* (I., b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abábakr and 'Usmán, sons of Bahádur Khán Qúrbegi, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Sháhjáhán.

270. *Ba’nka’,* the Kachhwáhah.

He served in the 26th year in Kábúl (*Akbarndmah*, III., 333). His son Harídí Rám was under Sháhjáhán a commander of 1500, 1000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.
XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.

271. Mi'ra'ẓa' Abu' Sa'īd, sons of Sultān Hūsain Mi'ra'ẓa.
272. Mi'ra'ẓa Sanjar.

They were mentioned above on p. 314. Mi'ra'ẓa Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mi'ra'ẓa Sanjar mentioned on p. 477, note 2.

273. 'Ali Mardān Bahādur.

The Ṭabaqāt mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulāj Khān (No. 42) at Idar, who was to go to Gujrat to see the ships off which under Sultān Khwājah (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind, and in the 41st year, in the Dakhān. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingānāh corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pāthrī to assist Sher Khwājah (No. 176), when he heard that Bahādur Khān Gīlānī, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingānāh, had been defeated. He returned, and attacked the enemies who were much stronger than he; his men fled, and he himself was captured. In the same year, Abūlfa'āl made peace, and 'Ali Mardān was set at liberty. In the 47th year, he served with distinction under Mi'ra'ẓa Ijīr (No. 255) against Malik 'Amar.

In the 7th year of Ḫaṁs, he was attached to the corps commanded by Abūlfa'āl Khān Firūz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrat army over Nāsik into the Dakhān, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khān Jāhān Lodi. 'Abdullāh entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrat, now pursued by the enemies. In one of the fights which ensued, 'A. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik 'Amar, and though the doctors did everything to save him, he died two days later of his wounds, in 1021 A.H. (Tuzuk, p. 108).

His son Karamullah served under Jahāngīr (Tuzuk, p. 269), and was under Shāhjāhān a commander of 1000, 1000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Odīgīr, and died in the 21st year of Shāhjāhān's reign.

274. Raza'Quli, son of Khān Jāhān (No. 24).

Vide above p. 331.


His father was a Shaikhzādah of Badāson, and his mother a daughter of Shaikh Salīm. Khūbū was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr. When the prince was at Ilahābād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Qutbuddin Khān, and made him Čūbahdār of Bihār. On his accession, he made him Čūbahdār of Bengal, vice Mān Singh (9th Jumāda I., 1016; Tuzuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afīkan 'Alī Quli Istajlū (vide No. 394) was tayūlār of Bardwān, and as his wife Mihrunnisā [Nūr Jāhān] was coveted by the emperor, Qutb was ordered to send Sher Afīkan to court, who, however, refused to go. Qutb, therefore, went to Bardwān, sending Ghiasā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afīkan that no harm would be done to him. When Qutb arrived, Sher Afīkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his

Vide Dowson, Elliot's Historians, I., p. 248.

Jahāngīr says that Khūbū's mother was dearer to him than his own mother.
horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. "What is all this?" exclaimed Sher. Qutb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Qutb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Qutb, and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Qutb was a stout man, and seizing his protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Ambah Khan, a Kashmiri noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword cut over the head; but he fell at the same time pierced through by Sher's sword (p. 474, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Qutbuddin was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghias to bring his effects and his family to Bardwan. He then was removed in a palkee. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpur Sikri and buried.

In 1013, he built the Jama' mosque of Badan. His son, Shaikh Ibrar, was, in 1015, a commander of 1000, 300 horse, and had the title of Kishwar Khan. He was for some time governor of Rohtas, and served in the beginning of 1021 against Usman.

Ilahiah, son of Kishwar Khan, is mentioned in the Padishahnamah (I., b., 100, 177, 307; II., 344, 379, 411, 484).


The Akbarnamah (III., 490, 628) and the Tuzuk (p. 11) mention a Ziauddin. The Hakim Ziauddin of Kachan, who under Shakhjah channel held the title of Rahmat Khan, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hamshah Beg Ghatra'ghali.

He may be the brother of No. 203. The Akbarnamah (III., 255) mentions also a Husain Beg Ghatra'ghali.

278. Mukhtar Beg, son of Agha Mullal.

Mukhtar Beg served under A'am Khan Kokah (No. 21) in Bihar, Gurdha-Rasina (Akbar, III., 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultan Murad in Malwa.

Naqrullah, son of Mukhtar Beg, was under Shakhjah Khan a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fathullah, son of Naqrullah, was under Shakhjah Khan a commander of 500, 50 horse (Padishahnamah, I., b., 318; II., 752).

Abulfazl calls Mukhtar Beg the son of Agha Mullal. This would seem to be the Agha Mullal Dawatdar, mentioned on p. 369. If so, Mukhtar Beg would be the brother of Ghiyasuddin 'Ali (No. 126). The Agha Mullal mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Araf Khan III. (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Badruzzaman, who under Shakhjah Khan was a commander of 500, 100 horse (Padsh., I., b., 327; II., 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.


He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghanistian (Akbar, III., 540, 543).

280. Peshrau Khan 'Ala Mihtar Saldat.

Mihtar Sa'adat had been brought up in Tabriz, and was in the service of Shakh Tahmas, who gave him as a present to Humayun. After Humayun's death, he was
promoted, and got the title of *Peshrau Khan*. In the 19th year, Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihár, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpáti, the great zamindár (p. 399, note 2). When Jagdeşpúr, the stronghold of the Rájah, was conquered, Gajpáti ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshrau. The executioner, however, did not kill him, and told another man to do so. But the latter accidentally could not get his sword out of the scabbard; and the Rájah, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P. on his elephant. The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P., fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner, that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the *kaláwah* (p. 127) of the driver, and thus sat firm; but the driver unable to manage the brute, threw himself to the ground and ran away, leaving P. alone on the elephant. Next morning it got quiet, and P. threw himself down, when he was picked up by a trooper who had been searching for him.

In the 21st year, he reported at court the defeat of Gajpáti (Akbnm., III., 163). In the 25th year, he served in Bengál (*l. c.*, p. 289). Later he was sent to Nizámulmulk of the Dak'hin, and afterwards to Bahádur Khán, son of Rájah 'Ali Khán of Khánadesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Asir. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Máligádh.

Jahángír made him a commander of 2000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the *Farrásh-khánah* (Quarter-Master).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahángír says (Tuzuk, p. 71), "He was an excellent servant, and though ninety years old, he was smarter than many a young man. He had amassed a fortune of 15 lacs of rupees. His son Ridáyt is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the *Farrásh-khánah*.

281. *Qa'zí* Hasan Qazwini.

In the 32nd year (995), he served in Gujrát (Akbnm., III., 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has *Qa'zi Husain*), and later in the siege of Asir (*l. c.*, III., 825).

282. Mír Mura'd i Juwaní.

He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 354.

Juwain is the Arabic form of the Persian Gúján, the name of a small town, in Khurásán, on the road between Bistán and Nishápúr. It lies, according to the *Mádsír*, in the district of Biháq, of which Sabzwár is the capital, and is renowned as the birth-place of many learned men and poets.

Mír Murád belongs to the Sayyids of Juwain. As he had been long in the Dak'hin, he was also called *Dak'híni*. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurrám. He died, in the 40th year, as Bakhshí of Lábhor. He had two sons, Qásím Khán and Háshím Khán.

Qásím Khán was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islám Khán, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the qubáh. Later, he married

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2 Gajpáti's brother, Biri Síl, had been killed (Akbnm., III., 102).

† Füde Wüstenfeld's Yäsent, II., 264.
Maniūjā Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāngir. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāngir asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin, that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor, it broke. Looking at Qāsim, J. said (metre Ramal)-


The cup was lovely, and the water lost its rest—

when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied:

Die hadam ra, aqshiq alibs, a sheikh was forkad.

It saw my love grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Čūbahdār of Agra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dak'hin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Dahrah (Agra), which in honor of Jahāngir had been called Nūr Mansīl, and was soon after made a commander of 5000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, vice Fidāy Khān.

As Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Sha'ban, 1041, or February, 1632, A. D. (Pādīshāhān., I., 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ināyatullah and Allah Yār Khān to Hūgli. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power, were liberated. One thousand Musalimāns died as martyrs for their religion.¹

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (l. c., p. 441). The Jāmī' Masjīd in the Agra Bāzar of Agra was built by him.

283. Mir Qāsim Badakshih. He served in the Dak'hin (Akbarn., III., 830).

284. Bandah 'Alī Maidānī. Maidānī is the name of an Afghān clan; vide No. 317. Bandah 'Alī served in the 9th year with Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul, who was attacked by Mirzā Sulaimān of Badakshih (No. 5), and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years, he served in Kābul (Akbar., II., 299; III., 477, 540).

The Akbarnāmāh (II., 209) also mentions a Bandah 'Alī Qurbegī.


286. Zaḥīd


288. Yaʿr [Muhammad]

¹ The siege of Hūgli commenced on a certain time been the head quarters of the Mughul army, is called on our maps Holotpur, and lies N. W. of Hūgli.

The Portuguese church at Bandel (a corruption of bandar?) bears the year 1639 on its keystone.
They have been mentioned above on p. 357. Záhid, in the end of 1015, served against Dalpat (No. 259).

Regarding Záhid, vide also a passage from the Tárikh-i Mu'ámmí, translated in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I., 246.

259. 'Izzatullah Ghujduwání.

Ghujduwání is a small town in Bukhárá.

The Akbarnámah (III., 548) mentions a Qásí 'Izzatullah, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghanístán.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

280. A'ltún Qulij.

281. Ja'n Qulij.

Two MSS. have A'ltún Qulij, son of Khán Qulij, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khán. They are not the sons of Qulij Khán (No. 42), vide Nos. 292 and 293. A'ltún Qulij is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 554) as having served in Baglánah with Bharji, the Rájah, who was hard pressed in Fort Molber by his relations. Bharji died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).


283. Chi'n Qulij,

Saif is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish qulij, a sword. Saifullah was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he served under Çádiq Khán (No. 43) in Afghanístán.

Regarding Mirzá Chín Qulij, the Madsir says that he was an educated, liberal, man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullá Mu'tafá of Jaunpúr, and was for a long time Faujdar of Jaunpúr and Banáras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mirzá Láhauri, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chín Qulij in Jaunpúr. He had not been long there, when he interfered in government matters, and caused disturbances, during which Chín Qulij lost his life. His immense property escheated to the state; it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory.

In 1022, when Jahángír was in Ajmír, he summoned Mullá Mu'tafá, who had been the Mirzá's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm. While at court, he got acquainted with Mullá Muhammad of Thá'tháh, a teacher in the employ of Açafjáh (or Açaf Khán IV.; vide p. 369), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Mu'tafá was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mirzá Láhauri was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (yaumiyáh). He had a house in Agra, near the Jamnah, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The Madsir mentions a few instances of his wicked behaviour. Once he buried one of his servants alive, as he wished to know something about Munkir and Nakir, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muhammadans, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers, if the dead man is found
wanting in belief. When the man was dug out, he was found dead. Another time, when
with his father in Lāhor, he disturbed a Hindū wedding-feast, and carried off
the bride; and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that
they were now related to the Čūbābdār of Lāhor.

The other sons of Qulij Khān, as Qulijullah, Chīn Qulij, Bāljū Q., Bairam Q.,
Jān Q., hold mostly respectable manṣabs.

The Tūzūk i Jahāngīrī relates the story differently. Both M. Chīn Qulij and
M. Lāhaurī are described as wicked men. Chīn Q., after the death of his father, came
with his brothers and relations to court (Čafar, 1023; Tūzūk, p. 127), and received
Jaunpūr as jāgīr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lāhaurī,
from whom no man was safe, he sent an Ahadī to Jaunpūr to bring him to court,
when Chīn Qulij fled with him to several Zamindārs. The men of Jahāngīr Qulī
Khān, governor of Bihār, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the
governor, Chīn died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others
from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahāngīr Qulī
Khān, who sent it with his family and property to Ilaḥābād. The greater part of his
property had been squandered or given away to zamindārs (1024; Tūzūk, p. 148).

294. Abul Fattaḥ Āta'li'q,
295. Sayyid Bayāzīd of Bābāa.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat (Akbarn., III., 553). In the beginning
of the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1031), he received the title of Muṣtafā Khān
(Tūzūk, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Shāhjahān's reign (1031), he was made a commander of 2000, 700
horse (Pād., I., 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the Pādishāh-
nāmah.

296. Balbhadr, the Rāṭhor.
297. Abul Ma'āli', son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl (No. 140).
298. Bāqīr Anṣārī.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year, he
served under Mān Singh in the expedition to Oṛīsā (Akbarn., III., 267, 641).

299. Bayāzīd Beg Turkmān.

He was at first in Mun'im's service (Akbarn., II., 238, 253). The Pādishāh-nāmah
(I., b., 328) mentions Mahmūd Beg, son of Bayāzīd Beg. Vide No. 335.

300. Shaikh Daulat Bakhtryār.
301. Husain, the Pak'hliwāl.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qārļuqs under Timur (vide p. 454) is
given in the Tūzūk (p. 290). Jahāngīr adds, “but they do not know who was then
their chief. At present, they are common Panjābīs (Lāhaurī i maḥaz), and speak
Panjābī. This is also the case with Dhantūr” (vide No. 396).

Sultān Husain, as he called himself, is the son of Sultān Mahmūd. His
rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above, on p. 454. When Jahāngīr
in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Husain was about seventy years
old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahāngīr
promoted him to a manṣab of 600, 360 horse.
Husain died in the 18th year (end of 1032; Tuzuk, p. 367). His command and the district of Pak‘hlî were given to his son Shâdâmân.

Shâdâmân served under Dârâ Shikoh in Qandhâr (beginning of 1052), and was in the 20th year of Shâhjâhân’s reign a commander of 1000, 900 horse. Pâdishâhnámah, II., 293, 733.

The Tuzuk (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pak‘hlî, and has a remark on the thick, strong beer which the inhabitants make from bread and rice.

302. Kesu’ Da’s, son of Jai Mall.

Vide No. 406. One MS. has Jait Mall, instead of Jai Mall. The Pâdishâhnámah (I., b., 310) mentions a Râjâh Girdhar, son of Kesu’ Dâs, grandson of Jat Mall of Mîr’tâ. The Tuzuk frequently mentions a Kesu’ Dâs Mârû (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mîrza’ Khân of Nishâpûr. One MS. has Jân for Khân.

304. Muzaffâr, brother of Khân ‘Alâm (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly Khân i A’zam, for Khân ‘Alâm.

305. Tulsî Da’s Ja’don.

He served in 992 against Sul’tân Muzaffâr of Gujûtât (Akbarn., III., 422). The Akbarnámah (III., 167, 434, 598) mentions another Jâdôq, Râjâh Gopâl. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the Tabaqât as a commander of 2000.

306. Rahmat Khân, son of Masmâd i ‘Alî. Masmâd i ‘Alî is an Afghân title, as Majlis ul Majdîs, Majlis i Ikhtiyâr, &c. It was the title of Fattû Khân, or Fath Khân, a courtier of Islem Shâh, who afterwards joined Akbar’s service. He served under Husain Quli Khân Jahân (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (Baddona’ II., 161). The Tabaqât makes him a commander of 2000. He seems to be the same Fath Khân whom Sulaimân Karârni had put in charge of Bohtâs in Bihâr (Badd., II., 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (Akbarn., III., 599). A Rahmat Khân served in the 45th year in the Dak’hîn. Rahmat Khân’s brother, Shâh Muhammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qa’sim Kokâh. He served in 993 against the Yûsufzâfs, and in 996, under Çâdiq Khân, against the Tûrfikis (Akbarn., III., 490, 552).

The Tuzuk (p. 159) mentions a Yâr Beg, son of A. Q.’s brother.

308. Bahâdur Gohlot.

309. Daulat Khân’ Lodî. He was a Lodi Afghân of the Shâhû-khail clan, and was at first in the service of ‘Aziz Kokâh (No. 21). When ‘Ablûrrahîm (No. 29) married the daughter of ‘Aziz, Daulat Khân was transferred to ‘Ablûrrahîm’s service, and ‘Aziz in sending him to his son-in-law, said, “Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (Khân Khânân).” Daulat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujûtât (p. 336, l., 1, where for Dost Khân, as given in the Mâsîrî, we have to read Daulat Khân), in Thât’âh, and the Dak’hîn. His courage was proverbial. In his master’s contingent he held a command of 1000. Sul’tân Dânyâl won him over, and made him a commander of 2000.
He died in the end of the 46th year (Sha'bán, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (Akbaran, III., 846). It is said that Akbar stood in awe of him, and when he heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "To-day Sher Khán Súr died."

Daulat Khán's eldest son, whom the Māásír calls Muhunúd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolís near Fál, and perished.

Daulat's second son is the renowned Pir Khán, or Pirú, better known in history under his title Khán Jahán Lodí. If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

Pir Khán, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the Māásír here calls Muhammad Khán, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mán Singh. Muhammad Khán died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sultán Dányál, who treated him like a friend and called him 'son.' On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahángír's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3000, and received the title of Çálábát Khán (Tuzuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a mancab of 6000, and received the title of Khán Jahán, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khán Khánán. Although Jahángír treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khán Jahán never forgot his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwíz, Rájah Mán Singh and Sharíf Khán (No. 351) were sent to the Dak'hín to reinforce the Khán Khánán, and matters took an unfavorable turn, Khán Jahán, in 1018, was sent with 12000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahángír came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh. J.'s head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting. Without delaying in Búrbánpur, Kh. J. moved to Bálághát, where the imperial army was. At Mulkápur, a great fight took place with Malik 'Ambar, and the imperialists, unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dak'hínis, lost heavily. The Khán Khánán met him with every respect, and took him to Bálághát. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dak'hín corps, and 'Abdulluh Khán the Gujrat army, upon Daulatábád (p. 496). Malik 'Ambar afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khán Khánán, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and 'Abdulluh, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died away, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Búrbánpur.

Kh. J. accused the Khán Khánán of treason, and offered to conquer Bijápúr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30000 men and absolute power. This Jahángír agreed to, and the Khán i A'zam (No. 21) and Khán 'Alam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khán Khánán had been removed, the duplicity of the Amirs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The command was therefore given to the Khán i A'zam, and Kh. J. received Tháñner as jágír, and was ordered to remain at Tlichpúr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahár, Kh. J. was made governor of Multán. Two years later, in the 17th year, Sháh 'Abbás took Qandahár
after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Shâh 'Abbâs, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurrâm was appointed to reconquer Qandahâr, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multân, to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afghân tribes from near Qandahâr came to him in Multân, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankahs, and each foot soldier two tankahs per diem, to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Ispâhan, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahângîr would kill him, if he heard of the attachment of the Afghâns to him. In the meantime matters changed. Shâhjahân rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahâr was not undertaken. The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khân Sûr, in spite of his enmity, would after so many requests have obeyed. The delay, it is said, was caused by severe illness. On his arrival at court, Kh. J. was made commandant of Fort Agrah and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khân i A'zam, he was made governor of Gujrât, and when Mahâbât Khân was sent to Bengal, he was appointed atâliq to Prince Parwiz, whom he joined at Burhânpûr.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parwiz died, and the Dak'hin was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khân, son of Malik 'Ambar, to Bâlgâhât. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Khân 'Abshî, the minister of the Nizâm Shâh, to eide the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of hûns, though the revenue was 55 krors of dáms (Pâdishâhân., I., 271), and ordered the imperial Faqîdlûrs and Thânahârs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizâm Shâh and repair to Burhânpûr. Only Sipâhdâr Khân who stood in Ahmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the Emperor.

Soon after, Mahâbât Khân joined Shâhjahân at Junîr, and was honored with the title of Sipâhsâlâr. On the death of Jahângîr, which took place immediately afterwards, Shâhjahân sent Jân Nisâr Khân to Kh. J., to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Çâbahdâr of the Dak'hin; but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Jân Nisâr without answer. He intended to rebel. It is said that he was misled by Daryá Khân Rokilâh and Fázîl Khân, the Dîwân of the Dak'hin: Dâwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryâr had proclaimed himself in Lâhor, whilst Shâhjî, had offended him by conferring the title of Sipâhsâlâr on Mahâbât Khân, who only lately had joined him; he, too, should aim at the crown, as he was a man of great power, and would find numerous adherents.

Shâhjî sent Mahâbât to Mândû, where Kh. J.'s family was. Kh. J. renewed friendly relations with the Nizâm Shâh, and leaving Sikandar Dutânî in Burhânpûr, he moved with several Amîrs to Mândû, and deposed the governor Muzafigh Khân Ma'mûrî. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amîrs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Shâhjî; the proclamation of Dâwar Bakhsh proved to be a scheme made by Aqâf Khân in favor of Shâhjî, and Kh. J. sent a vakîl to court and presented, after Shâhjî's accession, a most valuable present.
The Emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Málwah.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhár Singh, Kh. J. came to court, and was treated by the Emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Sháhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Agra, and several parganahs of his jágirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbár, Mírzá Lashkárí, son of Mukhlíc Khán, foolishly said to the sons of Kh. J., “He will some of these days imprison your father.” Kh. J. on hearing this, shut himself up at home, and when the Emperor sent Islám Khán to his house to enquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an amāndāmah, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Sháhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Aṣaf Khán tried to console him, the old suspicions were never forgotten. In fact it would seem that he only feared the more for his safety, and on the night from the 26th to the 27th Cafer, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Agra. When passing the Hatiápur 1 Darwázah, he humbly threw the reins of his horse over his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, “O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honor; to rebel is not my intention.” On the morning before his flight, Aṣaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Sháhj. said that he could take no steps to prevent Kh. J. from rebelling; he had given him the guarantee, and could use no force before the crime had actually been committed.

An outline of Kh. J.’s rebellion may be found in Elphinstone’s history, where the main facts are given.

When he could no longer hold himself in the Dak’hin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjáb. He entered Málwah, pursued by ‘Abdullah Khán and Muzaffar Khán Bárha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundelah Rájáh. But Jagráj Bikramájít, son of Jhujhár Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumáda II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryá Khán (a commander of 4000) and his son, Kh. J.’s best officers (Pádisádhán, I., 339; I., b., 296.) On arriving in Bhánder,2 Kh. J. met Sayyid Muzaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1000 men. During the fight Mámíd Khán, one of Kh. J.’s sons, was killed. On approaching Kálínjor, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commander of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Hasan Khán, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehódpá, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away, as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by ‘Abdullah Khán and S. Muzaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mádhú Singh with a spear. Before Muzaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son ‘Aziz to pieces (Pádisádhán, I., 351). Their

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1 The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Aurangzib in Rajah, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. Mads. A’lamgiri, p. 77.
2 So the Madsir. The Bibl. Ind. Edition of the Pádisádhánmáh, I., 348, has Bándhú. So likewise for Sáledin (Pád. I., 290), the Madsir has Láujli (Gund-wánah), where Kh. J. after the fight near Dhólpúr and his march through the Bundelah State for the first time rested. Bhánder lies N. E. of Jháusi. Sehódpá lies N. of Kálínjor, on the Kou.
heads were sent to Sháhjáhán at Búrbán-púr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Daulat Khán, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7000 (Pádisáhánhá, I, b. 293).

Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Hussain, 'Azmat, Mahmúd, and Hasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Áçálat Khán, a commander of 3000, died during the rebellion at Daulátábád, and Muzaffar had left his father, and gone to court. Faríd and Ján Jahán were captured; 'Álam and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. 'But none of his sons ever prospered.'

The historical work entitled Makhzún i Afghání, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khán Jahán, after whom the book is sometimes called Táríkh i Khán Jahán Lodí.

310. Sha'í Muhammad, son of Quraish Sultán (No. 178).
311. Hasan Khán Miyánah.

He was at first a servant of Câdíq Khán (No. 43), but later he received a mançâb. He died in the Dák'hin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is Buháil Khán. He rose to a mançâb of 1500 under Jahangír (I., c., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of Sarbalánd Khán. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwánah.

At the accession of Sháhjáhán, B. was made a commander of 4000, 3000 horse and jágirdár of Bálápúr. He joined Khán Jahán Lodí on his march from Gondwánah to Bálághápát. When he saw that Khán Jahán did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizám Sháh.

A grandson of Buháil, Abú Muhammad, came in the 12th year of Aurangzíb's reign to court, was made a commander of 5000, 4000, and got the title of Ikhlás Khán (Máds. 'Álamgír, p. 81).

For other Miyánah Afghánís, vide Pádisáhánhá, I, 241; Máds. 'Álamgír, p. 225.
312. Ta'hír Beg, son of the Kháñ i Kálán (No. 16).
313. Khán Dá's Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahangír accountant (mu'ashíf) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1000. A short time before, he had received the title of Rájah (Tuzuk, p. 110).

The Akbarnámah (III., 333, 335) mentions a Mán Singh Darbári.
315. Mir Gada'i, son of Mír Abú Turáb.

Abú Turáb belonged to the Salámi Sayyids of Shíráz. His grandfather, Mir Ghiyásuddín, had come to Gujrát during the reign of Qútbuddín, grandson of Sultán Ahmad (the founder of Ahmadábád); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Sháh Ismá'íl i Çáfawí obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrát, where he arrived during the reign of Sultán Mahmúd Búráh. He settled with his son Kamáluddín (Abú Turáb's father) in Champánír-
Mahmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (dārsiyyah kitāb).

The family had for a long time been attached to the Salesalāh i Maghrībiyāh, or Maghrībi (Western) Sect, the “lamp” of which was the saintly Shaikh Ahmad i Khāṭṭū. The name ‘Ṣalāmī Sayyids’ is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary salām, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abū Tūrāb was a highly respected man. He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrat, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master. Thus he was instrumental in preventing I’timād Khān (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar’s departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk. Later, Akbar sent him to Makkah as Mir Hajj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begums. On his return, he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (qadam i sharī, or qadam i mubārak); vide p. 198. The ‘tārīkh’ of his return is khāir ul qadām (A. H. 937), or ‘the best of footprints.’ The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jālāl i Bukhārī at the time of Sulṭān Firūz had brought to Dīhlī. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great éclat, Abū Tūrāb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When I’timād was made governor of Gujrat, Abū Tūrāb followed him as Amin of the pābāh, accompanied by his sons Mir Muḥibullāh and Mir Sharaful-Din. Abū Tūrāb died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadābād. His third son Mir Gādār, though he held a manṣāb, adopted the saintly mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year, he served in the Daḵhin. 316. Qa’sim Khwājah, son of Khwājah ’Abdul Bārī. Vide No. 320. 317. Na’īdī ’Alī’ Maidānī.

In MSS. he is often wrongly called Yād ’Alī. The word yādī is an Arabic Imperative, meaning call. It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

\[ Yādī ’Alīyan mazhara’ajādī, \\
Tajidhi’ awanfī kulli-lmaqādī. \\
Kullu hammin wa ghammin sayanjali \\
Binubuwatiya yā Muḥammad, binwldiyitika yā ’Alī. \\
Yā ’Alī, yā ’Alī, yā ’Alī. \]

Call upon ‘Alī, in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,

says that ٍنيك meanings burūl i bargashtah, ‘having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,’ which Sulṭān Mahmūd is said to have had (Tuzuk, p. 212). Champānīr, according to Bird, is also called Mahmūdābād. The Madāsir has Champānīr–Muḥammadābād. 1

1 Born A. H. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwāl, 849. Shaikh Ahmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Ahmadābād. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujrātī Ahmads, in the foundation of Ahmadābād (founded 7th Zī Qa’dah, 813). Khāzmatul Aṣād (Iṣlahor), p. 957.

Khāṭṭū, where Shaikh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaikh Is-hāq i Maghrībī (died 776, A. H.) lies east of Nāgor.
Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish. Through thy prophethship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Ali. O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali!

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 26th year, Nádi 'Ali served against M. Muhammad Hakím, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kábül, and two years later under Zain Kokah (No. 34) against the Tárikís.

In the 6th year of Jahángír's reign, he was made a commander of 1500, chiefly for his services against the Kábül rebel Ahlád. In the 10th year, he served in Bangah, when he was a commander of 1500, 1000 horse. He died in the following year (1026); vide Tuzuk, p. 172. His sons were provided with mançábs.

His son Bídžan (or Bídzhán) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangah, and was made a commander of 1000, 500 horse (l.c., pp. 307, 309).

The Pádisháhánáneh (I., b., 322) mentions a Muhammad Zamán, son of Nádi 'Ali 'Arulát, who in the 10th year of Sháhjáhán was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nádi 'Ali is not to be confused with the Háfiz Nádi 'Ali, who served under Jahángír as Court Háfiz (Tuzuk, p. 155, and its Díbújúk, p. 19), nor with the Nádi 'Ali who served under Sháhjáhán (Pádisháhán., II., 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.

318. Nil Kant'h, Zainúdar of Orísá.

319. Ghias's Beg of Šahrán [I'timád-uddaulah].

His real name is Mirzá Ghíasuddín Muhammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayás, a corruption of Ghíaš, not of Ayáz (أياس).

Ghiás Beg's father was Khwájá Muhammad Sharif, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of Wayfí. He was Vazir to Táttár Sultán, son of Muhammad Kháñ Sháhnáfudús Ughlí Tákú, who held the office of Beglá Bégí of Khurásán. After Táttár Sultán's death, the Khvájáh was continued in office by his son Qaží Kháñ, and on Qažíq's death, he was made by Sháh Támimásp Vazír of Yazd.1

Khwájáh Muhammad Sharif is said to have died in A. H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwájáh Mirzá Ahmad, and Khwájági Khvájáh. The son of Kh. Mirzá Ahmad was the well known Khwájáh Amín Rázi (رضاي, i.e. of the town of Ray of which he was kalántar, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled Haft Iqlim, A. H. 1002. Khwájági Khwájáh had a son of the name of Khwájáh Sháhpúr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiás Beg was married to the daughter of Mirzá 'Alá-uddaulah, son of Aghá Mullá. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the

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1 The Díbújúk (preface) of the Tuzuk (p. 20) and the Iqbalnámáh (p. 54) agree verbatim in Ghiás Bes' history. They do not mention Qaží Kháñ. For Yazdí of the Másír, Sayyid Ahmad's text of the Tuzuk has Márw; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the Iqbalnámáh has خورش 'he made him his own Vazír.'

2 The words son of are not in the Maðísír, but in the Tuzuk and the Iqbalnámáh. Two Aghá Mullá have been mentioned on p. 369, and under No. 278, p. 497.
way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahār, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihrunnisā (‘the Sun of Women’), a name which her future title of Nūr Jahān has almost brought into oblivion. In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas‘ūd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiās Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fathpūr Sīkri, Ghiās Beg rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year, he was made Diwān of Kābul, and was in course of time promoted to a manṣub of 1000, and appointed Diwān i Buyūtāt.

Regarding Mihrunnisā’s marriage with ‘Alī Qulf, vide No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign, Ghiās Beg received the title of I’timād-udaulah. In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharīf joined a conspiracy, to set Khusrāv at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharīf was executed, and I’timād himself was imprisoned. After some time, he was let off on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. At the death of Sher Afkān (p. 497), Mihrunnisā was sent to court as a prisoner “for the murder of Qutbuddin,” and was handed over to Ruqaiyah Sultān Begum, with whom she lived unnoticed. In the 6th year (1020), she no longer slighted the emperor’s proposals, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. She received the title of Nūr Mahall, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān.

Ghiās, in consequence of the marriage, was made Vakil i kul, or prime-minister, and a commander of 6000, 3000 horse. He also received a flag and a drum, and was in the 10th year allowed to beat his drum at court, which was a rare privilege. In the 16th year, when J. was on his way to Kashmir, Ghiās took ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kāngrah Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the Emperor, Nūr Jahān asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as answer a verse from Anwārī—

‘If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead.’

He died after a few hours. The Tuzuk (p. 339) mentions the 17th Bahman, 1031, (Rabi‘ I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken-hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mīr, 1030, i.e., 13th Zī Qa‘dah, 1030).

Ghiās Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we
saw, shewed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful Shikastah hand. Jahangir praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand muhabbah i Shaykat. He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. ‘Chains, the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house.’ He protected the wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death. He never was idle, but wrote a great deal; his official accounts were always in the greatest order. But he liked bribes, and shewed much boldness in demanding them.

His mausoleum near Agra has often been described.

Nur Jahán’s power over Jahangir is sufficiently known from the histories. The emperor said, ‘Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant,’ and, “I have conferred the duties of government on her; I shall be satisfied, if I have a ser of wine and half a ser of meat per diem.” With the exception of the khudah (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on documents, and even on coins. The jágirs which she held, would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30000. A great portion of her zamindáris lay near Khánásir, S. E. of Ajjmér (Tuzuk, p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dáí Dilarám, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of ‘Cadr of the Women’ (Cadr i anás), and when she conferred lands as sayýrgháls, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Cadr of the empire. Nur Jahán is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave out in marriage is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the ‘atr i Jahangír’ (a peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her Dudání for pheswház (gowns), her púńchtoliyáh for ophnis (veils), her báddhak (brocade), kinári (lace), and fúrah i chandání, are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahangír’s death and the capture of Shahryárb, fath son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afkan), Ládli Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahangir. Sháhjáhán allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.

She died at Lábor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwáld, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (Pádisháhán., II., 475). She composed occasionally Persian poems, and wrote like Salímah Sultán Begum and Zébnání Begum under the assumed name of Makhfí.

Ghidis Beg’s sons. The fate of his eldest son Muhammad Sharif has been alluded to. His second son, Mirzá Abúl Hasan Açaí Khán (IV.), also called Açaifzáh or Açaifzídah.

1 As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (yáqát) supposed to possess exhilarating properties. Muhabbah means an exhilarative.
2 So the Tuzuk and the Iqbalánamah.
3 Dudání, weighing two dáns; púńchtoliyáh, weighing five tolahs. The latter was mentioned on p. 94, Fúrah i chandání, carpets of sandalwood colour.
4 Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs per menem. The highest allowance of Begums on record is that of Mumtáz Mahall, viz. 10 lacs per annum. Vide Pádisháhán., I., 96.
5 In the Pádisháhánamah Núr Jahán is again called Núr Mahall.
A'qafjádhi, is the father of Mumtáz Mahall (Táj Bibi), the favorite wife of Sháhjáhán, whom European Historians occasionally call Núr Jábán II. He received from Sháhjáhán the title of Yaminuddaullah and Khán Khánínd Sipahédár, and was a commander of 9000. He died on the 17th Sha'bán, 1051, and was buried at Láhor, north of Jánghirá's tomb. As commander of 9000 duaspah, sihaspah troopers, his salary was 16 krors, 20 lacs of dâms, or 4,060,000 Rupees, and besides, he had jágrís yielding a revenue of five millions of Rupees. His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of Rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of Rupees in gold muhurs, 25 lacs of Rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, &c., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Láhor, which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dárá Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his 3 sons and 5 daughters. The rest escheated to the state.

A'qaf Khán was married to a daughter of Mírzá Ghíasuddín 'Alí A'qaf Khán II., p. 369.

His eldest son is the renowned Mírzá Abú Tálib Sháistah Khán, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E. I. Company. Sháistah was married to a daughter of Iríj Sháhnáwáz Kháán (No. 255), son of Abdurrahim Kháán Khánínd, by whom he had however no children. He died at A'grah in 1105, the 38th year of Aurangzib's reign. His eldest son, Abú Tálib,1 had died before him. His second son was Abul Fath Khán. One of his daughters was married to Búhullah (I.), and another to Zulfsaqár Khán Nuqrat-jang.

A'qaf Khán's second son, Bahmanyár, was in the 20th year of Sháhjá, a commander of 2000, 200 horse (Pádisháhán., II., 728).

Ghiás Beg's third son is Ibráhím Kháán Fath-jang, who was governor of Bihár (p. 480, note) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Sháhjáhán's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Rájmaháll, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibráhím Kháán was married to Háji Húr Parwar Khánum, Núr Jábán's maternal aunt (kháláh). She lived up to the middle of Aurangzib's reign, and held Kol Jálálí as ñltamghád.

An Ahmad Beg Kháán is mentioned in the histories as the son of Núr Jábán's brother.2 He was with Ibráhím Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dháká, where he handed over to Sháhjáhán 500 elephants and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Sháhjá's accession, he received a high mancab, was made governor of That'há and Siwistán, and later of Multán. He then returned to court, and received as jágír the Parganahs of Jásí and Ameñí, where he died. In the 20th year of Sháhjá, he was a commander of 2000, 1500 horse (Pádisháhán., II., 727).

A sister of Núr Jábán, Manjájah Begum, was mentioned on p. 499.

A fourth sister, Khadijájah Begum, was married to Hákim Beg, a nobleman of Jánghirá's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable—

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1 Also called Muhammad Tálib. Vide | 2 It seems therefore that he was the
Pádisháhán., II., 248. | son of Muhammad Sharíf.
1. Khwájah Muhammad Sharif... 2. Khwájah Mirzá Ahmad... 3. Khwájah Khwájah Sharif (d. 984)  
mad Táhir, Beg I'timá- uddaulah. (author of the Shápur.  
(d. 1031.)  


Sháistas Khan  
(d. 1106.)  

320. Khwájah Ashraf, son of Khwájah Ḥabdí.  
One MS. has Sharaf for Ashraf. Vide No. 316.  
321. Sharaf Beg, of Shiráz.  
322. Ibra'hí'm Quli', son of Ismá'íl Quli Khán (No. 46).  

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.  
323. Abul Fath, son of Muza'far, the Mughul.  
324. Beg Muhammad Toqání.  
He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrát, and was present in the fight near Maisánah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fúládí was defeated, and also against Muza'far of Gujrát (Akbar., III., 423).  
Regarding Toqání, vide No. 129.  
325. Ima'm Quli' Shighálí.  
The Akbarnámah (III., 628) mentions an Imán Quli, who, in the 37th year, served under Sultán Murád in Málwah.  
The meaning of Shighálí is unclear to me. A Muhammad Quli Shighálí played a part in Badakhshán history (Akbar., III., 132, 249).  
326. Safdar Beg, son of Haidar Muhammad Khán Akhtah Begí (No. 66).  
A Çafíar Khán served, in the 21st year, against Daudá of Bundí (p. 410).  
327. Khwájah Sulaimán of Shiráz.  
He has been mentioned on pp. 356, 457.  
328. Barkhurdá'r [Mirzá Khán 'Alam], son of 'Abdurrahmán Duldái (No. 186).  
Mirzá Barkhurdár was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250.
His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat. This Bihár Zainúndár was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy peshkash, he was allowed to return to his home. But B. wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace, that he gave orders to hang over B. to Dalpat; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As Jahángír was fond of him, he released him after his accession, and made him Qáshbégí, or superintendent of the aviary. In the fourth year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khán 'Alam (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Sháh 'Abbas of Persia sent Yádgár 'Alí Sultán Tálib as ambassador to A'grab, and B. was selected to accompany him on his return to Persia. The suite consisted of about twelve hundred men, and was according to the testimony of the 'Alamádá i Sikandár the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Haráát and Qum, caused by the absence of the Sháh in Azarbáján on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one half of the suite were sent back. In 1027, the Sháh returned to Qazwín, and received the numerous presents, chiefly elephants and other animals, which B. had brought from India. The embassy returned in 1029 (end of the 14th year), and B. met the emperor at Káshmír. Jahángír was so pleased, that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5000, 3000 horse.

The author of the Pádíshtánámah (I., 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he has not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On Sháhjáhání's accession, B. was made a commander of 6000, 5000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihár, vice M. Rustam Čafawi. But as he was given to kokndár (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Shábj. returned from Búrhpír to A'grab, B. was pensioned off, as he was old.
and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (Pádishákh, I., 326). He died a natural death at Āgra. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwájah Barkhurdár, a brother of 'Abdulláh Kháán Fírúz-jiang.

B. 's brother Mírzá 'Abdussubhán (No. 349) was Faujdar of Iláhábád. He was then sent to Kábul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Airúdís (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

'Abdussubhán's son, Sherzád Kháán Bahádúr, was killed in the last fight with K. án Jähán Lódí at Scópulah (p. 505). Pádishákh, I., 349.

329. Mir Má'súm of Bhakkar.

Mir Márçúm belongs to a family of Tirmízí Sayyíds, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmíz in Bukhárá, and settled at Qandábár, where his ancestors were mutawallís (trustees) of the shrine of Bábá Sher Qalándar.

His father, Mir Sayyíd Čáfí, settled in Bhakkar, and received favors from Sulján Máchnúd (p. 362). He was related by marriage to the Sayyíds of Hambah in Siwístán. Mir Márçúm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mūllá Muhammad of Kingú, S. W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrát, where Sháikh Is-háq i Fárúqí of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad, then Díwán of Gujrát. Nizám was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled 'Ṭabaqát i Akbar,' and soon became the friend of M. M., who was likewise well versed in history. He was also introduced to Shihád Kháán (No. 26), the governor of the province, and was at last recommended to Akbar for a manṣúb. In the 40th year, he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him, and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Irán, where he was received with distinction by Sháh 'Abbás.

On his return from Irán, in 1015, Jähángír sent him as Amín to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1000.

From the Akbaránámah (III., 416, 423, 546) and Bird's History of Gujrat (p. 426) we see that M. M. served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrat, was present in the fight of Maisánáh, and in the final expedition against Muszáfír in Kachh.

M. M. is well-known as poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of Námí. He composed a Díwán, a Masnáwí entitled Mau'dan-ulafkár in the metre of Nizámí's Makhzan, the Táríkh i Sindh, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called Muğridát i Májúmí. The author of the Riyádushshu'árá says that he composed a Khamsah (p. 491), and the Tazkírah by Taqí (vide under No. 329) says the same, viz. one masnáwí corresponding to the Makhzan, the HúsúN o Náz to the Yúsuf Zalíkáh, the Parí Qárat to the Lájilí Májmún, and two others in imitation of the Hafít Páikár and Síkandaránámah. Bidadání (died 1004) only alludes to the 'HúsúN o Náz,' though he gives no title (III., 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyádushshu'árá says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Ičlaháú and Tabríz, where he was presented to Sháh 'Abbás, there are numerous mosques and public buildings, which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Āgra, on the Jámí Mosque of Fáthpúr.
Slkri, in Fort Mándú (vide p. 372, and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Dibhjah, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the side of the entrance to Salim i Chishti's shrine at Fathpúr Sikri, the last words of which are—" Said and written by Muhammad Mu'âmin poetically styled Šánt, son of Sayyid Čafíd of Tirmiš, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalander, son of Bábá Hasan Abdáí, who was born at Sabzwár and settled at Qanduhdr. Dowson, in his edition of Elliot's Historians, mentions Kirkán as the residence of Sayyid Čafíd, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Táríkh i Sindh regarding the saint Bábá Hasan Abdáí, who lived under Mírzá Sháhrúkh, son of Timur. The town of Hasan Abdáí in the Panjáb, east of Aṭák, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Suk’éar opposite to Bhakkar, and in the midst of the branch of the Indus which flows round Bhakkar he built a dome, to which he gave the name of Satíśur (ستیسور). "It is one of the wonders of the world, and its Táríkh is contained in the words گنبد درایی, water-dome, which gives 1007, A.H.

He was a pious man, and exceedingly liberal; he often sent presents to all the people of Bhakkar, great and small. But when he retired, he discontinued his presents, and the people even felt for some cause oppressed (mutaazz). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jágir lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Táríkh i Sindh, was Mír Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusraú's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahángir asked him why he had his armour on. "My father," replied he, "advised me to dress in full armour when on guard," and as the Chaukipawis, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahángir is said to have left Mír Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakhshí of Qandahár, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Čúbabdáís. He spent the 30 or 40 lacs of Rupees which he had inherited from his father. His contingent was numerous and well mounted. He subsequently served in the Dák'hin; but as his jágir did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bhakkar, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited. He died in 1044. Some of his children settled in Multán.


His title of Mír Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 222).

331. Ba'i Ba'm Da's Di'wa'n. Vide No. 238.

332. Sha'ih Muhammád, son of Sa'íd Kháán, the Gak'khar.

For his relations vide under No. 247.

333. Bah'im Quli', son of Kháán Jahán (No. 24).

334. Sher Beg, Yasawulbáshi

Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 623).
XXII. Commanders of two Hundred.

335. Iftikhar Beg, son of Bâyazâd Beg (No. 299).
He was alive in the end of 1007 A. H. (Akbar., III., 804).

336. Pratâb Singh, son of Râjah Bhagwân Dâs (No. 27).
He was mentioned on p. 447, under No. 160.

337. Husain Khân Qazwînî. Vide No. 281.

338. Ya'qâbâr Husain, son of Qâbûl Khân (No. 137).
He was mentioned on p. 437. In the 31st year, he served under Qisîm Khân in Kashmir. The Yâdgar Husain mentioned in the Tuzuk (p. 146) may be the same. He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahângîr's reign, to a command of 700, 600 horse, for his services in the Dâk'hin. Vide also Pâdishâh-nâmah I., b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.

He is not to be confounded with Khwâjâ Yâdgar, a brother of 'Abdullah Khân Firûz-jang.

339. Ka'mra'în Beg of Gîlân.
He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat and Kachh against Fath Khân, the younger son of Amin Khan Ghorî, and Muzaффâr, and in the 36th year, against Muzaффâr and the Jâm. Akbar., III., 553, 621.

340. Muhammad Khân Turkmân.

341. Nizâ'muddî'n Ahmad, son of Shâh Muhammâd Khân (No. 95).
He is not to be confounded with the author of the Tabaqât.

342. Sakat Singh, son of Râjah Mân Singh (No. 30).
Vide No. 256.

343. 'Imâd ul Mulk.
The Akbarnâmah mentions a Qâzî 'Imâd ul Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. Sharî'î Sarmâdi'.
He was a poet. Vide below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

345. Qarâ' Bahri', son of Qarâtâq.
Qarâtâq, whose name in the Akbarnâmah is spelled Qarâtâq, was killed by Gajpâtî in the same fight in which Farhang Khân, son of Farhat Khân (No. 145), was slain (p. 441).

346. Ta'tâ'r Beg, son of 'Ali Muhammâd Asp. (No. 258).

Vide p. 445, note.

Ardîstân is a Persian town which lies between Kâshân and Içfâhân. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shâh Îbahâp, and emigrated when young to India, where he was looked upon as a very experienced doctor, though his theoretical reading is said to have been limited. Badî'înî (III, 169) and the Tuzuk (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (26th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzâ 'Azîz Kokah (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrat and Kachh. Akbar., III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahângîr, he was
made a commander of 3000, 1000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Ilahábád, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Hakim's death reached J. on the 22nd Jumáda I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from gurah-i shuk, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (yakštauri) prolonged his life. His cheeks and eyes often got quite red, and when he got older, his complexion turned bluish. He was accidentally poisoned by his compounder.

340. 'Abdussubha'n, son of 'Abdurrahmán Duldai (No. 186).

He was mentioned under No. 328, p. 514.

350. Qasim Beg of Tabriz.

He served in the 36th year under Sultán Murúd in Málwah, and died on the 23rd Abán, (end of) 1007; vide Akbaru., III., 623, 803. Vide below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. Shariíf [Amir ul Umará], son of Khwajáh 'Abduqcamad (No. 266).

Muhammad Sharif was the school companion of Prince Salim, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Ilahábád in rebellion against Akbar, Sharif was sent to him to advise him; but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendancy over Salim, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom, should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salim and Akbar, Sh. had to fly for his life, and concealed himself in the hills and jungles. He was reduced to starvation, when he heard of Akbar's death. He went at once to court, and Jahangir, true to his promise, made him Amir ul Umará, Vakil, entrusted him with the great seal (rizuk) and allowed him to select his jágír lands. The emperor says in his Memoirs, 'He is at once my brother, my friend, my son, my companion. When he came back, I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amir ul Umará and a commander of 6000. My father never did more.'

Sharif seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghás from India; but the Khán i A'zam (No. 21) warned Jahangir against so unwise a step. Though Sh.'s position at court was higher than that of Mírzá 'Aziz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill 'Aziz for the part he had played in Khuránu's rebellion. But 'Aziz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharif, and invite him to his house. The Khán i A'zam did so, and invited him and the other Amíras. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blandest way, "I say, Nawáb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father 'Abduqcamad, the Mullá, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in." Khán Jahán (p. 503) and Mahábat Khán could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahangir heard of it, he said to Sh., "The Khán cannot bridle his tongue; but don't fall out with him."

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kábul, but fell so ill, that he had to be left in Lábor, Aqaf Khán (No. 98, p. 413) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dák'hin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khán Khánán (No. 29).
It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahangir was on the point of making him retire, when Khán Jahán interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dak’hin, and died there a natural death.

Like his father, Sh. was a good painter. He also made himself known as a poet, and composed a Diwán. 

Sh.'s eldest son, Shahbáz Khán, died when young. A Saráí near Lák’hnau, about a kos from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mírzá Gúl and Mírzá Járrullah, used to play with Jahangir at chess and nard; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Járrullah was married to Miqri Bégum, a daughter of Açaf Khán (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Açaf’s death, Jahangir made him divorce his wife, and married her to Mírzá Lashkari (No. 375), son of Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (p. 317).

Both brothers followed Mahábát Khán to Kábúl, where they died.

352. Taqiya' of Shustar.

Taqiyyá is the Iráni form for Taqí. The Tabaqát calls him Taqí Muhammad. Badóni (III., 206) has Taqiwddín, and says that he was a good poet and a well educated man. At Akbar’s order he undertook a prose version of the Sháhnámah. He is represented as a ‘múrid,’ or disciple of Akbar’s Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahangir’s reign (1017), when he received for his attainments the title of Muarríkh Khán (Tuzuk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition we have to read Shushtari for the meaningless Shamskéri).

Taqiyyá is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyyá of Ballána (a village near Icchák), who, according to the Mirât ul ‘Alam came in the beginning of Jahangir’s reign to India. He is the author of the rare Tazkirá khán, or Lives of Poets, entitled ‘Arafát o ‘Arraçát, and of the Dictionary entitled Surmah i Sulaimási, which the lexicographer Muhammad Husain used for his Burkhá n i Qáti.’

353. Khwa jah Abdussamad of Káshán.

354. Haki'm Lutfullah, son of Múllá ‘Abdurrazzák of Gilán.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Badóni (III., 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. Sher Akánh (sons of Saif Khán Kokah (No. 38, p. 350).

356. Ama’nullah) Ama’nullah died in the 45th year of Akbar’s reign at Burhápúr. “He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking.” Akbarnámah, III., 835.

357. Salím Qulí ( sons of Ismá’il Qulí Khán (No. 46).

358. Khalíl Qulí) He served under Qásim Khán (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir.

359. Wali’ Beg, son of Páyandah Khán (No. 68).

360. Beg Muhammad Uíghúr.

361. Mír Muhammad Uíghúr.

When Akbar during the first Gujrátí war (p. 434, note 2) had left Patan for Chotánah (Rajab, 880), it was reported that Muzaffar of Gujrá had fled from Sher Khán Fúládí, and was concealed in the neighbourhood; vide p. 386. Akbar, therefore,
sent Mír Khán the Yasáwul and Faríd the Qaráwul, and afterwards Abúl Qásim Namákín (No. 199) and Kāram 'Alí in search of him. Mír Khán had not gone far, when he found the chaṭr and sābūn (p. 50) which Mūzaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Mūzaffar himself in a field. Mír Khán took him to Akbar.

362. Sarmáṣt Khán, son of Dastám Khán (No. 79).

363. Sayyíd Abúl Hasan, son of Sayyíd Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

364. Sayyíd 'Abdúl Waḥíd, son of the Mír 'Adl's brother.

365. Khwa'jah Beg Mi'rzá', son of Ma'qúm Beg.

366. Sakrá', brother of Ráñá Pratáb.

Sakrá is the son of Ráñá Udáí Singh, son of Ráñá Sánká (died 934, A. H.). When his brother Pratáb, also called Ráñá Kíká, was attacked by Akbar (p. 418, note 2), he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahnáigír's reign, he got a present of 12000 Rupees, and joined the expedition led by Príncé Pratíkw against Ráñá Amrá, Pratáb's successor. In the end of the same year, he served against Dalpat (p. 359), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2500, 1000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a mançāb of 3000, 2000 horse.

The Akbarnámah mentions another son of Udáí Singh, of the name of Sákát Singh, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court. The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khán Zamání, when he heard that Udáí Singh had assisted the rebellious Mihráng. He therefore resolved to punish the Ráná, and on a hunting tour in Pargañáh Bárí told Sákát Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him. Sákát, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions. This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay. Udáípur was invaded, and Chítār surrendered.

367. Sha'dí Be Uzbák } sons of Nazár Be (No. 169).

368. Ba'qi Be Uzbák }

They have been mentioned above on p. 455. From the Akbarnámah (III., 628) we see that Nazár Be received a júgír in Handióh, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yu'nán Beg, brother of Murád Khán (No. 54).

Some MSS. have Mirzá Khán for Murád Khán.

370. Shaikh Kabír'í Chishtí' [Shujá'at Khán, Rustam i Zamán].

The Mádsír calls him "an inhabitant of Mau." He was a relation of Islám Khán (p. 493) i Chishtí, and received the title of Shujá'at Khán from Prince Salím, who on his accession made him a commander of 1000 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He served under Khán Jahná (p. 603) in the Dákhin as kárdíwal, an office which the Sayyíds

2 He is not to be confounded with another Shaikh Kabír, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kábul; and in the 32nd year against the Tárikh under Mašálab Khán (No. 83). He died in the 36th year, in the war with the Ján and Múzaffar of Gujráṭ (Akbarn., III., 283, 408, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him the son of Múkammad Khán. 2 Kháfi Khán calls him wrongly (I, 273) Shujá' Khán and Rustam Khán.
of Bárha claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards, he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with 'Usmán. During the fight, he wounded 'U.'s elephant, when the Afgán chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Walí Khán, 'Usmán's brother, and Mamréz Khán, 'Usmán's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaíkh Kábír, they submitted with their families, and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered, were taken by Sh. K. to Islám Khán in Jahhángírianagar (Dháká), 6th Çafar, 1021. Tuzuk, p. 104.

Jahángír gave him for his bravery the title of Rustam i Zamán. The Mada'ir says that Islám Khán did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afgáns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road, they were executed by 'Abdulláh Khán at the emperor's orders. Sh. K., annoyed at this breach of faith, left Bengal. While on the way, he received an appointment as governor of Bihár. At his entry in Patna, he sat upon a female elephant, when another elephant suddenly came up against his. Sh. K. jumped down, and broke his neck.

The Tuzuk tells the story differently, and says that Islám Khán appointed Sh. K. to Órísá, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Usmán's relations.

**Note on the death of 'Usmán Lohání.**

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of 'Usmán. Khwájah 'Usmán, according to the Makhzan i Afgání, was the second son of Miyán 'Isá Khán Lohání, who after the death of Qutlú Khán was the leader of the Afgáns in Órísá and Southern Bengal. Qutlú left three sons—Naqíb Sháh, Lodí Khán, Jamálí Khán. 'Isá Khán left five sons, Khwájah Suláímán, 'Usmán, Walí, Ibráhím. Stewart makes 'Usmán a son of Qutlú (History of Bengal, p. 133). Suláímán 'reigned' for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Rájah Mán Singh (vide p. 486, No. 244), held lands near the Bráhmaputra, and subjected the Párgahs of the adjacent countries. 'Usmán succeeded him, and received from Mán Singh lands in Órísá and Sátgáyów, and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 6 to 6 lacs per annum. His residence is described to have been the Kohistán i Dháká, or 'hills of Dháká' (Tipár?h?), the vidáyat i Dháká, or District of Dháká, and Dháká itself. The fight with Usmán took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612, at a distance of 100 kos from Dháká. My MS. of the Makhzan calls the place of the battle Nek Ujýál. Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnríkhí river" in Órísá, which is impossible, as Shujá'at Khán arrived again in Dháká on the 6th Çafar, or 26 days after the battle. According to the Tuzuk, Islám Khán was in Dháká, when the fight took place, and Walí Khán submitted to Shujá'at, who had been strengthened by a corps under

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1 According to Prinsep's Useful Tables, the 9th Muharram was a Monday, not a Sunday, Tuzuk, p. 102.

2 There are several Ujýáls mentioned below among the Parganahs of Sírkáर Mahmúdábád (Bosnáh) and Sírkáर Bázúhá (Mymensing-Bogra).
"Abdussalam, son of Mu'azzam Khan (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Islám besieged Wali in the Mahalls where 'Usmán used to live, between the battle-field and Dháká, and afterwards in the Fort of Dháká itself. Wali, on his submission, was sent to court, with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from 'Usmán, received a title, a jágir, and was made a commander of 1000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the Madár, as said above, he was murdered before he came to court. The Tuzuk says nothing about him.

Stewart says (p. 136) that he was taken to court by Hoshang, Islám Khan's son; but the Tuzuk, p. 115, though it has a long passage on the Mugs which he brought with him, does not mention the Afghán prisoners.

The Makhzan also says that 'Usmán, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favor, was carried off by Wali in a litter, and buried on the road. When Shujh'at came up to the place where he had been buried, he had 'Usmán's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

'Usmán is said to have been so stout, that he was obliged to travel on an elephant.

At his death, he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laët (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: Bez (Jahangir) codem tempore misit Tzesiad ghanum Chiech zaden (Shujh'at Khan Shaikhrádah) ad Tsalannahum (Islám Khan) qui Bengala praerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae (Orisá) mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Patamnus, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daeck et Tzesiad, (between Orisá and Dháká, i. e. the Sunderban) interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni inscrutaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit, Daeck oppugnaturus. Tsalannahum autem praemisit adversus ipsum (Usmán) Tzesiad chanan, una cum Mirza Iftíagger et Efhamán chano (Iftikhár Khan and Ihtimám Khán) et alís multiis Omorawwiss, cum religiosis copis X aut XV corum intervallum subsecuens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftagger et Mierick Zilaier (Mírak Jaláir—not in the Tuzuk) tam acem impressionem fecerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regis vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efftagger caederetur; Tzesiad gaumus autem et ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetum ferociissimum bellum declinaret, se et suo dejecit, et crus prescripsit, ita ut agere a suis et certamina subducere et, regis passim fugam caperentrum; actumque fuisse legatum regiis, nisi inopinatis casus proelii restituisse; miles quidem saucius humi jacent, casu Osmano, qui elephanto vehabatur, oculum glóló trúxerat, e quo auloere paulo pest exsperavit, cujus morte milités illius ita fuerunt consernati, ut statim de fugá cogitarent. Requi vero ordinibus sensim restitutum, eventum proelii Tsalanchano perscrípserat: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzesiátanamo e vulneré defuncto, magnis itineribus fratre (Wali Khán) et biduam atque liberis Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, cosque cum ephantibus et omnibus thesauri défuncti, postquam Daeck Bengaleae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno...... (the year is left out).
De Laët says that Shujá'at Khán died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The Māsir says that he was on horseback, when Usámán’s elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls Gajpatí, and Stewart Bubhtah (?), knocked him over, but Sh. quickly disentangled himself, and stuck his dagger into the animal’s trunk.

The Makhzan says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.


372. Mi'rza' Shari'ř, son of Mi'rzá 'Alá-uddin.

373. Shukrullah [Zafar Khán], son of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34).

He was mentioned above on p. 346. On the death of his father, he was made a commander of 700, and appears to have received, at the end of Akbar’s reign, the title of Zafar Khán.

As his sister was married to Jahángír (p. 345, and p. 477, note 2), Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Láhor for Kábul, he halted at Mauza' Ahról,1 near Fort Aţak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khátar (p. 456, note 2) and Dílahzák tribes (p. 487, note). Zafar was appointed to Aţak, vice Ahmad Beg Khán (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Láhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahángír’s return from Kábul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a manqáb of 2000, 1000 horse. In the 7th year, he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse, and governor of Bihár. In the 10th year, he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 600 horse, and then served in Bangash. ‘Nothing else is known of him.’ Māsir.

From the Tuzuk (p. 343) we see that Zafar Khán died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahángír made his son Sa'ádat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Sa'ádat Khán, his son. He served in Kábul, and was at the end of Jahángír’s reign a commander of 1600, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Shaḥjahan’s accession, he was made a commander of 1600, 1000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3000 horse. He again served in Kábul, and under Murád Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshán, was made commandant of Tírmíz, and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhán Qulf Kháń, ruler of Bukhárá (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahár wars, was in the 29th year Fauj Dár of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kábul.

In 1069, the second year of Aurangzib’s reign, he was killed by his son Sherullah.

Mahábat Khán, čúbahdár of Kábul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. Mi'r 'Abdul Mu'min, son of Mir Samarqandi.

Mir Samarqandi was a learned man who came during Bairám’s regency to A’gra. Baddona' III., 149.

375. Lashkari', son of Mi'rzá Yúsuf Khán (No. 35). Vide above p. 374, and for his wife under No. 351.

1 The Māsir has بدو ١٤٩; the Tuzuk, ١٤٩, ١٤٩. I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. 

The Khátars and Dílahzáks are estimated in the Tuzuk at 7 to 8000 families.
376. A'gha' Mulla' Qazwini. Vide No. 278.
Jâm is a place in Khurásán, famous for its Babá Shaikhí melons. It has given
same to the two poets Pûr Bahá and the renowned 'Abdurrahmán Jâmí.
378. Mat' hura' Da've, the K'hatrí.
379. Sat'hura' Da've, his son.
The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sultán Murád in Kábúl. Akbarn.,
III., 333.
380. Mi' r Mu râd, brother of Sháh Beg Kolabi (No. 148). Vide
No. 282.
381. Kalla', the Kachhwáhah,
He served in 989 under Prince Murád in Kábúl.
382. Sayyid Darwísh, son of Sháhís i Bukhání.
A Shaikh Junaid served under Shiháb Khán (No. 26) in Gujút. He was killed
in the Khaibar catastrophe (Akbarn., III., 190, 498).
384. Sayyid Abu' Is-ha'q, son of Mírzá Rafi'uddín i Çafawí.
He was mentioned on p. 439. In the 36th year, he served against the Jâm and
Muzaffar of Gujút.
His father Rafi'uddín was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at A'grab in
964 or 957. One of his ancestors was Mu'inuddín, author of a commentary to the
Qurán, entitled Tafsír i Ma'dní.
385. Fath Khán, superintendent of the leopards.
In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abú'l-fazl describes,
according to his custom, as a miracle. F. K. was in charge of the hunting leopards.
There is some confusion in the histories regarding the Fath Khán of Akbar's
reign. First, there is Fattú Khán Afgán. Fattú is the same as Fath. His title
is Masnad i 'Allí, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. Second, Fath Khán
Filbán, who when young was Akbar's elephant driver (filbán). He was subsequently
made Amír, and according to my two MSS. of the Tabaqát, died in 990. But Badáóní
(II, 353) mentions Fath Khán Filbán as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qásim
Khán (No. 59) on his march to Kashmir; but the Akbarnámah, in the corresponding
passage (III., 612) calls him Fath Khán Masnad i 'Allí. Dowson's edition of Elliot's
Historians (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khán Bahádúr. A Fath Khán Tughluq
was mentioned under No. 187, p. 465.
He served in the siege of Asfír, and in the 46th year in the Dakh'in. Akbarn.,
III., 825, 865.
387. La'lah, son of Rájah Bír Bár (No. 85).
The Akbarnámah (III., 865) calls him the eldest son of Rájah Bír Bár. Vide
388. Yu'suf i Kashmi'ri'. Vide No. 228.
389. Habí 'Yassa'wul.
Habí is an abbreviation of Habíb.
390. Haidar Dost, brother of Qásim 'Alí Khán (No. 187).
391. Dost Muhammad, son of Bábá Dost.
392. Sha'hrukh Dantúrī.

Dantúr, Dhattúr, or Dhantáwar, is a district near the Kashmir' frontier. The Tuzuk (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantúr, during Akbar's reign, was ruled over by Sháhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahángír) by his son Bahádúr. Bahádúr was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahábat in Bangash.

393. Sher Muhammad.

He served in 993 in the Dakhín. Akbarn., III., 472.

A Sher Muhammad Dívánáh was mentioned on p. 316. He had at first been in the service of Khwájah Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaunpúr, engaged with the rebellion of Khán Zamán, Sher Muhammad Dívánáh plundered several places in Pargana Samánah, the faújdár of which was Mullá Núruddín Tarkhán. The Mullá had left his vakil Mír Dost Muham mad in Samánah. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Máler, when he was surprised by the Mullá at a place called Dhanúrí in Samánah. Sh. M. D. fled, but his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and threw him down. He was captured and executed, A. H. 973. Akbarn., II., 332.

394. 'Alí Qúlí [Beg, Istajlí, Sher Afsán Khán].

He was the safarchi, or table-attendant, of Ismá'il II, king of Persia. After his death, he went over Qandahár to India, and met at Múltán the Khán Khánán (No. 29), who was on his march to Thá'cháb. At his recommendation, he received a mançáb. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Míhrunnisá (the future Núr Jahán), daughter of Mírzá Ghiás Táhrání (No. 319). Ghiás's wife had accession to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salim saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to 'Alí Qúlí.

'Alí Qúlí accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Ránás, and received from him the title of Sher Afsán Khán. On his accession, he received Bardwán as insíl. His hostile encounter with Shaikh Khúbú (No. 275) was related on p. 496. The Maásír says that when he went to meet the Cúbahdár, his mother put a helmet (dubalghah) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

'Alí Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Míhrunnisá, was later married to Prince Shahryár, Jahángír's fifth son.

Jahángír in the Tuzuk expresses his joy at 'A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell." Kháfi Khán (I., p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Núr Jahán's mother. According to her, Sher Afsán was not killed by Qútbuddún's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not

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1 Vide Cunningham's 'Geography of Ancient India,' p. 131. It lies on the | Dor River, near Naushahrah.
let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihrunnisā had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions."

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahrām Saqqā (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwān.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahān killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tuzuk, p. 186), and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngīr to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafis. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment—

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman, she is in the array of men a zan i sher afkan," i.e. either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (afkan) tigers (sher).

395. Sha'ḥ Muhammad, son of Masnad i 'Alī.

Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. Sanwala's Ja'don.

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadabād (p. 416, note), and served in 989 under Prince Mirād in Kābul. In 992, he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhāṭī. Akbar visited him, as he was given up by the doctors; but he recovered after an illness of three years.

He was the son of Rājā Gopāl Jadon's brother (vide No. 305), and Abulfazl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. Akbarn., III., 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwa'jah Zahiruddin, son of Shaikh Khalilullah.

He served in the 31st year under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmīr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin.

His father is also called Sādā Khaliłullah. He served in the 10th year against Khān Zamān, and under Mun'im Khān in Bengal and Oriāsā, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 376).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mir Khalilullah of Yazd and his son Mir Zahiruddin, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhūr. The history of this noble family is given in the Mādsīr.

398. Mi'r Abul Qa'sim of Naishápūr.

399. Ha'jī Muhammad Ardistānī.

400. Muhammad Khā'n, son of Tarson Khān's sister (No. 32).

401. Khwa'jah Muqī'm, son of Khwājah Mirakī.

He served under 'Aziz Kokah in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993, he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Tāhir Sai'īd Mulūk (No. 201) in Fort G'horāg'hāt by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made Bakhshī. Akbarn., III., 418, 470, 610.

Vide Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I., pp. 248, 251.

402. Qādir Quli', foster brother of Mīrā Zāhir Shāhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrat. Akbarn., III., 621.
**403. Fīrūzah, a slave of the emperor Humáyún.**

Badáoni (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humáyún, who brought him up with Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Gházi Khán i Badakhshí (No. 144).

Badáoni also says that he was a Langá.

**404. Ta'j Khán K'hatrîah. **Vide No. 172.

**405. Zainuddi'n 'Ali'.**

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mán Singh against M. Muhammad Hakím.

**406. Mi'r Shari'f of Koláb.**

**407. Pahá'r Khán', the Balúch.**

He served in the 21st year against Dandá, son of Surjan Hádá (No. 96), and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was tuyoídár of Gházipúr, and hunted down Ma'qúm Khán Farankhúdí, after the latter had plundered Muhammadábád (p. 444). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrát, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisánah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fuládí was defeated. Akbarn., III., 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C. S., states in his 'Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District' (p. 80) that Faujdar Pahá'r Khán is still remembered in Gházípur, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

**408. Keshu' Da's, the Rá'hor.**

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year), he served in Gujrát. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salím (p. 310). From the Akbarnámah, III., 623, it appears that he is the son of Ráí Ráí Singh's brother (No. 44), and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

**409. Sayyid La'd Bartha.**

In 993, Sayyid Lá'd served with the preceding in Gujrát, and in the 46th year, in the Dak'hín.

**410. Nasí'r Mán.**

Mán (مک) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Rang'har Bájpúta, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Duáb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced, is 'Isá Khán Mán. He served under Bahádur Sháh and Jahándár Sháh." Madsir.

**411. Sa'ngah, the Pugwar.**

**412. Qa'bil, son of 'Atíq.**

**413. Adwand  } Zamándárs of Orísá.**

**414. Sundar  }**

**415. Nu'ram, foster brother of Mirzá Ibráhím.**

He served in the 31st year against the Afgháns on Mount Teráb, and in 1000, under Mán Singh in the expedition to Orísá. Akbarn., III., 532, 642.

Mirzá Ibráhím was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.
The above list of Grandees includes the names of such Mançabdarś above the rank of commanders of Five hundred as were alive and dead in the 40th year of his Majesty's reign, in which this book was completed; but the list of the commanders from Five hundred to Two hundred only contains such as were alive in that year. Of those who hold a lower rank and are now alive, I shall merely give the number. There are at present

of Commanders of 150 ........................................... 53
Do. of 120 ........................................... 1
Do. of 100, or Yu'abadshis, ............... 250
Do. of 80 ........................................... 91
Do. of 60 ........................................... 204
Do. of 50 ........................................... 16
Do. of 40 ........................................... 260
Do. of 30, or Turkashbande, .............. 39
Do. of 20 ........................................... 250
Do. of 10 ........................................... 224

[Total, 1388 Mançabdarś below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mançabs or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabians and Persians also come from distant countries, and are honoured with commissions in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires. A large number again, both of old and young servants, receive their discharge, and are rewarded by his Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land, that render them independent.

As I have mentioned the Grandees of the state, both such as are still alive and such as have gone to their rest, I shall also give the names of those who have been employed in the administration of the government, and thus confer upon them everlasting renown.

The following have been Vakila, or prime-ministers,—

Baïrâm Khán (No. 10); Mun'im Khán (No. 11); Atgah Khán (No. 15); Bahádur Khán (No. 22); Khwájah Jahán (No. 110); Khán Khánán Mirzá Khán (No. 29); Khán i A'zam Mirzá Kokah (No. 21).

The following have been Vazirs, or ministers of finances—

Mír 'Azízullah Turbatí; Khwájah Jaláluddín Mahmúd* of Khurásán (No. 65); Khwájah Mu'ínuddín i Farankhúdí (No. 128); Khwájah 'Abdul Majíd Āqaf Khán (No. 49); Vazír Khán (No. 41); Muzaffar Khán (No. 37); Rájah Todar Malik (No. 39); Khwájah Sháh Mançúr of Shíráz (No. 122); Qulij Khán (No. 42); Khwájah Shamsuddín Khwáfí (No. 159).

Abúlfsãz's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged. * The MSS. and my text have wrong Mas'úd, for Mahmúd.
The following have been Bakhshis—
Khwájah Jahán (No. 110); Khwájah Táhir of Sijistán (No. 111); Mauláná Habi Bihzátí; Mauláná Darwish Muhammad of Mashhad; Mauláná 'Ishqí; Muqim of Khurásán (No. 401); Sultán Mahmúd of Badakhshán; Lashkar Khán (No. 90); Shahbáz Khán (No. 80); Rá'í Puruk’hótam; Shaikh Fárid i Bukhári (No. 99); Qázi 'Alí of Baghíd; Ja’far Beg A’zaf Khán (No. 98); Khwájah Nizámu’d-dín Ahmad; Khwájahagi Fathullah (No. 258).

The following have been Çadrs—
Mir Fathullah; Shaikh Gaidú, son of Shaikh Jamál i Kambú; Khwájah Muhammad Çálih, descendant in the third generation from Khwájah 'Abdullah Marwárid; Mauláná 'Abdul Bóqi; Shaikh 'Abdlunabi; Sultán Khwájah (No. 108); Çadr Jahán (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator on Akbar’s Mançábdrárs.

The principal facts which Abulázíl’s list of Grandees discloses are, first, that there were very few Hindúístání Musulmáns in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghánís; secondly, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindú Amírs, as among the 415 Mançábdrárs there are 51 Hindús.

The Mançábdrárs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mir Sháh Abúl Ma’áli; Khwájah Mu’ázzam, brother of Akbar’s mother; Bábá Khán Qáqshál; Ma’ájám i Kábulí (p. 431, note); ‘Arab Bahádur; Jábári, &c. But there are also several left out, as Khízár Khwájah (p. 365, note 2), Sultán Husain Jaláir (vide under No. 64), Kamál Khán the Gák’khar (vide p. 456), Mir Gesú (p. 421), Naurang Khán, son of Qutbuddín Khán (p. 334), Mírzá Quli (p. 385), Rájah K’káran (p. 458), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abulázíl’s list with that in the Tabáqát, or the careful lists of Sháhjháhán’s grandees in the Padisháhnamáh, we observe that Abulázíl has only given the mançáb, but not the actual commands, which would have shewn the strength of the contingents (tábínín). In other words, Abulázíl has merely given the zádí rank (p. 241). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizámu’d-dín in the Tabáqát, which

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1 Some MSS. have Hái instead of Hábí (an abbreviation for Habíb).
2 Regarding him vide Akbarnámah, III., 210. He was of Ghazní.
3 The Historian.
4 Vide pp. 270 to 274. Regarding Mauláná ‘Abdul Báqí, who was Çadr in the fifth year, vide Akbarnámah, II., 143.
may advantageously be given here. Nizám only gives mançabdárs of higher rank, viz.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Khán Khánán Bairám Khán</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mirzá Sháhrukh</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tardí Beg Khán</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mirzá Rustam</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>'Alí Quli Khán Zamán</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Shamsuddin Muhammad Atgah Khán</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Muhammad Qúlí Khán Birlás</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Shíhábuddín Ahmad Khán</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Sa’íd Khán</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Pir Muhammad Khán</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Rájah Bihárá Mall</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Mán Singh</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Khvíjah ’Abdúl Majíd Aqaf Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td>49; 3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>’Abdulláh Khán Uzbak</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Qiýá Khán Gung</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Yusuf Muhammad Khán Kokah</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Zain Khán Kokah</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Shujá’at Khán</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Sháh Budágh Khán</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Ibráhím Khán Uzbak</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Tarson Muhammad Khán</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to MS. No. 87 of the Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, and my own MS. The occasional differences in the names are mostly traceable to Akbar's hatred, which Abulfazl shared, of the names ‘Muhammad,’ ‘Ahmad.’

* Mentioned in the Tabáqát as belonging to the Umára i kibár, ‘the great Amír’, i.e., probably, the commanders of 5000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Vazir Khan, 5000</td>
<td>No. 41; 4000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Muhammad Murad Khan,*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>54; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ashraf Khan,*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>74; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mahdi Qasim Khan,*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>36; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Muhammad Qasim Khan,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>40; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Khwaja Sultân 'Ali,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>56; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Rajah Todar Mahal, 4000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>39; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Mirza Yusuf Khan Razavi,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>35; 4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mirza Quli Khan,*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>not in the Ain; vide p. 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Muzaffar Khan,</td>
<td>No. 37; 4000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Haidar Muhammad Khan, 2000</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>66; 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Shâh Khan Jalâir, 2000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>97; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Isâ'il Sultân Duldai,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>72; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Muhammad Khan Jalâir,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Khân i 'Alam, 3000,</td>
<td>No. 58; 3000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Quṭbuddin Muhammad Khan,</td>
<td>5000 horse,</td>
<td>&quot; 28; 5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Muhîb 'Ali Khan, 4000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>107; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Qulîj Khan, 4000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>42; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Muhammad Çâdiq Khan, 4000</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>46; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Mirźâ Jan Beg, 3000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>47; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Isâ'il Quli Khan, 3000,*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>46; 3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>'Imad Khân Gjîrajî, 4000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>67; 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Râjah Râî Singh, of Bikânîr and Nâgor, 4000</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>44; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Sharif Muhammad Khan, 3000</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>63; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Shâh Fakhruddin, Naṣîbat Khân, 1000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>88; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Habîb 'Ali Khân,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>133; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Shâh Qulî Mahram, 1000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>45; 3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Muhîb 'Ali Khan Rahtâni, 4000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>not in the Ain; vide p. 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Mu'izzuddin Ahmad,</td>
<td>No. 128; 1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>'Imâd Khân Khwâjahsârâ,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>119; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Dastam* Khân,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>79; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Kamâl Khân, the Gakk'har, 5000,</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>not in the Ain; vide pp. 456, 486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tâhir Khân Mir Farâghat, 2000,</td>
<td>No. 94; 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* He got insane. ** Tabaqât. | * The MSS. of the Tabaqât also have wrong Rustam Khân.

* Mentioned in the Tabaqât as belonging to the Umâr i kibâr, 'the great Amîrs', i.e., probably, the commanders of 6000.
In the *Tahqdt*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dough</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Sayyid Hamid of Bukhara</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sayyid Mahmud Khan, Barha</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Barha</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Qara Bahadir Khan, (?</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Baki Muhammad Khan, Kokah</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Mir'Adl.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Ma'om Khan Farakhudid</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Naurang Khan, 4000</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Shah Muhammad Khan Atgah, younger brother of Shamsuddin Atgah</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Matlab Khan, 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Shaikh Ibrahim, 2000</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>'Ali Quli Khan, 2000</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>Tolak Khan Qochin, 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Shah Beg Khan Kabuli, 3000</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fattu Khan Afgan, 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Fath Khan, Filban, 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Samanji Khan Mughul, 2000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Babu Manki, 1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Darwish Muhammad Uzbak, 2000</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>Shahbaz Khan Kambu, 2000</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>Khwajah Jahang Khurasani,</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>Majnun Khan Qaichal, kept 5000 horse</td>
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<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Muhammad Qasim Khan, 3000</td>
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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Muzaffar Husain Mirza, 1000</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>Rajah Jagannath, 3000</td>
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<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Rajah Askaran, 3000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Rasi Lorkaran, 2000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Madhhu Singh, &quot;brother of R. Mian Singh&quot;</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Saif Khan Kokah</td>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Ghiassuddin 'Ali A'raf Khan,</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>Payandah Khan Mughul, 2000</td>
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<td>97</td>
<td>Mubarak Khan, the Gak'khar, 1000</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>Baz Bahadir Afgan, 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Mirak Khan Jinkjank (?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Sayyid Qasim Barha, 2000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Rajah Kangar, 2000</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1. MS., Bahadir Khan.
2. This is probably a mistake of the author of the *Tahqdt*.
3. The same as No. 37 on p. 530.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Tabaqût.</th>
<th>In Abulfazl's list.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104. Jalal Khan, the Gakkhar, 1500.</td>
<td>170; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105. Sa'id Khan, the Gakkhar, 1500.</td>
<td>not in the Kin; vide pp. 457, 486.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107. Khwajah Tahir Muhammad Tatar Khan, ...</td>
<td>111; 1000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>108. Mot'h Rijah, 1500.</td>
<td>121; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. Cafdar Khan, Khagah Khail, 2000.¹</td>
<td>not in the Kin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114. Rai Durga, 1500.¹</td>
<td>103; 1500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>116. Sháh Muhammad Qalátí, ...</td>
<td>95; 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117. Maqúd 'Ali Kor, ...</td>
<td>136; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118. Ikhaq Khan, the Eunuch, 1000.</td>
<td>86; 2000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>119. Mih 'Ali Sildoz, 1500.</td>
<td>130; 1000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>120. Kudawan Khan Dakhini, 1500.</td>
<td>151; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121. Mir Murtaza Dakhini, 1000.</td>
<td>162; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122. Hasan Khan, a Batani Aghan, 1000.</td>
<td>220; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123. Nazar Beg, son of Sa'id, the Gakkhar, 1000.</td>
<td>247; 500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>125. Qiya Khan, 1000.</td>
<td>No. 184; 700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. Shaikh Farid-i Bukharí, 1500.</td>
<td>99; 1500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132. Rájah Rúpsi Bairági, 1500.</td>
<td>118; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133. Fazil Khan, 1500.</td>
<td>156; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134. Sháh Quli Khan Naranji, 1000.</td>
<td>231; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136. La'l Khan Badakhshi, ...</td>
<td>209; 500.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ MS., 1000. ² He died in the explosion of a mine before Chitor.
### In the Tabaqát.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Khanjar Beg Chaghtá</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Makhçuq Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>No. 70; 2500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Sání Khán Arlát</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 216; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Mirzá Husain Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 149; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Jagat Singh</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>&quot; 160; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Mirzá Naját Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 142; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>'Ali Dost Khán</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Sultan Husain Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Khwájah Sháh Mançúr Shirázi</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 122; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Salim Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 182; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Sayyid Chhajhli Birha</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 221; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Darbár Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 185; 700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Hají Muhammad Sistání</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; 55; 3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Muhammad Zamán</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Khurram Khán</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Muhammad Quli Toqbái</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>No. 129; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Mujáhid Khán</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Sultan Ibrahéim Aubahi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Sháh Gházi Khán Turkmán</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not in the Ain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Sheroyah</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>No. 168; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Naqib Khán</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; 161; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Beg Núrin Khán</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; 212; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Qutlú Qadam Khán</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; 123; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Jalál Khán Qurchí</td>
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<td>&quot; 213; 500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Shimál Khán Qurchí</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>&quot; 154; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Mirzádáh 'Ali Khán</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>&quot; 152; 1000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Sayyid 'Abdullah Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 189; 700.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. "He belongs to the old Amirs of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well known Masnavi by him, dar bāb i akhárah, on the subject of dancing girls." *Tabaqát. Vide Akbarnámah, II., 82.*

2. "He was a servant of Humáyún. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1000, and died at Láhor." One MS. calls him 'All Dost Khán Nárangí, the other has Báróbegí, an unusual title for the Mughul period.

---

* He belonged to the commanders of 1000, and was killed in Gadha." *Tabaqát.*

* According to the Tabaqát, he was dead in 1000. *Vide Akbarnámah, II., 98, 108, 200, 284, 287.*

He is not to be confounded with Mirzá Khurram (No. 177).

* Mujáhid Khán was the son of Muçáhib Khán, one of Humáyún's courtiers. He was killed at Konóbhalmír. *Akbarnámah, III., 146, 168.*

* He was the khál, or maternal uncle, of the author of the *Tabaqát*, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Ramáson.*
### In the Ṭabaqāt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Horse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Mir Sharīf i Amuli</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Farrukh Khān</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Dost Khān</td>
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<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Ja'far Khān Turkmān</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Rāi Manohar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Shaikh 'Abdurrahim of Lak'hnau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Mirzā Abul Muzaffar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Rāj Singh, son of Raḥmah Askaran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Rāi Patr Dās</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Jānīsh Bahādur</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Muhammad Khān Niyażi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Rām Dās Kachhwālah</td>
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<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Mir Abul Qāsim</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Khwājah 'Abdul Hai, Mir 'Adl</td>
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<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Shamsuddin Husain, son of A'zam Khān</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>Khwājah Shamsuddin Khawāfī</td>
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<td>181</td>
<td>Mir Jamāluddin Husein Ijū</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>Shaikh 'Abdullāh Khān, son of Muhammed Ghaus</td>
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<td>183</td>
<td>Sayyid Rājū Bārha</td>
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<td>184</td>
<td>Mednī Rāi Chauhān</td>
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<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Mir Tāhir Razawī, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān</td>
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<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Tāsh Beg Kābulī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Ahmad Beg Kābulī, keeps 700 horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Sher Khwājah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Muhammad Quli Turkmān</td>
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<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Mirzā 'Ali 'Alamshāhī</td>
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<td>191</td>
<td>Wazir Jamāl</td>
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<td>192</td>
<td>Rāi Bhoj</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Bhāktīyār Beg Turkmān</td>
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<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Mir Čadr Jahān</td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umari</td>
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<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Shādmān, son of 'Azīz Kokh</td>
<td>500</td>
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<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Raḥmah Mukaṭmān Bhadurīrah</td>
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<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Báqi Safeareh, son of Tāhir Khān Farāghat</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### In Abulfazl's list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Horse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Dost Khān,</td>
<td>not in the Kīn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Ja'far Khān Turkmān</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Rāi Manohar</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Shaikh 'Abdurrahim of Lak'hnau</td>
<td>700</td>
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<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Mirzā Abul Muzaffar</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Rāj Singh, son of Raḥmah Askaran</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Rāi Patr Dās</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>Jānīsh Bahādur</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>Muhammad Khān Niyażi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rām Dās Kachhwālah</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
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<td>500</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mir Tāhir Razawī, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>Raḥmah Mukaṭmān Bhadurīrah</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 One MS. calls his paternal brother 'Alamshāh (M. H. 1001), dead.

2 "He is the brother of 'Alamshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." Ṭabaqāt. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded on p. 482.
In the Tabaqat.

199. Farídún Barlás, ................................. No. 227; 500.
200. Bahádur Kháń Qurdár, a Tarín Afgán, ... " 269; 400.
201. Shaikh Báyazíd i Chishti, ........................ " 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abulfazl classes among the commanders of 400. Nizám, however, adds the following note to his own list—"Let it be known that the title of Amír is given to all such as hold Mançabs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank."

The Historian Badauóní has not given a list of Amírs, but has compiled instead a very valuable list of the poets, doctors, learned men, and saints of Akbar's reign, together with biographical notices, which make up the third volume of the edition printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With his usual animus he says (III. 1)—"I shall not give the names of the Amírs, as Nizám has given them in the end of his work, and besides, most of them have died without having obtained the pardon of God.

I have seen none that is faithful in this generation;
If thou knowest one, give him my blessing."

Of the Mançabdárs whose names Abulfazl has not given, because the Kín list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahábat Kháń, Kháń Jahán Lodí (p. 503), and 'Abdullah Kháń Firúz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahángír's reign; but the Dutch traveller De Laët, in his work on India (p. 151), has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahángír's Mançabdárs, which may be compared with the lists in the Kín and the Pádisháhnámah (II., 717). Leaving out the princes, whose mançabs were above 5000, we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders of Mançabs</th>
<th>Under Akbar (Kín)</th>
<th>Under Jahángír (De Laët)</th>
<th>Under Sháhjáhán (Pádisháhnámah)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5000</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of Ahadís under Jahángir, De Laët fixes as follows—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chaháraspahs</th>
<th>Sihaspaḥs</th>
<th>Duaspahs</th>
<th>Yakaspahs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>741</td>
<td>1322</td>
<td>1428</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4441 Ahadís.

Under Sháihjahán, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mançaḥs above 5000. There is no Hindú among them.

De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amirs were Hindús. But we may compare the lists of the Ḫiń and the Pádisháhnámah.

We find under Akbar—

among 252 mançaḥdárs from 5000 to 500 ........ 32 Hindús
" 163 " from 400 to 200 ........ 25 Do.
Under Shāhjahān (20th year of his reign), we have—

among 12 mānṣabdārs above 5000 ................ no Hindūs.

" 580 " from 5000 to 500 ...........110 Do.

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the Pādishāhnāmah. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindūs and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my 'Chapter from Muhammadan History,' Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

AI'N 30 (continued).

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME.

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention. And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world. The first class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty. The second class pay less attention to the external world; but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge. The third class do not step beyond the arena of observation (nazar), and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony. The fourth class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof. The fifth class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony. Each class has many subdivisions.

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people. The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings; but truthfulness helps on the pen.

First Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds.

1. Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor.¹

Vide p. 490. The Tabaqāt also mentions a Shaikh Mubārak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubārak of Gwāliār.

¹ The notes are taken from the Tadbīr-qaṭ, the third volume of Badānī, and the Mir-ḍūl 'Alam.
2. Shaikh Nizām.

Abul Fazl either means the renowned Nizāmuddin of Amet'hi, near Lak'hnau, of the Chishtī sect, who died A. H. 979; or Nizāmuddin of Nárnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaikh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtīs, and died at Jaunpur in 970.


Died at Ahmadābād in 998. The Ţabaqāt mentions a contemporary, Shaikh Wajihuddin Gujrātī, who died in 995.

5. Shaikh Ruknuddin.

He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs of Gango. Badāonī saw him at Dihlī at the time of Bairām's fall.


7. Shaikh Jalāluddin.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (khālīfah) of 'Abdul Quddūs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaikh Ilāhuliyah.

Ilāhdiyāh is Hindūstānī for the Persian Ilāhoddād, ‘given (diyd) by God,’ ‘Theodore.’ He lived at Khairābād, and died in 993.


‘Maulānā Husāmuddin Surkh of Lāhor. He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious.’ Ţabaqāt.

10. Shaikh 'Abdul Qhafūr.

He belongs to A'zampūr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of 'Abdul Quddūs. Died in 995.


He was wrongly called Bechū on p. 104, note 2. He died in 969. Badāonī II., 53.

12. Maulānā Ismā'īl.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaikh Husain, who taught in Humāyūn's Madrasah at Dihlī. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.


15. Nātān Asram.


17. Damūdar Bhat.

18. Rāmtīrt'h.

19. Nar Sing.

20. Parmindar.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaikh Ruknud-din Mahmúd Kamángar (the bow maker).
24. Khwájah 'Abdushsháhíd.

He is the son of Khwájahán Khwájah, son of the renowned Khwájah Ahrár. Vide No. 17, p. 322, and No. 108, p. 423. He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jágír in Parganah جماراپ, in the Bárí Dušb, where he maintained two thousand poor.


He was a smith (dhangar), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akbar’s reign, and was buried at Láhor. The elder brother of Shaikh Salím i Chishtí also was called Shaikh Músá; vide p. 402. Vide also below, No. 102.


The Tabaqát calls him Shaikh Yúsuf Harkun Majzúb of Lábor.

29. Shaikh Burhán.

He lived as a recluse in Kálpi, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Qurán. He was a Mahdawi. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell.


Shaikh Káปúr Majzúb of Gwáliár, a Hussainí Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a bhishí, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

32. Shaikh Dáúd.

He is called Jhanniwál from Jhanni near Láhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sítpúr in Multán, where Dáúd was born. Badáoni (III., p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.
33. Shaikh Salím i Chishtí.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Faríd i Shakarganj, and lived in Fathpúr Sikrí, highly honoured by Akbar. Jahángír was called after him Salím. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above, pp. 402, 492.
34. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwáliár.

Vide No. 173, p. 457.
35. Rám Bhádr.
36. Jadrúp.

1 Badáoni (III., p. 151) mentions a | Zainuddin Mahmúd Kamángar.
Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology.¹

37. Mir Fathullah of Shiráź.

*Vide* pp. 33, 104, 199, 274. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of Fáright; *vide* Badáoni III., 292. His two sons were Mir Taqí and Mir Sharíf.

38. Mir Murțaza.

He is not to be confounded with Mir Murțaza, No. 162, p. 449. Mir Murțaza Sharíf of Shiráź died in 974 at Dihlít, and was buried at the side of the poet Khúsrau, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the *Hadís* under the renowned Ibn Hajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dákhín to Agráh. *Vide* Akbarnámah II., 278, 337.


He came in 968 from Mávará-lnahr to Agráh. *Bad.* II., 49. He died in Kábílí in 970; *l. c.*, III., 152.

40. Háfiz of Táshkand.

He is also called Háfiz Kumátí. He came in 977 from Táshkand to India, and was looked upon in Mávará-lnahr as a most learned man. He had something of a soldier in him, and used to travel about, like all Turks, with the quiver tied to his waist. He went over Gujrán to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazímship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. *Vide* Badáoni II., 187.

41. Mauláná Sháh Muhammad.

*Vide* p. 106; *Bad.* II., 295, *l. l.*

42. Mauláná 'Aláuddín.

He came from Láristán, and is hence called Lárí. He was the son of Mauláná Kamátuddín Husain, and studied under Mauláná Jalál Dawwání Sháfí‘í. He was for some time Akbar’s teacher. Once at a darbár he placed himself before the Khán i A’zám, when the Mir Tozak told him to go back. “Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools,” said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4000 bigháhs as sayýrghál in Sambhál, where he died.


44. Mauláná Shaikh Husain (of Ajmír).

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Mu’in i Chishti of Ajmír, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. *Badáoni* III., 87.

45. Mauláná Mir Kalán.

He died in 981, and was buried at Agráh. He was Jalángír’s first teacher. *Bad.* II., 170.


¹ *Ma‘qúl o manqúl,* pr. that which is based on reason (‘uql) and traditional testimony (naqíl).
47. Mauláná Ćádiq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kábul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mrzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Ţabaqát calls him Mullá Ćádiq Halwáí. Báláoni (III., 255, where the Ed. Bibl. Indica has wrong "Halwání") puts him among the poets.

48. Mauláná Sháh Muhammad.

_Vide_ No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition. Other Histories only mention one Mauláná of that name.

_Fourth Class.—Such as knov philosophy ('aqli kalám')._

49. Mauláná Pír Muhammad. _Vide_ No. 20, p. 324.

50. Mauláná 'Abdul Báqí.

He was a Čadr; _vide_ pp. 272, 528.

51. Mrzá Mufúsí.

He was an Uzbak, came from Máwará-Ínahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jámi' Masjid of Mu’inuddín Farankhúdí (p. 434) at Agra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. _Vide_ Bad., II., 187.

52. Maulánázídah Shukr.

53. Mauláná Muhammad.

He lived at Lábhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badóní (III., 254) calls him Mauláná Muhammad Mutfí.

Abulfázl, however, means perhaps Mauláná Muhammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shi'ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abulfázl, with whose innovations he at first agreed. But he got tired of them and asked for permission to go to Makkah. He was plundered on the road to Súrat. _Mír-dt._ But Badóní tells quite a different story; _vide_ p. 189.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qásim Beg.

_Vide_ No. 350, p. 517, and p. 106. The Ţabaqát also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the _'aqlí _ulám._

55. Mauláná Núruddín Tarkhán.

_Vide_ p. 524. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawalli of Humáyún's tomb in Dílhlí, where he died.

The Ţabaqát says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Maásir, he was born in Ján in Khurásán, and was educated in Mashhád. He

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1 This means chiefly religious testi-
mony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abulfázl evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.
was introduced to Bābar, and was a private friend of Humāyūn's, who like him was fond of the astrologer. He went with the emperor to 'Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the takhallūṣ of 'Nūrī.' He is also called 'Nūrī of Sāfīdūn,' because he held Sāfīdūn for some time as jāgīr. Akbar gave him the title of Khān, and later that of Tarkhān ¹, and appointed him to Samānah.

56. Nārāin.
57. Madhu bhat.
58. Sribhat.
59. Bishn Nāt'ḥ.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Bāsudev Misr.
63. Bāman bhat.
64. Bidyā niwās.
65. Gorinā't'h.
66. Gopinā't'h.
68. Bhāṭṭāchārj.
69. Bhagirat Bhāṭṭāchārj.
70. Kāshī Nāt'ḥ Bhāṭṭāchārj.

Physicians.

72. Hakīm ul Mulk.

His name is Shamsuddīn and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gilān on the Caspian to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innovations commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died.

73. Mullā Mir.

The Tabaqāt calls him Mullā Mīr Ṭabīb of Harāt, grandson of Mullā 'Abdul Hai Yazdī.

75. Hakīm Zanbīl Beg. Vide No. 150, p. 442.
77. Hakīm Hasan.

He also came from Gilān. His knowledge, says Badāonī (III., 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Hakīm Aristā.
79. Hakīnū Fathullāh.

He also came from Gilān, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy. He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qānūn. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was a Commander of 1000, 300 horse (Tuzuk, p. 34). The Pādishāh-nāmāh (I, b., 360) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Fathullāh, was a doctor at Shāh-jahān's court.

¹ The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; vide p. 364. The Madsir has some verses made by Nūrī on his empty title.
80. Hakím Masíh ul Mulk.

He came from the Dak'hin, where he had gone from Shírúz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sulṭán Murád. He died in Málwáh.


Badáni and the Ṭabaqáṭ call him Saiful Mulúk. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of \textit{Saif ul Hukamá}, 'the sword of the doctors.' He came from Damáwand, and was in Agra during Bairán's regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the \textit{takhallus} of 'Shujá'ī. He is not to be confounded with No. 201, p. 473.


86. Hakím Shífá'í.

The \textit{Mi-r-dt} mentions a Hakím Shífá'í, who in his poetical writings calls himself 'Muzáfár ibn Muhammad Al-bussání Al-shífá'í.' He was born at Icfahán, and was a friend of Sháh'Abbás i Cásfawí. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his \textit{Mañawi} in the Library of the Asiatic Socy. of Bengal (No. 795).

87. Hakím Ni'matulláh.

88. Hakím Dáwáí.

\textit{Dawáí} was also the \textit{takhallus} of No. 85.

89. Hakím Tálab 'Alí.

90. Hakím 'Abdurrahím.

91. Hakím Rúhulláh.

92. Hakím Fakhruddin 'Alí.

93. Hakím Is-háq.

94. Shaikh Hasan and 95. Shaikh Bíná.

Shaikh Hasan of Pánípat, and his son Shaikh Bíná were renowned surgeons. Instead of 'Bíná', the MSS. have various readings. The \textit{Maásir} has \textit{Phaniyá}, the Ṭabaqáṭ \textit{Bhaniyá}.

Shaikh Bíná's son is the well known Shaikh Hasan, or Hassú, who under Jahángrír rose to great honours, and received the title of \textit{Muqarrab Khán}. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassú was physician to Prince Salím, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5000 and governor of Gujrát, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Súrát. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027), he was made governor of Bihár, and in the 16th, governor of Agra. In the beginning of Sháhjáhán's reign, he was pensioned off, and received Pargana of Kairánah, his birthplace, as jágir. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharaful-dín of Pánípat, and died at the age of ninety.
In Kairánah he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful garden with an immense tank. He obtained excellent fruit trees from all parts of India, and the Kairánah mangoes, according to the Madusir, have since been famous in Diblí.

Muqarrab’s son, Rizqullah, was a doctor under Sháhjahán, and a commander of 800. Aurangzeb made him a Khán. He died in the 10th year of Aurangzeb.

Muqarrab’s adopted son is Masihá i Kairánawi. His real name was Sa’dullah. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sítá, Rámchandra’s wife.

61. Mahátdev.
62. Bhim Nát’h.

Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql).

100. Miyán Hátim.

He lived at Sambhal. The Historian Badáoni, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hátim died in 969.


He was Muftí of Diblí, and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambú.

102. Mauláná ’Abdul Qádir.

He was the pupil of Shaikh Hamíd Qádirí (buried at Hamidpúr, near Multán), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaikh Músá regarding the right of succession. ’Abdul Qádir used to say the naft-prayers in the audience-hall of Fathpúr Sikrí, and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, “My king, this is not your kingdom, that you should pass orders.” Akbar called him a fool, and cancelled his grant of land, whereupon ’Abdul Qádir went back to Uchh. Shaikh Músá did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. Vide below Nos. 109, 131.

The Mir-dāt mentions a Mauláná ’Abdul Qádir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar’s age.

103. Shaikh Ahmad.

The Tabaqát mentions a Shaikh Hájí Ahmad of Láhore, and a Shaikh Ahmad Hájí Púládí Majzúb of Sind. Vide also pp. 106, 206.


This is the title of Mauláná ‘Abdullah of Sultánpúr, author of the Apmat i Anbiyá, and a commentary to the Shamáit unnañí. Humáyún gave him the titles of Makhḍám ul Mulk and Shaikh ul Islám. He was a bigoted Sunní, and looked upon Abúfázl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrát after his return from Makkah.
105. Manláná 'Abdussalám.

The Tabaqát says, he lived at Láhor and was a learned man.

The Mir-dt mentions another Mauláná 'Abdussalám of Láhor, who was a great lawyer (faqih) and wrote a commentary to Baizáwi. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Sháhjáhán’s reign.

106. Qází Çadruddín.

Qází Çadruddín Quraishí 'Abbásí of Jálindbar was the pupil of Makhdúm ul Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held so broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven from court, he was sent as Qází to Bhróch, where he died. His son, Shaikh Muhammád, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrát.

107. Mauláná Sa’údullah.

He lived at Biánah, and was looked upon as the best grammarian of the age. He was simple in his mode of life, but liberal to others. Towards the end of his life, he got silent and shut himself out from all intercourse with men, even his own children. He died in 989.


He was the son of Shaikh Kákú, and lived at Láhor. Shaikh Sa’dulláh, Shaikh Munáwwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.


110. Mir Núrulláh.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Hakím Abul Fath. He was a Shi’áh, but practised taqiyyah among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abú Hanífáh. When Shaikh Mu’in, Qází of Láhor, retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahángrír’s accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

111. Itláníinb 'Abdul Qádir.

He was Akbar’s teacher (ákhánd). Vide No. 242, p. 485.

112. Qází 'Abdussamí.’

He was a Miyánkálí, and according to Badaóní (II., 314) played chess for money, and drank wine. Akbar made him, in 990, Qází-iqüzát, in place of Qází Jaláuddín Multání (No. 122). Vide Akbarnámah, III., 593.

113. Mauláná Qásim.

The Tabaqát mentions a Mullá Qásim of Qandahár.


1 Miyánkálí is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhárá.
113. Mulā Kamāl.

The Tābaqāt mentions a Shaikh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaikh Salīm.


He died in 991, and wrote a book, entitled Fawāidh al-wilāyāt. Bad. II., 337.


He was the son of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh 'Abdul Qudūs of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Hadīs. When he held the office of Ḥādir, he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brāhman, the details of which are related in Badāonī (III., 80), led to the Shaikh's deposition.

Badāonī (III., 83) places his death in 991, the Misr-dāt in 992. 'Abbunnabi's family traced their descent from Abū Hanīfah.

119. Shaikh Bhik.

The Tābaqāt has also 'Bhik', Badūnī (III., 24) has 'Bhikan.' Shaikh Bhik lived in Kākor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaikh Abul Fath.

Shaikh Abul Fath of Gujrat was the son-in-law of Mir Sayyid Muhammād of Jaunpūr, the great Mahdāwī. He was in Agrah at the time of Bairām Khān.

121. Shaikh Bahāuddīn Multī.

He lived at Agrah, and was a learned and pious man.

122. Qāzi Jalāluddīn Multānī. Vide pp. 175, 185.

He comes from near Bhai kar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhīn, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123. Shaikh Zīāuddīn.

It looks as if Shaikh Zīāullah was intended; vide No. 173, p. 457.

124. Shaikh 'Abdul Waḥhāb.

125. Shaikh 'Umar.


127. Malānā Jamāl.

The Tābaqāt has a Mullā Jamāl, a learned man of Multān. Badāonī (III., 108) mentions a Mullānā Jamāl of Auli, which is said to be a Mahallah of Lābor.

128. Shaikh Ahmādī.

Shaikh Ahmādī Fayyāz of Amēthī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizāmuśdīn of Amēthī (p. 537).
129. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghaní.

He was born at Badhán and lived afterwards in Dihlí a retired life. The Khán Khánán visited him in 1003.

130. Shaikh 'Abdul Wáhid.

He was born in Bilgrám, and is the author of a commentary to the Nuzhat-ul Awád, and several treatises on the technical terms (ištildhdt) of the Āfs, one of which goes by the name of Sandhí.


The Šabaqát mentions a Mullá Ismá‘íl Muftí of Lábhor, and a Mullá Ismá‘íl of Awadh.

133. Mullá 'Abdul Qádir.

This is the historian Badáoní. Abulfazl also calls him Mullá in the Akbar-námah.

134. Maulání Çadr Jahán.

This seems a repetition of No. 131.

135. Shaikh Jawhar.

136. Shaikh Munawwar.

Vide p. 106. He was born at Lábhor, and was noted for his memory and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the Mashá‘irqul-anwdr (Hadis), the Badi‘ul bayán, the Irsád i Qázi, &c. When the learned were banished from Court, he was imprisoned in Gwáliár, where he died in 1011.

His son, Shaikh Kabír, was also renowned for his learning. He died in 1026, in Ahmadábád, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Ahmadábádí saint Sháh 'Ham. Mirá‘t.

137. Qázi Ibráhím.


139. Bijái Sen Súr.

140. Bhún Chand.

* Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk, (p. 91, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahlángír when a child read the Hadis under “Shaikh 'Abdulghani, whose fate is related in the Akbar-námah.” This as a mistake for 'Abdunnabi (No. 118).
ATN 30 (continued).

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store: they pass their time in praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed; for by this means lofty ideas are understood.

"He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart."

Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action.

I do not mean a mere external union. Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, though far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity. I mean a spiritual union; and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh it still more so.

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets; he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination. Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a divan, or have written a masnavi. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaikh Abul Faizi Faizi.

(Vide p. 490.)

He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world. His Majesty understood the value of his genius and conferred upon him the title of Malikush-shu'ard, or king of the poets. He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Faizi, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyazi, as he himself says in his 'Nal Daman'—

1 I. e., gives men something valuable.
2 Saints perform wonderful actions (kadamät), prophets perform miracles (mu'jizät). Both are miracles, but the kadamät are less in degree than the mu'jizät. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "kadamät, kadamät," "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" De Laët.

* Ghazáli of Mashhad (vide below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Faizi got it. Under Jahángír, Tálib of Ámul was ma-lik ushu'ard, and under Sháhjahán, Muhammad Ján Qudsí and, after him, Abú Tálib Kalím. Aurangzib hated poetry as much as history and music.
Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was 'Faizi.'
But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the 'Fayyzi' of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love).
His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius. He was eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the Sawdti ul-ilham* ('rays of inspiration'), which is a commentary to the Quran in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the Qurat ul Ikhlus* contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,* and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends and foes; and the poor were Comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead* of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He deeply studied medicine, and gave poor people advice gratis.

The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit, and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his verses.*

1 Faizi is an Arabic word meaning 'abundance;' Faizzi would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. Fayyzi is the intensive form of Faizi, giving superabundantly. Fayydz, originally, is the abstract noun, 'the act of giving superabundantly,' and then becomes a title.

The form of fayydz agrees with the form of 'Allami, Abulfiizl's takhallus, and some historians, as Badoni, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of Faizi to Fuyyzi.

* I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the Mawdrid ulkilam, because the latter also is written be nuqat, without the use of dotted letters. The Mawdrid was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasah and Maulawi Muhammad 'Ali of Râmûr. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words Islâm, salâm, 'ilm ukhldm, Adam, Muhammad, kalâdullah, akhldlah, &c., and possesses little interest. Faizi displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

* This is the 112th chapter of the Quran, which commences with the words Qul hua-lldhr ahud. The letters added give 1W2; Faizi, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever târikh was found out by Mr. Haidar Mu'ammad of Kâshân, poetically styled Râfti. Vide below, the 31st poet.

* I. e., the more he had, the more he gave away, and thus he became poor, or, he considered that riches make a man poor in a spiritual sense.

* Târik, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the salâm. Abulfiizl wishes to say that Faizi was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

* Abulfiizl kept his promise, and collected, two years after Faizi's death, the stray leaves of the Markiz uladadr (p. 491), regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abulfiizl in the 3rd
But now it is brotherly love—a love which does not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write down some of his verses.

Extracts from Faizi's Qaṣīdah (Odes).

1. O Thou who existest from eternity and abidest for ever, sight cannot bear Thy light, praise cannot express Thy perfection.

2. Thy light melts the understanding, and Thy glory baffles wisdom; to think of Thee destroys reason, Thy essence confounds thought.

3. Thy holiness pronounces that the blood drops of human meditation are shed in vain in search of Thy knowledge: human understanding is but an atom of dust.

4. Thy jealousy, the guard of Thy door, stuns human thought by a blow in the face, and gives human ignorance a slap on the nape of the neck.

5. Science is like blinding desert sand on the road to Thy perfection; the town of literature is a mere hamlet compared with the world of Thy knowledge.

6. My foot has no power to travel on this path which misleads sages; I have no power to bear the odour of this wine, it confounds my knowledge.

7. The tablet of Thy holiness is too pure for the (black) tricklings of the human pen; the dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone.

8. Man's so called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.

9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love.

10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being, is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.
11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee; but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers.

12. Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee; the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought.

13. How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts* of saints?

14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my restlessness (qutrub)* will end in madness.

15. For him who travels barefooted on the path towards Thy glory, even the mouths of dragons would be as it were a protection for his feet (lit. greaves).*

16. Compared with Thy favour, the nine metals of earth are but as half a handful of dust; compared with the table of Thy mercies, the seven oceans are a bowl of broth.

17. To bow down the head upon the dust of Thy threshold and then to look up, is neither correct in faith, nor permitted by truth.

18. Alas, the stomach of my worldliness takes in impure food like a hungry dog, although Love, the doctor,* bade me abstain from it.

1. O man, thou coin bearing the double stamp of body and spirit, I do not know what thy nature is; for thou art higher than heaven and lower than earth.

2. Do not be cast down, because thou art a mixture of the four elements; do not be self-complacent, because thou art the mirror of the seven realms (the earth).

3. Thy frame contains the image of the heavenly and the lower regions, be either heavenly or earthly, thou art at liberty to choose.

4. Those that veil their faces in Heaven [the angels] love thee; thou, misguiding the wise, art the fondly petted one of the solar system (lit. the seven planets).

5. Be attentive, weigh thy coin, for thou art a correct balance [i. e., thou hast the power of correctly knowing thyself], sift thy atoms well; for thou art the philosopher's stone (اکسیس-دریک سیوی).
6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (mushtari) thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; put not thy heart on illusions, for it (the heart) is a lying fool.

8. Why art thou an enemy to thyself, that from want of perfection thou shouldst weary thy better nature and cherish thy senses (or tongue)?

9. The heart of time sheds its blood on thy account [i.e., the world is dissatisfied with thee]; for in thy hypocrisy thou art in speech like balm, but in deeds like a lancet.

10. Be ashamed of thy appearance; for thou prdest thyself on the title of 'sun total,' and art yet but a marginal note.

11. If such be the charm of thy being, thou hadst better die; for the eye of the world regards thee as an optical illusion (mukarrar).

12. O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain; thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes.

13. If on this hunting-ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phoenix with sparrow feathers.

14. Do not be proud (farbik) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (miyin) when it is thin?

15. Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thyself, when thou seest the doings of such as from zeal wander barefooted on the field of love; since thou ridest upon a swift camel [i.e., as thou hast not yet reached the higher degree of zeal, that is, of walking barefooted], thou shouldst not count thy steps [i.e., thou shouldst not be proud].

16. If thou wishest to understand the secret meaning of the phrase 'to prefer the welfare of others to thy own,' treat thyself with poison and others with sugar.

17. Accept misfortune with a joyful look, if thou art in the service of Him whom people serve.

18. Place thy face, with the humble mien of a beggar, upon the threshold of truth, looking with a smile of contempt upon worldly riches;—

19. Not with the (self-complacent) smirk which thou assumest* in private, whilst thy worldliness flies to the east and the west.

20. Guard thine eye well; for like a nimble-handed thief it takes by force the jewel out of the hand of the jeweller.

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1 This is a pun. Mushtari also means Jupiter, one of the planets.

2 I.e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.

* Proud, in Persian farbik, pr. fat.

In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The pun on farbik and miyin cannot be translated.

* As a hypocrite does.
21. Those who hold in their hand the lamp of guidance often plunder caravans on the high road.

22. My dear son, consider how short the time is that the star of good fortune revolves according to thy wish; fate shews no friendship.

23. 'There is no one that understands me; for were I understood, I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its Hindústán is initiated in the rites of idolatry and the rules of idol making [i.e., my heart contains wonderful things].

25. This [poem] is the master-piece of the Greece of my mind; read it again and again: its strain is not easy.

26. Plunged into the wisdom of Greece, it [my mind] rose again from the deep in the land of Hind; be thou as if thou hadst fallen into this deep abyss [of my knowledge, i.e., learn from me].

1. The companion of my loneliness is my comprehensive genius; the scratching of my pen is harmony for my ear.

2. If people would withdraw the veil from the face of my knowledge, they would find that what those who are far advanced in knowledge call certainty, is with me (as it were) the faintest dawn of thought.

3. If people would take the screen from the eye of my knowledge, they would find that what is revelation (ecstatic knowledge) for the wise is but drunken madness for me.

4. If I were to bring forth what is in my mind, I wonder whether the spirit of the age could bear it.

5. On account of the regulated condition of my mind, I look upon myself as the system of the universe, and heaven and earth are the result of my motion and my rest.

6. My vessel does not require the wine of the friendship of time; my own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm [i.e., I require no one's assistance].

7. Why should I wish for the adulation of mean people? My pen bows down its head and performs the sîjdah in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Faizi's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

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1 The next verses are fakhriyah (boastful). All Persian poets write encomiums on themselves. Wonderful stories are told about the mirror of Alexander the Great. He ordered his friend, the philosopher Balí-nás, to erect in Alexandria a tower 360 yards high. A mirror was then placed on the top of it, 7 yards in diameter and above 21 in circumference. The mirror reflected everything that happened in the world, even as far as Constantinople.
2. Expect in my arena the victory of both worlds; the banner of royalty weighs down the shoulder of my love.
3. When I cast a favourable glance upon those that sit in the dust, even the ant from my good fortune becomes possessed of the brain of Sulaimán.
4. The keepers of my door have their swords drawn; where is the desire that dares intrude on my seclusion?
5. Although I have buried my head in my hood, yet I can see both worlds; it may be that Love has woven my garment from the threads of my contemplation.
6. My eye is open and waits for the manifestation of truth; the spirit of the Universe flees before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment.
7. I am the simple Faizi; if you do not believe it, look into my heart through the glass of my external form.

1. The flame from my broken heart rises upwards; to-day a fiery surge rages in my breast.
2. In the beginning of things, each being received the slate of learning [i.e., it is the appointed duty of each to learn something]; but Love has learned something from looking at me, the duties of a handmaid.
3. May the eye of him who betrays a word regarding my broken heart be filled with the blood of his own heart!
4. O Faizi, thou dost not possess what people call gold; but yet the alchemist knows how to extract gold from thy pale cheek.

It were better if I melted my heart, and laid the foundation for a new one: I have too often patiently patched up my torn heart.

1. From the time that love stepped into my heart, nothing has oozed from my veins and my wounds but the beloved.

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*a The insignificance of the ant is often opposed to the greatness of Solomon. Once when all animals brought Solomon their presents, the ant offered him the leg of a locust as her only treasure.
*b The beloved has taken entire possession of the poet. He has no blood left in him; for blood is the seat of life, and he only lives in the beloved who has taken the place of his blood. The close union of the lover and the beloved is well described in the following couplet by Khusrau—

I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul.
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.
2. The wings of angels have melted in the heat of my wine. Woe to 
the world, if a flash of lightning should some day leap from my jar [i. e., the 
world would come to an end, if the secret of my love were disclosed]!

1. Two difficulties have befallen me on the path of love: I am accused of 
bloodshed, but it is the beloved who is the murderer.
2. O travellers on the right road, do not leave me behind! I see far, and 
my eye espies the resting place.

I walk on a path [the path of love], where every foot step is concealed; I 
speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.¹

Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a dis-
tance is a sign of politeness.

1. In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and yet 
they are intoxicated.
2. The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover; the birds on the 
meadow melt away in love and are yet silent.²

1. My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful; for caravans 
are attacked suddenly."
2. I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against 
robbers that attack a watchful heart?"
3. A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art 
stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand.³

1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine; they made 
Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

¹ A sigh indicates that a man is in 
love; hence if the sigh is a stranger [i.e., does not appear], the love will remain 
a secret. Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its purity and value, if it 
becomes known. The true lover bears the pangs of love, and is silent; the 
weak lover alone betrays his secret. Hence the nightingale is often found 
fault with: it pours forth its plaintive songs to the rose, it babbles the whole 
night, instead of silently fixing its eye on the beauty of the rose, and dying 
without a murmur.
² Salt is an antidote against drunk-
eness. 'Wine' stands for beauty, 'salt' 
for 'wit.' The nightingale is in love with 
the rose, but sings in order to lighten its 
heart; the birds of the meadows, how-
ever, which are in love with the nightin-
gale, shew a deeper love, as they remain 
silent and hide their love-grief.
³ Love is compared to robbers. The 
woe of love ought to be endured as a vi-
sitation of providence.
2. What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet? Even Masih and Khizr are envious (of me), and struggle with each other to possess it.  

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.

For me there is no difference between the ocean (of love) and the shore (of safety); the water of life (love) is for me the same as a dreadful poison.

I, Faizi, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims who go to the Ka'bah; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.

1. How can I complain that my travelling companions have left me behind, since they travel along with Love, the caravan chief?

2. O, that a thousand deserts were full of such unkind friends! They have cleared the howdah of my heart of its burden.

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.

2. I shew no inclination to be beside myself; but what shall I do, I feel annoyed to be myself.

1. Do not ask how lovers have reached the heavens; for they place the foot on the battlement of the heart and leap upwards.

2. Call together all in the universe that are anxious to see a sight: they have erected triumphal arches with my heart-blood in the town of Beauty.

1. Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come.

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Masih (the 'Messiah') and Khizr (Eli-as) tasted the water of life (dāb i haydāt). Wine also is a water of life, and the wine given to the poet by the pretty boy who acts as cupbearer, is so reviving, that even Messiah and Khizr would fight for it.  

Vide p. 510, note 1. 

This is the case with every antidote against love: it does not heal, it kills.

• Faizi is ahead of his co-religionists.

• The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Faizi tries to console himself with the thought that his heart will now be free. But his jealousy is ill-concealed; for he calls the people unkind that have carried off his beloved.
2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really
know what good luck is have never tied their good fortune with golden
chains.  

The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my
book (baydz) to the white dawn of morn.  

O Faizi, is there any one in this world that possesses more patience and
strength than he who can twice walk down his street?  

Desires are not to be found within my dwelling place: when thou comest,
come with a content heart. 

Renounce love; for love is an affair which cannot be satisfactorily
terminated. Neither fate nor the beloved will ever submit to thy wishes. 

1. Come, let us turn towards a pulpit of light, let us lay the foundation
of a new Ka'bah with stones from Mount Sinai!  
2. The wall (hatim) of tho Ka'bah is broken, and the basis of the qiblah
is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation!  

1. Where is Love, that we might melt the chain of the door of the Ka'-
bah, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.  
2. We might throw down this Ka'bah which Hajjéj has erected, in order
to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery.  

1. How long shall I fetter my heart with the coquettishness of beautiful
boys? I will burn this heart and make a new, another heart.  
2. O Faizi, thy hand is empty, and the way of love lies before thee, then
pawn the only thing that is left thee, thy poems, for the sake of obtaining the
two worlds.  

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1 To the true Cúff existence and non-
existence are indifferent: he finds rest in
Him. But none can find this rest unless
he gives away his riches.  
2 Observe the pun in the text on
sayid, baydz, and musawwadah.  
* The street where the lovely boy
lives. Can any one walk in the street of
love without losing his patience?  
* If the ka'bah (the temple of Mak-
kah) were pulled down, Islam would be
pulled down; for Muhammadans would
have no qiblah left, i.e., no place where
to turn the face in prayer.  
* When a man is in love, he loses his
faith, and becomes a káfir. Thus Khus-
rán says—Káfir i'shgam, mard musal-
máni darkár nist, &c., 'I am in love
and have become an infidel—what do I
want with Islam?' So Faizi is in love,
and has turned such an infidel, that he
would make holy furniture into idols, or
build a cloister on the ground of the holy
temple.
How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to Zalikhá? It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.¹

I cannot shew ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through so small an aperture as the pupil of my eye is into the large space of my heart, and yet my heart cannot contain it.

Flee, fate is the raiser of battle-fields; the behaviour of thy companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) 'hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents).²

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookst no notice of me, and didst pass by; Thou receivest no blessing from my eyes, and didst pass by.
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom, Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by.

1. On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame: in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself.
2. O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own?

1. O Faizi, I am so high-minded, that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

¹ When Zalikhá, wife of Potiphar, had fallen in love with Yúsuf (Joseph), she became the talk of the whole town. To take revenge, she invited the women who had spoken ill of her, to a feast, and laid a sharp knife at the side of each plate. While the women were eating, she called Yúsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, 'Má hua basharan,' 'He is no man (but an angel)!', and they suddenly grew so incontinent, that from lust they made cuts into their hands with the knives which Zalikhá had placed before them.
² Fate leads you into danger (love); avoid it, you cannot expect help from your friends, they merely give you useless advice. 'You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents) is a proverb, and expresses that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil. The friends tell Faizi that he may fall in love, but they will not let him have the boy.
2. If other poets [as the ancient Arabians] hung their poems on the door of the temple of Makkah, I will hang my love story on the vault of heaven.

1. O cupbearer Time, cease doing battle! Akbar's glorious reign rolls along, bring me a cup of wine:
2. Not such wine as drives away wisdom, and makes fools of those who command respect, as is done by fate;
3. Nor the harsh wine which fans in the conceited brain the fire of fool-hardiness on the field of battle;
4. Nor that shameless wine which cruelly and haughtily delivers reason over to the Turk of passion;
5. Nor that fiery wine the heat of which, as love-drunked eyes well know, melts the bottles [the hearts of men];—
6. But that unmixed wine the hidden power of which makes Fate repent her juggling tricks [i. e., which makes man so strong, that he vanquishes fate];
7. That clear wine with which those who constantly worship in cloisters sanctify the garb of the heart;
8. That illuminating wine which shews lovers of the world the true path;
9. That pearling wine which cleanses the contemplative mind of fanciful thoughts.

In the assembly of the day of resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Ka'bah will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches.¹

1. Behold the garb of Faizi's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven.
2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Faizi's heart: it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Faizi what no mortal enemy would have done.

1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdahs; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean [love].

¹ The sins of Islam are as worthless as the dust of Christianity. On the day of resurrection, both Muhammadans and Christians will see the vanity of their religious doctrines. Men fight about religion on earth; in heaven they shall find out that there is only one true religion, the worship of God's Spirit.
2. Walk on, Faizi, urge on through this desert the camel of zeal; for those who yearn for their homes [earthly goods] never reach the sacred enclosure, the heart.

The dusty travellers on the road to poverty seem to have attained nothing; is it perhaps because they have found there [in their poverty] a precious jewel?

1. In the beginning of eternity some love-glances formed mirrors, which reduced my heart and my eye to a molten state [i.e., my heart and eye are pure like mirrors].

2. What attractions lie in the curls of idols, that the inhabitants of the two worlds [i.e., many people] have turned their face [from ideal] to terrestrial love?

3. If a heart goes astray from the company of lovers, do not enquire after it; for whatever is taken away from this caravan, has always been brought back, [i.e., the heart for a time did without love, but sooner or later it will come back and love].

It is not patience that keeps back my hand from my collar; but the collar is already so much torn, that you could not tear it more.

1. If Laili* had had no desire to be with Majnun, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel?

2. If any one prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Haram [the temple in Makkah]?

3. Love has robbed Faizi of his patience, his understanding, and his sense; behold, what this highway robber has done to me, the caravan chief!

When Love reaches the emporium of madness, he builds in the desert triumphal arches with the shifting sands.

1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the 'Id,* and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs of the last thirty days.

2. Take Faizi’s Diwan to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

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1 A lover has no patience; hence he tears the collar of his coat.

2 Each man shews in his own peculiar way that he is in love: Laili rode about in a restless way; some people shew their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah; I worship idols.

* The 'Id ul-Atr, or feast after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramazán. Faizi, like a bad Muhammadan, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

* Done by me by not having fasted.
I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave, people shall know that man rises from such dust.

They may know Faizi's end from his beginning: without an equal he goes from the world, and without an equal he rises.

O Love, do not destroy the Ka'bah; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rub'a'is.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call zafunun [possessor of the sciences], and our guide on the path of religion.

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness.

Who even once by day beholds his face, sees at night the sun rising in his dream.

If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without having seen the king.

Thy old fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.

O king, give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my taper the everlasting ray!

Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart, give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

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1 Faizi means the heart.
2 A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the Mirahul'Alam to the poet Yahya of Kashan, who, during the reign of Shahjahan, was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the Padishahnamah.

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If I call thee, a king of Islam 'one without equal,' it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Thou art the shadow of God, and like daylight;
It is clear that no one has two shadows.
* This is a strong apothecosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.
71 Kings receive a light immediately from God; vide p. III. of Abulfazl's Preface.
No friend has ever come from the unseen world; from the caravan of non-existence no voice has ever come.

The heaven is the bell from which the seven metals come, and yet no sound has ever come from it notwithstanding its hammers.¹

In polite society they are silent; in secret conversation they are screened from the public view.

When you come to the thoroughfare of Love, do not raise dust, for there they are all surmahsellers.²

Those are full of the divine who speak joyfully and draw clear wine without goblet and jar.

Do not ask them for the ornaments of science and learning; for they are people who have thrown fire on the book.³

O Faizi, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.⁴

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Faizi, the time of old age has come, look where thou settest thy feet. If thou puttest thy foot away from thy eyelashes, put it carefully.

A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing. Cut off a piece from thy heart,⁵ and put it on thine eye.

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinthbed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.

I sit upon this throne as the Sulaimán of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.⁶

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave thy body, as long as the heart remains!

¹ Mühráhd, pl. of muhrāh, according to the Bahá’í Ajam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of kaft josh (a mixture of seven metals), to indicate the time. The metal cups are said to have been in use at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia.
² Lovers are silent in polite society. Surma is the well known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.
³ The disciples of Akbár’s divine faith have burnt the Qurán. They are different from the 'ulamá and fuzáld, the learned of the age.
⁴ Things are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Faizi wishes to leave the house of his old nature.
⁵ For thy heart is pure and transparent.
⁶ Solomon understood the language of the birds.
A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is kushthah.

O Faizi, open the ear of the heart and the eye of sense; remove thy eye and ear from worldly affairs.

Behold the wonderful change of time, and close your lip; listen to the enchanter Time and shut thy eye.

What harm can befall me, even if the ranks of my enemies attack me? They only strike a blow to the ocean with a handful of dust.

I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate: he is killed who throws himself on me.

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dreg; I am hell, paradise, and purgatory.

Any thing more wonderful than myself does not exist; for I am at once the ocean, the jewel, and the merchant.

Before I and thou were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands.

Be without cares, for the maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before I and thou were made.

2. Khwajah Husain Sana' of Mashhad.

He held the office of a magistrate and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

Kushthah, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.

The author of the Atashkadah i'Azar says that Khwajah Husain was the son of Inayat Mirza, and was in the service of Sultan Ibrâhîm Mirza Câfawi. But in his own Diwan he is said to describe himself as the son of Ghiasuddin Muhammad of Mashhad, and the Sanâ'at of the Atashkadah is a bad reading for Nubâ'at.

Regarding his poems the same author says, "either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning"—a critical remark which Abulfazl's extracts confirm. Neither does Bedâoni (III, 308) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The Tabagdi again praises his poems. The Mirâtul 'A'lam says that he was in the service of Ibrâhîm Mirza, son of Shâh Tahmúsp. On the accession of Shâh Isâ'îl II, Sanâ' presented an ode, but Isâ'îl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honor of Ibrâhîm Mirza. Sanâ' fled to Hindústân, and was well received at court. He died at Lâhor in A.H. 1000. His Diwan, Sikandarnâmah, and Sâqinâmâh are well known. Spengler (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 996. The Madsir i Rahîmi states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mirzâ Bâqir, son of Mir 'Arabshâh. It was mentioned on p. 649, note 6, that Faizi looked upon him as his teacher. My text has arbâbi. Arbâbi is the plural of rabb, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of kâldânr, or rishâqfâd, the head man of a place, Germ. Amtmann; hence arbâbi, the office of a magistrate.
1. My speech is the morning of sincere men; my tongue is the sword of the morning of words.
2. It is clear from my words that the Rubelquds is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].
3. It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world.
4. In short, words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them.
5. No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain.

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening, the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee.

1. In the manner of beauty and coquetry, many fine things are to be seen, (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting.
2. If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol, his own figure does not appear to his eye as something known to him.
3. If, for example, thou sittest behind a looking glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards.
4. If, for example, an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser], no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill.

1. A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved, is for them the same as sweet medicine.
2. I exposed the prey of my heart to death, but the huntsman has given me quarter on account of my leanness and let me run away.
3. If lovers slept with the beloved till the morning of resurrection, the morning breeze would cause them to feel the pain of an arrow.

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1. *Rubelquds*, pr. the spirit of holiness.
2. *Maryam*, the Virgin Mary.
3. *So strange is the boy whom I love.*
4. *This verse is unintelligible to me.*
5. *Or we may read kuream instead of girizam, when the meaning would be,*
6. *the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting.*
7. *There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.*
O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise my hand to my collar?  

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying ....

It is incumbent upon lovers to hand over to their hearts those (cruel) words which the beloved (boy) took from his heart and put upon his tongue.

When my foot takes me to the Ka'bah, expect to find me in an idol temple; for my foot goes backwards, and my goal is an illusion.

1. The spheres of the nine heavens cannot contain an atom of the love grief which Sanâ'â's dust scatters to the winds.
2. Like the sun of the heaven thou livest for all ages; every eye knows thee as well as it knows what sleep is.

3. Huzni' of Ispâha'n.

He was an enquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and goodhearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.

1. I search my heart all round to look for a quiet place—and, gracious God! if I do not find sorrow, I find desires.
2. Zâlîkhâ stood on the flowerbed, and yet she said in her grief that it reminded her of the prison in which a certain ornament of society [Yûsuf] dwelled.
3. I am in despair on thy account, and yet what shall I do with love? for between me and it (love) stands (unfulfilled) desire.

Gabriel's wing would droop, if he had to fly along the road of love; this message (love) does not travel as if on a zephyr.

Whether a man be an Ayâz or a Mahmûd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.

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1 The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. Vide p. 560, note 1.
2 The remaining hemistich is unclear. The Tabaqdt calls him Mîr Huznî, and says he left Persia with the intention to pay his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The Alashkadah (p. 101, of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junâbud, and was a merchant. The Haft Iqîm says he was pupil of Qâsim i Kâbi, (the next poet).
3 Ayâz was a slave of Mahmûd of Ghaznî, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Masnawi entitled Mahmûd o Ayâz.
1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to shew you the way to me.

2. The power of thy beauty became perfectly known to me, when its fire fell on my heart and consumed me unknown to myself.

O Huzni, I sometimes smile at thy simplicity: thou hast become a lover, and yet expectest faithfulness from the beloved.

Don't cast loving eyes at me; for I am a withered feeble plant, which cannot bear the full radiance of the life-consuming sun [of thy beauty].

Alas! when I throw myself on the fire, the obstinate beloved has nothing else to say but "Huzni, what is smoke like?"

I hear, Huzni, that thou art anxious to be freed from love's fetters. Heartless wretch, be off; what dost thou know of the value of such a captivity!

To-day, like every other day, the simple minded Huzni was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4. Qa'сим i Kh'ї.¹

He is known as Miyán Káli. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people

¹ Káhi, 'grassy,' is his takhallus. Badáni (III, 172) says that his verses are crude and the ideas stolen from others; but yet his poems are not without merit. He was well read in the exegesis of the Qurán, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of kalám; he wrote on music, and was clever in táríkh and riddles. He had visited several Shaikhs of renown, among them the great poet Jámi (died 899, A. H.). But he was a free-thinker, and was fond of the company of wandering faqirs, prostitutes, and sodomites. "He also loved dogs, a habit which he may have contracted from Faiz." Káhi wrote a Masnawi, entitled guľ-afshán, a reply, or javáb, to the Bostán, and completed a diwán. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humáyún and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The A'żás-kudah i A'żar (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him 'Mirzá Abul Qásim of Kábul,' and says that he was born in Turkistán and brought up in Kábul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistán. Káhi was well received by Humáyún.

The same work calls him a Guli-stánah Sayyid—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of 'Mirzá,' we should read 'Mir.'

The Haft Iqším has a lengthy note on Káhi. Amin of Rai (p. 512) says that Káhi's name is Sayyid Najmuddin Muhammad, his kunyah being Abul Qásim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jámi, and afterwards Háshimi
in high position. On account of his generous disposition, a few low men had gathered round him, for which reason well meaning people who did not know the circumstances, often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events.

A low minded man must be he who can lift up his hand in prayer to God's throne for terrestrial goods.

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of Khizr.

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow; perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me.

1. When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant.
2. Wherever I go, I throw like the elephant dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.
3. The elephant taming king is Jalâluddîn Muhammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

of Kirmán, who was called Shâh Jahân-gîr. He went over Bhakkar to Hindustân. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pugilist, and would not mind to fight ten or even twenty at a time, and yet be victorious. No one excelled him in running. He followed no creed or doctrine, but did as the Khwâtîjahs do, whose formula is 'koñ dar dam, nazar bar qadam, khalweat dar anjeman, safar dar wetan,' 'Be careful in your speech; look where you set the foot; withdraw from society; travel when you are at home.' He was liberal to a fault, and squandered what he got. For an ode in praise of Akbar, in every verse of which the word  *} is, or elephant, was to occur,—Abulfazl has given three verses of it—Akbar gave him one lac of tankahe, and gave orders that he should get a present of one thousand rupees as often as he should come to court. He did not like this, and never went to court again. He lived long at Banâras, as he was fond of Bahâdur Shâh (No. 22, p. 328). Subsequently, he lived at Agrah, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it מַרְכָּזִי (??). He died on the 2nd Rabi' II, 988. Faizi's târikh (Rûbâ'i metre) gives 2nd Rabi' II, 978, unless we read for דומ Dûm. Maulâna Çâsim of Bukhâra, a pupil of Kâhi, expressed the târikh by the words

'Kâhi मूला मसीम कि Káhi died,' which gives 988. Vide also Iqbalndmah i Jahân-gîr, p. 5; and above p. 209.

Abulfazl calls him Miyân Kâli. Miyânkâl (vide p. 646) is the name of the hills between Samargand and Bukhâra.

'Khizr (p. 556, note 1) is the 'Wandering Jew’ of the East.

A verse often quoted to this day in India.
1. O friend, whose tongue speaks of knowledge divine, and whose heart ever withdraws the veil from the light of truth,
2. Never cherish a thought of which thou oughtest to be ashamed, never utter a word, for which thou wouldst have to ask God's pardon!

5. Ghazâlî of Mashhad.¹

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Čûfis.

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep.*

Beauty leads to fame, and love to wretchedness. Why then do you speak of the cruelties of the sweetheart and the faults of the miserable lover?

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame any one; for this is blameworthy.

1. O Ghazâlî, I shun a friend who pronounces my actions to be good, though they are bad.
2. I like a simple friend, who holds my faults like a looking-glass before my face.

¹ Badâoni (III, 170) says that Ghazâlî fled from Irân to the Dak'hin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khân Zamán (No. 13, p. 319) to Jaunpûr, where he lived for a long time. He afterwards went to court, and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred upon him the title of Mâlikushkhu'ârûd (p. 548, note 3). He accompanied the emperor in the Gujût war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar's orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Ahmadâbâd. Faizi's clever târikh on his death is سنه تهجيد و شكار, 'the year 980.' At his death, he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The Mir-dâl 'A'lam mentions two books written by him, entitled Aâ'dr i Mâktûm and Râshâkat ul hayât, to which the Haft Iqlîm adds a third, the Mir-dâl ul Kádîyat. Badâoni and the Mir-dâl estimate his verses at 40 to 50000; the Haft Iqlîm, at 70000; the Tabaqât Akbarî, at 100000. The A'âsh-kadáh i A'sar (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 40000 verses, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Tâhmasp i Gâfawî. Vide Sprenger's Catalogue, pp. 61, 411, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazâlî's works. Sprenger calls him Ghâzâlî, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the double 2.

Badâoni relates a story that Khân Zamân sent him one thousand rupees to the Dak'hin with a couplet, for which vide Bad. III, 170, where the sar i khud refers to the ا in Ghazâlî's name, because ا stands for 1000.

The Haft Iqlîm mentions another Ghâzâlî.

² This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badâoni (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazâlî's Diwân.
1. In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom, no genealogical tree is required.

2. For such a thing as love is a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous,—he must possess decorum.

1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure." The Cufi says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff."

2. The lover says, "My grief is my old friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

1. If thy heart, whilst in the Ka'bah, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Ka'bah is lowered to a cloister.

2. And if thy heart rests in God, whilst thou art in a tavern, thou mayest drink wine, and yet be blessed in the life to come.

6. 'Urfi' of Shiraz.'

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak

1 The Ma'asir i Bahini (MS., As. Soc., Bengal, p. 537) says that Urfi's name was Khwaja Sayyid Muhammad. The takhallus 'Urfi' has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Darogah to the Magistrate of Shiraz had to look after Shakir and 'Urfi' matters. He went by sea to the Dakhin, where, according to the Haft Iqlim, his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fathpur Sikri, where Hakim Abul Fath of Gilan (No. 112, p. 424) took an interest in him. When the Hakim died, 'Urfi became an attendant on 'Abdurrahim Khan Khannan, and was also introduced at court. He died at Labur, in Shawwal 999, A. H., according to the Haft Iqlim and several MSS. of the Tabaqat, of dysentery (is-khd). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14000 verses, which at the Khan Khannan's order were arranged by Sirajah of Isfahan. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Chahir of Isfahan and buried in holy ground at Najaf (Sarkhush). His early death, in accordance with an idea still current in the East, was ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients; hence also the tarikh of his death—
lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If some one cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy; for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy.

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmin remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn.

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm; my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose.

1. It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low; for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic.
2. Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato; an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst.

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent: their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears.

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble; if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore.

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of 'Urfi for the homeliness of his well known poems.

No one has yet come into the world that can bear the grief of love; for every one has through love lost the colour of his face and turned pale.

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the authority of the Tazkirah Hameshab-Fahár that 'Urfi's name was Khwájah Caidi (urnished), a mistake for Sayyidî. The Atashkâdah also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muhammad. Taqi's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong in the dates.

O 'Urfi, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindús may burn thee.

If thou wishest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush for thyself, as if thou didst not know thee.

'Urfi has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open. He did not knock at another door.

To pine for the arrival of young spring shews narrowness of mind in me; for there are hundreds of pleasures on the heap of rubbish in the backyard, which are not met with in a rose garden.

My heart is sinking as the colour on Zalikhá’s cheek when she saw herself alone; and my grief has become the talk of the market like the suspicion cast on Yusuf.

1. On the day when all shall give an account of their deeds, and when the virtues of both Shaikh and Bráhman shall be scrutinized,
2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,
2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain; be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

1. O 'Urfi, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?
2. Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee; but hast thou taken it with thee?

7. Mailí of Hará’t.

His name was Mírzá Quli. He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

1 The Naṣíis mentions 979, and Taqí 983, as the year in which Mailí came to India (Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The Aṭūshkudah says, he was brought
Since I have become famous through thy love, I shun all whom I see; for I am afraid lest my going to any one might put thee into his thoughts.

I die and feel pity for such as remain alive; for thou art accustomed to commit such cruelties as thou hast done to me.

1. My heart derived so much pleasure from seeing thee, that fate—God forbid, that it should think of revenge.
2. Thou art neither a friend nor a stranger to me; what name is man to give to such a relation?

Thou knowest that love to thee does not pass away with the lives of thy lovers; for thou passest by the tombs of those whom thy love slew, and yet thou behavest coquettishly.

When thou biddest me go, cast one glance upon me; for from carefulness people tie a string round the foot of a bird, even if it were so tame as to eat from the hand.

My last breath is at hand! O enemy, let me have him [the lovely boy] but for a moment, so that with thousands of pangs I may restore him to thee.

1. I promised myself that I would be patient, and did not go to him [the boy]; I had hopes to be content with loneliness.
2. But the woe of separation kills me, and whispers every moment to me, “This is the punishment of him who puts confidence in his patience.”

1. Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything; for every one of them has from a beggar become a Cræsus in wealth.
2. But thou findest such a pleasure in granting the prayers of beggars, that they make requests to thee by way of flattery.

8. Ja'far Beg of Qazwin.

He is a man of profound thought, has learnt a good deal, and describes very well the events of past ages. As accountant he is unrivalled.

up in Mashhad. According to Daghastani, he belonged to the Jalair clan, lived under Tahmasp, and was in the service of Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, after whose death he went to India. The Tabagd i Akbari says that he was in the service of Naurang Khan (pp. 334, 528); and Badcoli adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was inMalwa when he was killed. He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the A'tashkadah says that he was one of his favorite poets.
From his knowledge of human nature he leans to mirth and is fond of jokes. He was so fortunate as to obtain the title of Aṣaf Khan, and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty.

I am jealous of the zephyr, but I gladden my heart with the thought that this is a rose garden, and no one can close the door in the face of the wind.

When the town could not contain the sorrows of my heart, I thought that the open country was created for my heart.

I am prepared for another interview to-night; for I have patched up my torn, torn heart.

It is the fault of my love that he [the lovely boy] is my enemy. What is love worth, if it makes no impression?

I admire the insight of my heart for its familiarity with beauties whose ways are so strange.

He came and made me confused; but he did not remain long enough for me to introduce my heart to consolation.

As I am entirely at fault, do not threaten me with revenge; for the pleasure of taking revenge on thee makes me bid my fault defiance.

1. Dost thou shew me thy face so boldly, Happiness? Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.
2. Ja'far came to-day so broken-hearted to thy house, that the hearts of the stones burnt on seeing his extraordinary condition.

1. Whoever has been in thy company is for a night, is the companion of my sad fate.
2. Ja'far has found the road to the street of the sweetheart so difficult, that he can no more rise to his feet.

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1 His biography was given above on p. 411, No. 98. Vide also Ibhān-nāmah of Jakā'īnī, p. 5; Dabistān, p. 387. His takhallus was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abulfazl's extracts.

The Maanawi by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mirzā Zainul 'Abidin, regarding whom vide above p. 412, and Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 120, where for 1212 read 1021, A. H.
The morning zephyr, I think, wafts to me the scent of a certain sweetheart, because Jacob keeps his closed eye turned towards a caravan.  

A new rose must have opened out in the garden; for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning.


He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humayun, and was also during this reign highly favoured.

1. The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings.

2. Creation’s preface is a sheet of my book, the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen.


A stream from the ocean of thought passes by his house; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united; he is free from the bad qualities of poets.

1. Whenever you speak, watch yourself; repentance follows every word which gladdens no heart.

2. You do not require the swift wing of a bird; but since fortune is so, borrow the foot of the ant and flee.

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1 Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he smelled the scent of Joseph’s coat, which a messenger was bringing from Egypt. When the coat was applied to his eyes, he recovered his sight.

2 Khwajah Husain was a pupil of Maulana Ijamuddin Ibrahim and the renowned Ibn Hajjar of Makkah (Haft Iqlim). Abulfazl’s remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Husain’s Odes on the birth of Jahangir and Prince Murad, given in full by Badsoni (II, pp. 120, 132), for which the Khwajah got two lacs of tankahs. The odes are peculiar, as each hemistich is a chronogram.

* The Madosir i Rahimi says that Mullá Hayáti was born at Rasht in Gilan, and belonged to the admissiddagdn, i.e., common people, of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Hakim Abul Fath i Gilani (No. 112, p. 424) at Court, got a jajir, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khán Khánán in the Dakhan wars and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhanpúr, where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the Mir-át ul Alam, was called Manjat i Mullá Hayáti. He was still alive in 1024, when the Madosir i Rahimi was composed.

The Tabaqat and Badsoni praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the ahi i yárán i dardmandán, i.e., he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Sprenger, (Catalogue, p. 68) translates this, “He was a friend of Dardmand.”
A love sick man is so entangled in his grief, that even the wish of getting rid of it does him harm.

Whatever you see is, in some way or other, a highway robber. I know no man that has not been way-laid.

1. This is the thoroughfare of love, it is no open market; keep your lips closed, no talk is required.
2. I, too, have been among the heathens, but have seen no waist worthy of the sacred thread.
3. Covetous people are, from covetousness, each other's enemies; in friendship alone there are no rivals.

1. Let every thorn which people sow in thy road, bloom in the lustre of thy smiles.
2. Say nothing, and heal the wound of the heart with poisoned arrows.

1. My love makes me delay over everything, even if it were a scent in the house, or a colour in the bazar.
2. Thou knowest what people call me—'mad from shame, and dejected from baseness.'

Since everything which I mended has broken again, my heart has gone altogether from trying to patch it.

1. I suffer thy cruelties and die; perhaps I thus complete my faithfulness.
2. Thou canst not deprive me of the means of union with thee, unless thou shuttest the zephyr in a box.'

This turf and this field have a tinge of madness; insanity and drunkenness have to-day a good omen.

1. Love-grief is followed by an increase of sorrow, the desire to meet him is followed by bloody tears.
2. Neither the one nor the other, however, is the means of attaining love's perfection; be sound in mind, or else, completely mad.

1 Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.
1. I am neither as high as the Pleiades, nor as low as the abyss; I neither cherish the old grief, nor do I possess a new thought.

2. If I am not the wailing nightingale, there is yet this excellence left, I am the moth and am pledged to the flame.

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1. I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate.

2. Perhaps I may go a step back to myself; it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself.

11. Shikebi' of Isphahan.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

Grief, not mirth, is my ware. Why dost thou wish to know its price? I know that thou wilt not buy it, and that I shall not sell it.

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1 The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxi, 11, Thou rebukest man and caused his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, viz. the fire, where the word Khamod seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sā'dī's preface to the Gulistān

عاشقان کشکان معشوقند
برنیارد ز کشکان آرای

'The lovers are killed by the beloved, no voice rises from the killed ones'—is also an allusion to the love of the moth.

2 The Madāsir i Rahimi says that Mullā Shikebi was the son of Zahiruddin 'Abdulah Imāmi of Isfahān. He studied under Amir Taquddīn Muhammad of Shirāz, but left when young his native town for Harāz, and became acquainted with the poets Sanā'ī, Ma'li, and Wāli Dasht Bayāzī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khān Khānān.

The Mirāt ul 'Alam says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dak'hin to Agra, where Mahābat Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Iran; but Jahāngir would not let him go, and appointed him Čadr of Dīhilī. He died there at the age of sixty-seven in 1023, the ādār of his death being صدر دهلی رفت. Another Chronogram gives only 1022. For his Sāqīnāmah, 'Abdurrahim gave him 18000, or, according to the Haft Iqlīm, 10000 Rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Maṣfīr ul-Umarā mentions a Masnawi on the conquest of Thāthāb (A. H. 999-1000), for which Jān Beg and 'Abdurrahim gave him one thousand Ashrafs. I do not know whether this Masnawi is the same as the Masnawi written by Shikebi in the Khusrū Shirīn metre.
On account of the jealousy of the watcher I had resolved to stay away from thy feast. I was deceived by my bad luck and called it jealousy, and stayed away.

O God, bestow upon my wares a market from the unseen world! I would sell my heart for a single interview; vouchsafe a buyer!

Thou art warm with my love; and in order to keep off bad omens, I sit over the fire, and burn myself as wild rue.

I uprooted my heart from my being, but the burden of my heart did not leave my being. I severed my head from my body, but my shoulders did not leave my collar.

1. To-day, when the cup of union with thee is full to the brim, I see.
   2. Thou dost not dwell in my heart and hast girded thy loins with hatred towards me,—ruin upon the house which raises enemies!

1. The plaintive song of my bird [heart] turns the cage to a rosebed; the sigh of the heart in which thou art, turns to a rosebed.
   2. When thy beauty shines forth, covetousness also is love; straw, when going up in flames, turns to a rosebed.

1. Happy are we if we come to thee, through thee; like blind men we search for thee, through thee.
   2. Increase thy cruelties till the tenaciousness of my life takes revenge on me, and thy cold heart on thee.

1. The world is a game, the winning of which is a loss; playing cleverly consists in being satisfied with a low throw.
   2. This earthly life is like a couple of dice—you take them up, in order to throw them down again.

1 Sipand. People even now-a-days put the smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. Vide p. 139, note 1.
12. Ani'at' Sha'mlu'.

His real name is Yo1 Quli. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, viz. that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.

It is possible to travel along this road, even when one lightning only flashes. We blind lovers are looking for the ray of thy lamp.

If I remain restless even after my death, it is no wonder; for toil undergone during the day makes the sleep of the night restless.

1. How can the thought of thy love end with my death? for love is not like wine, which flows from the vessel when it is broken.
2. The lover would not snatch his life from the hand of death, though he could. Why should the owner of the harvest take the grain from the ant?

1. The rosebed of time does not contain a songster like me, and yet it is from the corner of my cage that I have continually to sing.
2. In order satisfactorily to settle my fortune, I spent a life in hard work; but with all my mastership I have not been able to draw silk from reeds.

The nature of love resembles that of the magnet; for love first attracts the shaft, in order to wound the heart when it wishes to get rid of the point.

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2 The Ma'disir i Rahimí says that Yo1 Quli Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Shamiuí Turkmans. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to 'Ali Quli Khán Shámli, the Persian governor of Harát, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebí and Mahwí. He wrote at first under the takhalluç of Jháí; but the Persian prince Sultan Ibráhim Mirzá gave him the name of Aniát, under which he is known in literature. When Harát was conquered by 'Abdullah Khán, king of Turkistán and Máwará-inahr, Aniát was captured by an Uzbek soldier and carried off to Máwará-inahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mirzá 'Abdurrahím Khán-Khánán, who made him his Mír 'Arz, and later his Mír Bakhshí. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhail i Habshi (p. 335). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Burhánpur in 1014. There exists a Masnawi by him in the Khusrav-Shirín metre, also a Diwán, and several Qásidás in praise of the Khán Khánán.

The Calcutta edition of the Maškakadah i Azár (p. 19) calls him wrongly 'Ali Quli Beg, and his Harát patron 'Ali Naqi Khán, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.

* I. e., our garments are always tucked up (Arab. tashmír), as Orientals do when walking quickly. A lover finds no rest.
May God preserve all men from falling into my circumstances! for my sufferings keep the rose from smiling and the nightingale from singing.

Love has disposed of me, but I do not yet know who the buyer is, and what the price is.

Anisi drinks the blood of his heart, and yet the vessel is never empty; it seems as if, at the banquet of love’s grief, the red wine rises from the bottom of the goblet.

1. I am intoxicated with love, do not bring me wine; throw me into the fire, do not bring me water.
2. Whether I complain or utter reproaches, I address him alone, do not answer me.

1. I went away, in order to walk a few steps on the path of destruction, and to tear a few ties that bind me to existence.
2. I will spend a few days without companions, and will pass a few nights without a lamp till morning make its appearance.

1. O heart, beware! O heart, beware! Thus should it be: the hand of asking ought to be within the sleeve.
2. O that I could but once catch a certain object! the hunter is for ever in the ambush.

13. Nazirī of Ništāpur.*

He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man; but he also devises plans for the architecture of the heart.

1 The heart should not ask, but patiently love.
2 Muhammad Husain Nazirī of Ništāpur left his home for Kāshān, where he engaged in poetical contests (mush‘ārah) with several poets, as Fāhmi, Hātim, &c. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mīrzā Abdurrahim Khān-Khānān. In 1012, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmadábād in Gujrat, where he died in 1022. The Ta'rikh (p. 91) says:—"I [Jahāngir] had called Nazirī of Ništāpur to court. He is well-known for his poems and poetical genius, and lives [end of 1019] in Gujrat where he is merchant. He now came and presented me with an encomium in imitation of a Qaṣīlah by Anwārī. I gave him one thousand Rupees, a horse, and a dress of honor." The Madsir-i Rāhimi says
Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me: I either rejoice in my sweetheart, and grieve for him.

If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, thy loss is for once; whilst to me it would be the loss of world and faith.

If thou wilt not put my cage below the rose tree, put it in a place where the meadow hears my plaint.

It is from kindness that he [the beautiful boy] favours me, not from love; I can distinguish between friendship and politeness.

It is a generation that I have been girding my waist in thy service, and what am I worth? I must have become a Brahman, so often have I put on the badge (the thread).

Thy blood is worth nothing, Naziri, be silent! Suffice it that he who slew thee, has no claim against thee.

I am costly and there are no buyers; I am a loss to myself, and am yet the ornament of the bazar.

The impression which my sorrow makes upon him, consists in depriving his heart of all sympathy; and the peculiar consequence of my reminding him of my love is that he forgets it.

that Naziri was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Agra, in 1022 at Ahmadábád, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mir-dá'ul 'A'lam, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Kháib, quoted by Dághistáni—

O Kháib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naziri?
'Urif even does not approach Naziri in genius.

The Táríkh of Nazíri's death lies in the hemistich 'Az dunyá raft Hassán- u'l'ajam, dh !,' 'the Hassán of Persia has gone from this world, alas!'—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Hassán. This gives 1022 A. H.; the other táríkh, given by Dághistáni, markis i ddirah i basm kujá ast, 'where is the centre of the circle of conviviality,' only gives 1021, unless we count the hamzah in dávir as one, which is occasionally done in táríkh. Dághistáni also mentions a poet Sawádi of Gujrat, a pious man, who was in Nazíri's service. On the death of his master, he guarded his tomb, and died in A. H. 1031.
Like a watch-dog I lie at his threshold; but I gnaw the whole night at my collar, and think of chasing him, not of watching him.

1. From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which the Ka'bah swore, into a Firingi church.
2. The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.
3. The ship of love alone is a true resting place; step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters.
4. Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.

14. Darwi'sh Bahra'm.

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayat tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazar of ignominy [love], to see what would come of it.
2. I have wickedly spent a lifetime in the street of the hermits; now I am a profligate, a wine-bibber, a drunkard, to see what will come of it.
3. People have sometimes counted me among the pious, sometimes among the licentious; whatever they call me I am, to see what will come of it.

15. Sairafi' [Sarfi'] of Kasmir.

His name is Shaikh Ya'qub. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn 'Arab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

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1 Bahram's takhallus is Saggd, i.e. water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favored with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias). Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabia or to his function as spring deity).

2 The Bayat tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Azarbáiján, Erivan, Tábán, Fárs, and Nishápúr.

3 Bahram is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwán near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, vide my 'Arabic and Persian Inscriptions,' Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871, Pt. I, pp. 251 to 255.

4 Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, Ya'qub's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad Azam Haji, and died in Syria in 956 or 958. Shaikh Ya'qub also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajor, the great teacher of the Hadis, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem as a learned man.
He stole from my heart all patience, and then took the whole mad heart itself; my thief stole the house with its whole furniture.

The weakness of the body has brought the love-sick man into a strange position: from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabu'hi, the Chaghta'i. 1

He was born in Kâbul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amîr Khusrau, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision, and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following—

When I am far from thee, my tears turn gradually into an ocean. Come and see, enter the ship of my eye and make a trip on the ocean. 2

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents. 3

1. I have no need to explain him my condition; for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind.

2. Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow. Who shall now inform him of my wretched state?

and a poet. He was liked by Humâyûn and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badâoni. His death took place on the 12th Zi Qâ'dah, 1003, and Badâoni found as târikh the words Shaikh i umât bûd, 'he was the Shaikh of nations.' A complete Khamsah, a treatise on the Mu'âmmâ, or riddle, and numerous Câthic Rubâis with a commentary, are said to have been written by him. A short time before his death, he had nearly finished a large commentary to the Qurân, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. Vide above, pp. 182, 546.

His takhallus is variously given as qairafi and çarî. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badâoni (IV, 148). Both words occur as takhallus; thus there was a Qâzi Çairafi, encomiast of Firûz Shâh. Vide also poet No. 21.

1 Çabûhi means 'a man that drinks wine in the morning.' The real name of the poet is not given in the Tazkirahs to which I have access. Badâoni says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the Mirât ul 'Alâm calls him a rind (profligate). He died at A'ghar in 973, and Faizi found as târikh the words 'Sabuhî, the wine-bibber.' Dâghistânî says, he was from Samarqand, and the Atashkâdah calls him 'Badakhshânî,' but says that he is known as Harawi, or from Harât.

2 The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Badâoni, III, 180, under 'Atashi.'

3 If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from A'qâf, Jâmi'i's pupil, who has a verse—

"ول كه طومار وفنا برده من مصرون را
پاگردند ندامتغه پان مصمون را"
I went to his street, and whilst I was there, a thorn entered deep into the foot of my heart. Thanks be to God that I have now a reason for staying in it!

1. Hindústán is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar-sellers.
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the chírah and the takauchiah.

His name is Muhammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Nizám ul-mulk of Tús.

Men without feeling tell me to use my hand and catch hold of his garment. If I had a hand [i.e. if I had the opportunity], I would tear my collar to pieces.

There are many reasons why I should be dead, and yet I am alive. O grief! thy forbearance has made me quite ashamed of myself.

This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Háfiz sent from Shiráz to Sul táán Ghiás of Bengal (Metro Muzári)

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets,
When this Persian sugar (the poem) reaches Bengal.

Abulfazl has meddled with Mushfiqí's verse; for the Haft Iqání gives instead of nekúdán i diýår the words hindúdán i stydh; hence the verse is 'India's flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (chírah) and a takauchiah.' This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies.

**Badbóní** (III, 329) says that he was originally from Marw, and came twice to India. For his Qapídáhs some called him 'the Salmán of the age'; and Dághistání says that under 'Abdúllah Khán he was Malik uchšu'árá. According to the Haft Iqání, he was born and died at Buhárá. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Diván was collected in 983. From the Akbárnámah (Lücknow Edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfiqí was presented to Akbar at Pák Pátan in the end of 985. He died in 994 (Vambrés's Bokhara, p. 301).

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The takauchiah was described above on p. 88; the big head of a fly looks like a turban, and its straight wings like the straight Indian coat (chapkán). It may be that Abulfazl substituted the words nekúdán i diýår, the 'dear ones of the country,' with a satirical reference to the "learned," whom he always calls عابد بیورش 'turban-wearing empty-headed,' in which case we would have to translate the similetons of the country.

The verse is better given by Badbóní (III, 329).

Badbóní calls him 'Harawi' (from Harát), and says that he was employed at court as a Munshí. He was a good penman. After his return to his country, he died. The Atashkadah says that he was a descendant of Khwájá 'Abdúllah Marwáíd Kirmání, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

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Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 50) calls him wrongly Muhammad Mir Beg. The Atashkadah and the MSS. have Muhammad Mirak; and thus also his name occurs in the Madair i Rahimi.
I told him [the beautiful boy] my grief, he paid no heed. Oh, did you ever see such misery! I wept, he laughed—Oh, did you ever see such contempt!

My life is in his hand. It is quite clear, Câlih, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mâzhârî' of Kashmirî.

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irâq. From living together with good people, he acquired excellent habits.

1. I cannot understand the secret of Salmâ's beauty; for the more you behold it, the greater becomes your desire.
2. What friendly look lay in Laillî's eyes, that Majnûn shut his eyes to friends and strangers?

I admire the looking-glass which reflects my sweetheart standing on a flower-bed, although he is inside his house.

The good fortune of thy beauty has caused thy affairs to prosper; else thou wouldst not have known how to manage matters successfully.

1. Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart. Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore.
2. Though I break through a hundred screens, I cannot step out of myself; I wander over a hundred stages, and am still at the old place.

I am a tulip of Sinai, and not like the stem-born flower. I cast flames over the slit of my collar instead of hemming it.

He of whom my eye makes light, appears to heaven dull and heavy.

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1 Dâghistânî says that in 'Irâq he was in company with Muhtashîm and Wahshi. After his return to India, Mâzhârî was employed by Akbar as Mîr Bahrî of Kashmir, which employment he held in 1004 (Badîrînî). He had turned Shî'î, and as his father was a Sunnî, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mâzhârî died in 1018. All Tâzkirâhîs praise his poems.

2 The eyes of the beautiful boy are crocus-like or almond-shaped; the chin is like an apple; the black hair, like sumbuls—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden.

* The hot tears of the poet fall like flames on his collar; hence he is surrounded by flames like a flower on Mount Sinai; for Mount Sinai is surrounded by God's glory.

His name is Mughis. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.

1. Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart.
2. Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so.

1. You said that my condition was low from love-grief. A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant.
2. Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

1. O Mahwi, beckon to a friend, and ring the bell of the carawan.
2. The stage is yet far and the night is near. O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

1. A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings.
2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

1. O Mahwi, do not sing a song of the passion of thy heart, do not knock at the door of a single house in the street.
2. Thou hast seen this strange world, beware of speaking of a friend.

Mir Mughis, according to the Madsir i Rahimf, was born in Asadabad (Hamadan), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabil, where he studied for four years at the "Astanah i Cafawiah." From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbala, and Harat. Maulana Shikebi and Anasf (pp. 576, 578) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (mush'araf) with Maulana Sahabib. He embarked at Bandar Jardin for India, and was patronized by the Khan Khawan. After receiving from him much money, he went back to Iraq, where the author of the Madsir saw him at Kasha. He visited Najaf and Karbalah, and returned to Hamadan, where he died in 1016. He lies buried in the Magbarah of the Sayyids at Asadabad. The author of the Madsir edited Mahwi's Rubics during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Mahwi is best known as a Rubat writer: Abulazzi's extracts also are all Rubics.

The Atashkadah says that he is often called Nishapouri, because he was long in that town.

The Mir-ad mentions a Mahwi whose name was Mir Mahmoud, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akbar's Munshi.
21. Sarfi' of Se'wah.¹

He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.

My dealer in roses wishes to take his roses to the bazar, but he ought first to learn to bear the noisy crowd of the buyers.

I am shut out from the road that leads to the Ka'bah, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias.²

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself.

That which I desire is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qara'ri' of Gil'ân.³

His name is Nūrūdīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him: he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abulfath, as the personification of the world, and the

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¹ The MSS. of the Ḍin call him 'Cairafi', but the metre of several verses given in the Madīrī Ṭalāḥīmī shows that his takhallūq is 'Ṣarfi.'

According to the Atashkadah, his name is Salāhuddīn, and he was a relation of Salmān of Sāwāh. He was a pupil of Muḥtashim of Kāshān. The author of Haft Iqān says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing tārīkhī. He lived in the Dakhin, and went to Lāhor, to present Akbar with a Qāgilī; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The Madīrī Ṭalāḥīmī states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadābād, made Faizi's acquaintance in the Dakhin, and went with the Khān i A'zām (p. 327) to Makkah. According to Badā'ūnī, he came with the Historian Nizāmuddīn Ahmad from Gujrat to Lāhor, and accompanied Faizi to the Dakhin, where he died. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name 'Ṣalāhuddīn': but the Atashkadah (the only work in which I have found his full name) has Salāhuddīn.

² The road of love (the ideal Ka'bah) is as difficult as the road to the Ka'bah in Makkah. Muhammadans do not lie down with their feet towards Makkah, which is against the law; hence the poet says that he is prevented from stepping forward on the road of love.

³ Nūrūdīn Muhammad came in 983 with his brothers Abul Fath (p. 424) and Humām (p. 474) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Nūrūdīn was awkward, and had no idea how to handle a sword. Once, at a muster, he came without arms, and when some young fellows quizzed him about it, he said that military duties did not suit people of his class (literary men); it had been Timur's custom to place camels, cattle, and the baggage between the ranks, and the women behind the army, and when Timur had been asked where the learned were to go, he had said, "In the rear of the women." (This resembles the
doctor Humámi as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

The longer the grief of separation lasts, the gladder I am; for like a stranger I can again and again make his acquaintance.

I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thy eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years.

He [the beautiful boy] must have been last night away from home; for I looked at his door and the walls of his house, but had no pleasure from looking.

If in that hour, when I tear the hood of my life, I should get hold, what God forbid, of Thy collar, I would tear it to pieces.

I envy the fate of those who, on the last day, enter hell; for they sit patiently within the fire.¹

My madness and ecstasy do not arise from nightly wine; the burning of divine love is to be found in no house.

1. O heart! when I am in love, do not vex me with the jealousy of the watchman; thou hast made me lose my faith [Islám], do not speak ill of my Brahmanical thread.²

2. To be far from the bliss of non-existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence. O Lord! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non-existence.

¹ Humámi longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (fálib-ulákhirat), whilst he himself was a 'true lover' (fálib ulmauld, one who feels after God).

² The Atashkadah adds that Núrúddín had been in Gilán in the service of Khán Ahmad Khán, and that he went, after the overthrow of Gilán, to Qazwin.

¹ Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.

² Love has made the poet a heathen.
1. If the love of my heart should meet with a buyer, I would do something openly.

2. I have spread the carpet of abstinence in such a manner that every thread of the texture ends in a thousand Brahmanical threads.

1. The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me; like my sweet-heart, I have become an enemy to myself.

2. I have killed myself and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders.¹

23. 'Ita'bi' of Najaf.²

He possesses harmony of thought; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!

2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islam, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulman.

3. I had come from the land of faithfulness: what wonder, if I vanish from the dear memory of the [faithless] fair?

1. I have consumed my sober heart on the rubbish-heap of passion; I have burnt the Ka'bah's candle at the idol temple's gate.

¹ Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.

² Sayyid Muhammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dak'hin, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindustán, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahabad. He looked bold and slovenly (bebāk u nāhamwd). When asked whether he had in the Dak'hin made satires on Shāh Fathullah (p. 540), he said, "In the Dak'hin I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fathullah, was annoyed, imprisoned 'Itābi, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and 'Itābi was sent for ten years (or according to the Tabaqāt, for two years) to Fort Gwāliā. At the request of Prince Salim and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Lāhor. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1000 rupees, and ordered Qulij Khán (p. 354) to send him from Sūrat to Hijāz; but 'Itābi escaped, went to the Dak'hin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever kātib and letter-writer. Baddāmī III, 276.

The Atashkādah says that he came from Gulpāigān (or جریان). Diāghistānī calls him 'Mūr 'Itābi.' 'Itābi' means 'worthy of reproach;' compare ruwwdā.
2. The flower-bed of a certain beloved has not wafted to me the
fragrance of fulfilled desires, and hopelessly do I consume myself in my
dismal corner.

3. No one has ever said the word 'friend' to me, not even by mistake,
though I consume myself before acquaintances and strangers.¹

1. O heart, what portion of his wine-coloured lip dost thou keep in
thy flagon, that thy inside is full of sighs and thy neck full of sobs.²

2. Love has thrown me into oceans of bloody tears; go, go away,
that for once thou mayest reach the banks of the stream.

I have given thee permission to shed my blood without retaliation. I
have said so, and give it thee black on white, and stamped with my seal.

Sometimes I am drowned in floods, sometimes burning in flames.
Let no one build a house in my street!

In the name of God, let us go, if you belong to my travelling compa-
nions. This caravan³ has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word 'faithfulness' produces tears, the messenger
and the letter he brings⁴ produce each separately tears.

1. Is the killing of a man like me worth a single sign of anger and
hatred? Is shedding my blood worth the bending of thy arm [pr. thy
sleeve]?²

2. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth thy while to
illtreat thy lovers?

¹ The Tabaqát ascribes this verse to a
post called Ruknuddin, whose takhalluf
is not given in my MS.
² In allusion to the gurgling noise in
the neck of the bottle.
³ The caravan of love.
⁴ The messenger, because he comes
from the beloved boy, and the letter, be-
cause it declines the request of a rendez-
vous.
24. Mulla' Muhammad Sufi', of Mazandaran.\(^1\)

He is in affluent circumstances, but from virtuous motives he mixes little with the world. He seeks retirement by travelling about.

Look upon me, when standing below the revolving roof of the heavens, as a lamp concealed under a cover.

1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.
2. If it be possible, pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muhammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand," said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet."

25. Judi'yi.\(^2\)

His name is Sayyid 'Ali, and he is the son of Mir Manzur. He was born and educated in Tabriz, and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting.

The beauty of idols is the Ka'bah to which I travel; love is the desert, and the obstinacy of the worthless watchers the acacia thorns.

I am a prey half-killed and stretched on the ground, far from the street of my beloved. I stagger along, tumbling down and rising up again, till I come near enough to catch a glimpse of him.

In the morning, the thorn boasts of having been together with the rose, and drives a nail through the broken heart of the nightingale.

\[^1\] According to the Mir-át ul 'Alam, Mullá Muhammad was called 'Çufi' from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed 'Çufi-çahib,' so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of 'a simpleton.' Mullá Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ahmadábâd, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalál i Bukhári. The Mir-át and the Haft Iqlim praise his verses, and the former quotes from a Sâqi-nâmah of his.

\[^2\] Judi had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of 'Nádir ul Mulk,' and had already served under Humáyûn. He left a Diwán; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashki's Diwán (vide below, the 37th poet).

\[^3\] The Atashkâdah wrongly puts him under Iqshâbân, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mullá Jâmi—which is impossible.
Wuqu'ūt of Nishápūr.

His name is Sharif.

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view. Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life.

1. I do not care for health. O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!
2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

Khusrawi' of Qánīn.

He is a relation of [the poet] Mirzá Qasim of Guánábád, [or Junábád, or Junábīd, in Khurásán]. He writes Shikastah well, and is a good hand at shooting with the bow and the matchlock.

If the dust of my body were mixed with that of others, you would recognize my ashes by their odour of love.

Thy coming has shed a lustre on the ground, and its dust atoms serve as surmaḥ for my eyes.

1 Muhammad Sharif Wuqu'ūt belonged, according to the Madāhir i Rakhmī, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishápūr. His mother was the sister of Amir Shāhmir, who had been for a long time assay-master under Sháh Tahmásp. He died in 1002.

Badānī (III, p. 379) says that Sharif was a relation of Shiháb Khán (p. 332). "His name was Muhammad Sharif. Alas, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharīfī Amuli, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharif i Sarmād, mentioned below No. 63,—two archheretics in the eyes of Badānī]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Basakhwání (p. 452, note 2), nor to the Cabáshā, he holds an intermediate place between these accursed and damned sects; for he strenuously fights for the doctrine of the trans-migration of souls (tandekh). One day, he came to me at Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmir. Seeing large blocks of rocks of several thousand mans lying about near my house, he exclaimed with a sigh, "All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form." Notwithstanding his wicked belief, he composed poems in praise of the Imaams; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent kātib and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in 1002 A. H.

2 Health is the equivalent of 'indifference to love.'

Qánīn lies between Yazd and Harát. Dāghistání calls him Sayyid Amir Khusrawi, and says that he excelled in music. According to Badānī, his mother was Mirzá Qasim's sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salim (Jahānghir).
The lions of the Haram should not stain their paws with my blood.
O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery; for the word 'rest' is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaikh Raha'î.¹

He traces his descent from Zainuddin Khâfî. He pretended to be a Ghûfî.

No one has, in thy love, been more brought up to sorrow than I; and that thou knowest not my sorrow is a new sorrow.

I took to travelling in order to allay my grief, not knowing that my road would pass over hundred mountains of grief.

29. Wafa'i' of Iqshâhân.²

He possesses sparks of taste. He had been for some time wandering in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.³

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yûsuf. Let a man buy what he does not require!

Knock at night at the door of the heart; for when it dawns, the doors are opened, and the door of the heart is closed.

¹ His name is Maulâna Sa'duddin, of Khâfî, or Khawâfî (p. 445). The Atâshkadeh quotes the same verse as Abûlâzîl. Bâdîînî says, he left a well-known diwan. In Dâghistânî, two Rahâis are mentioned, one Maulâna Rahâî, "known in literary circles;" and another Rahâî from Ardistan. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him Râhâî; and says that, according to the Naftâs, he died in 980. Zainuddin Khâfî, from whom Rahâî traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawwâl, 838, A. H. He was first buried at Mâlin (or Bâlin), then at Darwishâbâb, then at Harât. His biography is given in Jâmî's Naftât ul Unî, and he is not to be confused with the saint Zainuddin Tâibâdî, mentioned above on p. 366, note 2.

² Bâdîînî says (III, p. 385), that Wafa'i was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lâhor, and entered the service of Zain Khân (p. 344). According to the Atâshkadeh, he belonged to the 'Imâd-iyah Kurds, and was brought up at Iqshâhân; his Rubâis are good. Dâghistânî calls him a Turk, and states that Wafa'i at first was an utlûkaâk (a man who irons clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called Wafa'i kor, 'the blind Wafa.'

³ "His impudent flattery was proverbial." Dâghistânî.

² As, for example, love grief.
I am secure from the dangers of life: no one deprives the street-beggar of his bareness.

1. The dart of fate comes from the other side of the armour; why should I uselessly put on an armour?
2. Flash of death, strike first at me! I am no grain that brings an ear to the harvest.

Joy and youth are like the fragrance of the rose that chooses the zephyr as a companion.

30. Shaikh Sa’qi.
He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazáir. He has acquired some knowledge.

1. I became a cloak to ruin, Saqi, and like the Ka’bah, a place of belief and heresy.
2. I have found no trace of love, much as I have travelled among the hearts of the infidels and the faithful.

My heart is still ardent with love, and thou art still indifferent. O sweetheart, speak, before I openly express myself.

31. Raff’i’ of Káshán.
His name is Haidar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica*, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and *táríkh*.

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1. *I. e., a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from that side.
2. Badáoni also calls him *Jazáirí, i. e.* from the islands. His father, Shaikh Ibráhím, was a distinguished lawyer, and was looked upon by the Shí’áhs as a Mujtahid. He lived in Mashhad, where Sáqi was born. Sáqi received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dakhín to Hindustán, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.
3. His full name, according to Taqi i Auhadi, is Amir Rafí’uddin Haidar. He was a Tabátabá, Sayyid of Káshán. The *Másdiir i Káshání* states that he left Persia in 999, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrát in company with Khwájáh Habibullah to Láhor, and was well received by Akbar. For the *táríkh*, mentioned above on p. 649, note 3, Faízí gave him 10,000 Rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mukrán coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lakhs of Rupees, but also (as Badáoni spitefully remarks) the copies of Faízí’s poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) says that Haidar was drowned; but the fact is, that he was saved, and returned to India. His losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar’s wish, valuable presents from the Amirs. From the Kákhán alone, he got, at various times, about a lakh. After some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar
My heart is sensitive, you cruel one; what remedy is there for me? Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do?

1. A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant; I am plunged into crime [love], and think that thou art forgiving.

2. He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving; choose whatever name pleases thee most.

32. Ghairati' of Shiráz.

His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past.

I am smitten by the eyelash of my murderer, who has shed my blood without letting a drop fall to the ground.

The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.

I am free from worldliness; for my aspirations do no longer lean against the wall of confidence.

I am smitten by the fearless glance of a Christian youth, for whose sake God will pardon, on the day of resurrection, the slaughter of a hundred Musalmáns.

Even death mourns for those who are killed by the grief of separation from thee.

The street of the sweet boy is a beautiful land; for there even heaven's envy is changed to love.

years. He went to Makkah and Madrínah, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned to Káshán, found favor with Sháh 'Abbás, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the Atashkadhah, he died in 1042 A. H., the tárikh of his death being the Arabic words, 'wá kána zatíka ji samak.' His son, Mir Háshim i Sanjar is mentioned on the next page; and Táhir i Nağrábádí mentions in his Tazkirah another son of the name of Mir Ma'cún, a friend of Mullá Aújí. MSS. often give his name wrongly as Rafíq.
I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.\(^1\)

### 33. Halati of Turán.

His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man.

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Leave me to my grief! I find rest in my grief for him. I die, if the thought of the possibility of a cure enters my heart.

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When my eye caught a glimpse of him, my lips quivered and closed. Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

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To whatever side I turn in the night of separation, my heart feels pierced by the thought of the arrow of his eyelash.

### 34. Sanjar of Kāshān.

He is the son of Mir Haidar, the riddle-writer. He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances.

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\(^1\) No boy is lovelier than the beloved of the poet. If the poet, therefore, sees another man love-sick, he gets jealous: his beloved boy must have bestowed favours on the other man.

\(^2\) Badāoni says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of Wālīlī. Yādgār traced his descent from Sultan Sanjar; but the Təbaqat calls him a Chaqhtāi. He served in Akbar's army.

"His son, Jalāl Khān, had the takhallus of Bāqāl, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself Raśdī, 'the blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault," and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lāhor, where he was executed by the Kotwāl.


He is not to be confounded with Mir Hālati of Gilān.

\(^3\) Sanjar came in 1000 A. H. from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 593). For some crime, "to mention which is not proper," Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Ahmādābād; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibrāhīm Adīl Shāh of Bijāpūr. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Shāh 'Abbās of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bijāpūr, in 1021 A. H. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. Mādsīr ibn Rahmī.
I came from the monastery of the Guebres, and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a wailing gong under my arm."

I am jealous, and I shall die from the aggressions of fickle lovers. I am a fresh plant, but shall die from the heap of rubbish about me.

I, too, have at last perished in the century of thy love. Alas! none is now left of Majnûn's tribe.

Sorrows rush from every side on my heart without first knocking at the door. I cannot help it: my house lies on the highway.

35. Jazbi.*

His name is Pâdisháh Quli, and he is the son of Sháh Quli Khán Nâranjí of Kurdístán, near Baghúd.

See how extremely jealous I am. My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes my bewilderment.

1. Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes the wine-bottle; once, twice, incessantly, I break my plaintive flute [my heart].

2. O Lord, deliver my heart from these bad practices! How often shall I repent and again break my vow of repentance!

36. Tashbîhi' of Káshán.*

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Mahmúdís; but I know nothing of his origin, nor of his present condi-

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1 I. e., love has made the poet forget his faith, and he has become a heathen or a Christian. The Christians in many eastern countries used gongs, because they were not allowed bells.

2 The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnûn.

3 The Tazkirahs give no details regarding Jazbi. His father has been mentioned above on p. 430; and from the Akbarnámah (III, p. 512) we know that Pâdisháh Quli served in Kashmir under Qásim Khán (p. 380). ‘Jazbi’ means ‘attractive’; a similar takhallús is ‘Majzûb,’ ‘one who is attracted by God’s love.’

Badáóní (III, 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abú lází to Pâdisháh Quli’s father.

4 The Atashkádah calls him ‘Mfr ‘Alí Akbar Tashbîhi. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindústán he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Faqîr, and did not visit kings.” Dághistání says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindústán a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Badáóní (III, 204) has the following notice of him. “He came twice or three times to Hindústán,
Dust of the grave-yard, rise for once to joy! Thou enclosest a corpse like mine, slain by his hand and his dagger.

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt: I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth.

Pass some day by the bazar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.¹

and returned home. Just now (A. H. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresies, advising them to follow the fate of the Basâkıwânis (vide above, p. 453). He told Shaikh Abulfazl that he was a Mujtahid, or infallible authority on religious matters, and asked him to introduce him to the emperor, to whose praise he had composed an ode, the end point of which was the question why the emperor did not direct his policy to the overthrow of the so-called orthodox, in order that truth might assume its central position, and pure monothelism might remain. He also wrote a pamphlet in honor of Abulfazl, according to the manner of the Nuqţawi sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation, (tâzřiq) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Hakim 'Ain ul Mulâk (vide above p. 480) discovered that 'Tashbihi' has the same numerical value [727] as 'Tâzřiq', 'the hypocrite.' Tashbihi has composed a Diwán. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abulfazl’s presence, a pamphlet on Mahmûd of Basâkıwân, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows—'O God! who art praiseworthy (Mahmûd) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee. There is no other God but Allah. Praise be to God, whose mercies are visible in all his works, who has shown the existence of all his works...... [the text is unintelligible]. He knows Himself; but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. Question,—What is meant by 'nature?' Answer,—what people call creation or nature, is God, &c., &c. Dirt upon his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of all this lying is, of course 'the four nuqtahs.' At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following—'This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mujtahid M, f, r, 'A, l, i, A, k, b, a, r, T, a, sh, ʃ, i, h, i, the Amini, the last, the representative.' And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelief!'

¹ The Atom and the Sun is a mystical subject. The atoms of dust dance in the sunray and love it, and are emblematical of man’s love to God. But as Akbar worshipped the sun, the poem, no doubt, referred to the peculiar views of the emperor.
O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihī a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.

1. I am that Tashbihī who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a grave-yard.

2. I like to dwell in a grave-yard, because dwelling in a grave-yard lies before our sight.

The hands of this world and of the world to come are empty. With me is the ring!—all other hands are empty.

37. Ashki' of Qum.

He is a Ṭabāṭībā Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.

Those who are slain by thee lie everywhere inebriated on the ground: perhaps the water of thy steel was wine.

My body melts in the fire of my madness, when he [the lovely boy] is away; and if you should hang an iron chain to my neck, it would flow (molten) to my feet.

Whenever I have to bear the pang of separation from my beloved, no one bears with me but death.

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1 The sun looks round like a loaf; the warm oven is the heat of the day.
2 In allusion to a game, in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another, and another party has to find where the ring is. 'The ring is with Tashbihī', i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.
3 We know from the Haft Iqlīm that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Muhtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki's elder brother Mir Huzirī also is known as a poet. Ghazālī's fame and success (vide p. 568) attracted Ashki to India, but he did not meet Ghazālī. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Diwāns to Mir Judāi (vide p. 580) to arrange. Mir Judāi, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Ţariqī of Sawāh alludes to this in the following epigram—

 Thou hast killed poor Ashki,
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.
With thee four Diwāns of his remained,
And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dāghistānī says that Ashki died in Mir Judāi's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iqlīm is preferable.

Bādānī says that Ashki's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (ta-tabbū') the poet Āṣafī. He died at Agra.
Aehki, I think, my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.¹

38. Asiri' of Rai.²

His name is Amír Qázi. He is a man of education.

The messenger was a watcher in disguise, and I did not see his cunning. The cruel wretch succeeded in putting his contrivance between us.

I have pardoned my murderer, because he did not take his hand away from me; for as long as life was left within me, his murderous hands were properly employed.

His love has so completely filled my breast, that you can hear him breathe in my breath.

39. Fahmi' of Rai [Táhrán].³

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes; do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern.

I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation. Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient.

40. Qaidi' of Shiráz.⁴

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.

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¹ So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Aehki, when he declares his love.
² Asiri was, according to Badáoni, an educated man, and the best pupil of Hakim ul-Mulk (p. 542). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find much favor with the emperor. He, therefore, returned to Rai, his home, where he died (i.e., before 1004, A. H.).
³ Badáoni gives three poets of the name of Fahmi—1, Fahmi of Táhrán, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2, Fahmi of Samaqand, son of Nádiri, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3, Fahmi of Astrábd, who died at Dihli. The Madsir i Rahimí mentions a Fahmi of Hurmuz (Ormuz), well known in Lár and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khán Khanán, got a present, and returned. Dághistání mentions a fifth Fahmi from Káshán, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars. As the Tabaqát and Dághistání ascribe the same verse to Fahmi i Táhrání, which Abulfazl gives to Fahmi of Rai, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abulfazl had made a mistake in calling him ‘of Rai,’ because no Táhirih follows him.
⁴ Qaidi came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injust-
As thou hast never gone from my heart, I wonder how thou couldst have found a place in the hearts of all others.

1. Thou drovest me away, and I came back, not from jealousy, but because I wish to confess that I feel ashamed of my love having had jealousy as a companion.

2. My tears derive a lustre from the laughter of cruel wretches; else a wound inflicted by thee could never produce such bloody tears.

A lover may have many reasons to complain; but it is better not to unburden the heart before the day of judgment.

If I desire to accuse thee of shedding, in every look, hundred torrents of lover's blood, my lot, though hostile enough, would be ready to be my witness.

I am gone, my reason is gone! I want a flash of madness to strike my soul, so as to keep it burning [with love] till the day of judgment.

1. Last night union [with the sweet boy] raised her lovely form before me, and the gloomy desert of my heart shone forth in raptures.

2. But the bat had no power to gaze at the sun; else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen.

41. Pairawi of Sawah.  
His name is Amir Beg. He was a good painter.

Where is the wine of love given to wretches without feeling? Loving idols is a drunkenness; let men be careful whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal; forgive me if I worship form.
His mind is somewhat unsettled.

If I knew that tears could make an impression, I would altogether turn to blood and trickle from the eye.

Whether I see him [the beautiful boy] or not, my heart is in raptures. Have you ever seen such a sight?

I wished I could like a breeze pass away from this base world. This is not the street of the sweetheart, from which one cannot pass away.

My blood dances from mirth in my vein like a flame: the look he gave me commences to work, and my heart is effectually wounded.

Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?
2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.
2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yúsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazar.

Patience, in order to console me, has again put me off with new subterfuges, and has stitched up the book of my happiness the wrong way.

1. My heart has overcome the grief of separation, and has gone from this land; it has tucked the hem up to the waist and has gone.
2. My heart saw among the companions no trace of faithfulness; hence it smiled hundred times by way of friendship and went away.

44. Sayyid Muhammad [Fikri].
He is a cloth-weaver from Harát. He generally composes Rubá'ís.

1. On the day when the lover kindled the fire of love, he learnt from his beloved what burning grief is.
2. This burning and melting has its origin in the beloved; for the moth does not burn till it reaches the candle.

1. On the day of judgment, when nothing remains of the world but the tale, the first sign of Eternity's spring will appear:
2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.

45. Qudsi' of Karbalá, Mir Husain.
I am utterly ashamed of the dogs of thy street; for they have made friendship with a man like me.

I am in misery; and you would know the sadness of my lot, if you were in stead of me to suffer for one night the grief of being separated from him [the beautiful boy].

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1 Yúsuf means here 'life'; pit, 'non-existence'; bazar, 'existence.'
2 Sayyid Muhammad's poetical name is Fikri, the 'pensive.' He came, according to the Haft Iqlim, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubá'ís induced people to call him the 'Khayyám of the age,' or 'Mir Rubá'. He died on his way to Jaunpúr, in 973, the tárikh of his death being Mir Rubá' safar namá.
3 This verse reminds me of a verse by Kálim, I think, (metre Rajás)—

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Each man, on the day of resurrection, will seize a book (the book of deeds). I, too, shall be present, with my sweet-heart's picture under my arm.

4 Dághistáni says that Mir Husain's father left Karbalá for Sabzwár. Qudsi was a great friend of Muhammad Kháán, governor of Harát. Badsoní (III, 376) says that Mir Muhammad Sharíf Nawáí, Qudsi's brother, also came to India, and "died a short time ago," i.e. before 1004, A. H.
Who am I that thou shouldest be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46. Haidari', of Tabriz.

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Shew no one my black book of sorrow; let no one know my crimes [love].

O Haidari, try, like the virtuous, to attain some perfection in this world of sorrow; for to leave this world deficient in anything, is like leaving the bath in a dirty state.

Haidari was three times in India. The first time he came, he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qasim Khán of Nishápür (vide above, p. 363). His company, says the Haft Iqlim, was more agreeable than his poems. The Masnavi which he wrote in imitation of Sa'dy's Bastán, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said—

On his second return to India, he found a patron in the Khán i A'zam (p. 325), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khán Atgâh (p. 321) introduced him at court. For an ode on the elephant, Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India, he attached himself to the Khán Khánan, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrat (p. 335), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkich. He returned to Káshán, the governor of which town, Aghá Khizr Nahâwandî (brother of the author of the Madsir i Rahimi) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rûm, he settled in 'Iraq, at a place called in the MSS. خابز, which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Iraq or Khurasán. About that time Shâh 'Abbâs came to the place to hunt pheasants (kâbî). It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a darwish, who, notwithstanding that the king had gone personally to his house, refused to open the door. "The foaming ocean of the king's wrath rose in high waves," and he ordered a general massacre of the people of the place, which was happily prevented through Haidari's influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from اراکت; and the king, out of love for the animal, had a large house built on the top of the hill, which has now become a place of resort for the surrounding country. But as the hill is inaccessible for beasts of burden, the building must have cost a great deal of money and labour. Haidari died there, beloved by all, in A. H. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled Lisdh-ul-ghaib in praise of his teacher, the poet Lisâni, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled Sâkh-ul-Lisdh, 'the Slip of the Tongue,' which was written by his base pupil Mir Sharîf i Tabrizi. The Madsir i Rahimi gives a few passages from the book.

Daghistaní says that the poet Darwîsh Haidar of Yazd, mentioned in Tazkiras, is very likely the same as Maulâna Haidari of Tabriz, who is sometimes called 'Yazdî' from his friendship with Wahshî of Yazd.

Sâmîrí, Haidari's son, came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khán Khánan Mir Sâmîn of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dakhîn war, when with Shâhnawâz Khán, the son of his patron.
47. *Sumri*.  
He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous, and my shame [love] has rendered me well-known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears.

48. *Farebi*, of *Rai* (?).  
His name is *Shápur*. He is a good man, but is in bad circumstances. If he is diligent, he may become a good poet.

1. I go and heat my brain with the love of a certain sweetheart; I sit in the midst of the flame, and breathe a hot sigh.
2. It is not my intention to be in ardours for myself, *Shápur*; my object is to bring a certain sweetheart before the world.

I am the thorny shrub without leaves in the desert; no bird takes shelter with me from fear of accidents.

1. If the martyr of thy love-grief is to have a tomb, let it be the gullets of crows and kites, or the stomachs of wild animals.
2. Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love], I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean.

49. *Fusúni*, of *Shíráz*.  
His name is *Mahmúd Beg*. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

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1 The second verse shews that the *takhaltuq* of the poet is *Shápur*. *Farebi* is scarcely known. With the exception of Dághistáni's work, which merely mentions that *Farebi* lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Tazkírahs. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 52) mentions a *Farebi* of Bukhárá; but as he is said to have died in 944 A. H., he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the *A'in* have *Rai*, *Rahi*, and *Dhi*, or leave out the word, as Dághistáni has done. 'Rázi' is the usual form of the adjective derived from 'Rai,' the well-known town in Khurásán.

2 Abulfázi says that *Fusúni* was from *Shíráz*; Badání and *Táqi* call him *Yazdí*; and Dághistáni and the Ātashkudah say that he came from Tabríz. Badání says that *Fusúni* came over Tattah and entered the service of the emperor, and Dághistáni adds that he also served under Jahángir and Sháhjahán as *Mustaufi*. The Mir-át ul 'Ālam mentions a *Fusúni*, who was an Amir under Jahángir and had the title of Úfzál Khán.
When the eye has once learned to see [to love], it loses its peaceful sleep; when the heart has once learned to throb, it loses its rest.

The passion which I feel for other lovely ones, has made my heart like a bud which has been forced open by blowing upon it.

When I wish to kiss his foot, I first wipe it with my wet eye; for the eye feels, more than lip, the sweet sorrow of kissing his foot.

Woe me, if my blood is not shed for the crime of my love! To pardon my faults were worse than to take revenge on me.

Sole friend of my chamber! I feel jealous of those who stand outside disappointed. Sweet companion of my feast! I feel jealous of the spectators.

1. If I flee from thy cruelties, tell me what dust I am to scatter on my head when far from thee.
2. If I sit in the dust of the earth on which I wander, whose victim shall I be when I arise?

50. Na’diri, of Turshiz.

I am as if blind and err about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Na’diri, I complain of no one: I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

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a The original contains a pun on khādt gird, and gard, which I cannot imitate.
b The author of the Haft Iqlim says that Na’diri went two years before the completion of the Haft Iqlim, i.e. in 1000, to Indi; but he does not know what became of him.

Dāghistānī mentions three poets of the name of Na’diri—(1) Na’diri of Samarqand, who came to Hmāyūn in India, (2) a Na’diri from Shustar; and (3) a Na’diri from Siálkot.

Turshiz, or Turahish, lies near Nishāpūr.
51. Nau'i, of Mashhad.  

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well.

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up: neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close.

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking-glass even appears veiled.

If that be Manqūr's love, do not grieve, O heart. Not every weak-minded man is fit to love.

Intrinsic beauty cannot be seen; and he who looks into the looking-glass sees, indeed, his figure, but forms no part of the glass itself.

Make thyself a heart as large as the orb of heavens, and then ask for an atom. Do not be satisfied, Nau'i, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.

Mullā Muhammad Rizā comes from Khabūshān near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the Māsār i Bahānī, he found a patron in Mūrza Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad (p. 346); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khān-Khānān (p. 334), and stayed with him and Prince Dānīyl at Burhānpūr. For his Ṣāgināmā, the Khān-Khānān gave him an elephant and a present of 10,000 Rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. Some people say that his poems are like the ṣūṭur o gūrbāh, i. e. you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khizānah i Ṣāmirāh says that his Mawsūṭ entitled Sūr o Gūdās is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. This poem, of which the Asiatic Society of Bengal has a copy, contains the story of a Suttee. Nau'i had not yet arranged his Qaṣīdahs and Ghaus in form of a dīwān, when he died in 1019, at Burhānpūr.

Bāsūnī says that he claims descent from Hazrāt Shāikh Hājī Muhammad of Khabūshān; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

Manqūr attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed 'Ānā alhaq, 'I am God,'—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Manqūr of weakness, because he proclaimed his love; he should have kept it to himself, as is proper for true lovers (vide p. 555, note 1).

The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woful figure; but does not become one with him.

Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sunray are in love with the sun.
52. Bābā’ Ta‘līb, of Iṣfāhān.

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.

I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.

1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet asketh ‘what does it matter?’ Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet asketh ‘What does it matter?’

2. Thou dost not care for the havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.

53. Sarmādī, of Iṣfāhān.

His name is Sharīf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

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1. According to the Haft Iqlīm, Bābā Ta‘līb had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. The Ma‘āṣir i Rāhmī says that he was often in the company of Hakīm Abulfath (p. 424), Zain Khān Kokhā (344), Abūl斐zāl, and Shaikh Faizī; at present, i. e. in 1026, he is Čādr of Gujrat. Bádānī says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmir, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar’s service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to ‘Alī Bāqī, ruler of Little Tibbat. On his return, he gave Abūl斐zāl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Akbarnāmah. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The Igbādīnīmāh (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bābā Ta‘līb died in the end of Jahangīr’s reign, more than a hundred years old.


* This Būb‘lists pleased Jahangīr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. Igbādīnīmāh, loc. cit.

* Muhammad Sharīf was mentioned above on p. 516, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Bádānī says that he was at first Chaukinawis, and is at present (i. e., 1004) with Sharīf i A‘mulī (p. 462) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the takhallūq of ‘Faizī;’ but in order to avoid opposition to Faizī, Abūl斐zāl’s brother, he chose that of Sarmandī. Bádānī looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bad. II., 336). From the Akbarnāmah we see that Sharīf served in the 31st year in Kashmir, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrat. In 1000, he was sent to Bengal with Sharīf i A‘mulī, and in the beginning of 1001, we find him fighting in Orīṣā against Rām Chandr, Rājāh of Khurdah. Dāghistānī says, he died in the Dak‘hīn.
Fortune has been faithful in my time; I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulfulness.

I was at home, and thou camest to me with drunken eyes and with roses under the arm; the very dust of this house of grief budded forth to see the sight of thy arrival.

1. What have I not done to myself in the heat of transgression! What crimes have I not committed whilst trusting to Providence!
2. I and my heart have soared up to a rose bed, and we are jealous of the zephyr's going and coming.
3. A lover has hundreds of wishes besides union with him [the beautiful boy]; I still want thee, Fortune, for many things.

I have in contempt set my foot upon both worlds; neither joy nor sorrow have overpowered my heart.

1. I cherish a love which will be talked of on the day of resurrection; I cherish a grief which no tale can relate.
2. A grief which can coquet with the grief of others, which no thought can comprehend and no pen can describe.

54. Dakhli', of Iṣfahān.

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

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1 The Maāsir i Rahimi is the only work in which I have found a notice of this poet. His name is Malik Ahmad, and he was the son of Malik ul Mulik Maqṭūd 'Ali, proprietor of Werkopāi, twelve farsakhs from Iṣfahān. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Derkopāi; but the author appears to have corrected the d to a w). His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abul Qāsim, who had such influence with Tāhmāsp that several legacies (*auqāf*) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawalli. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so many dervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, &c., collected around him, that people persuaded Tāhmāsp that Abul Qāsim was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was, therefore, blinded, and lived a retired life in the village. Some time after, he presented a poem to Tāhmāsp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the Maāsir has partly preserved, the village is called Kuḥpâyāh. In his retirement, he used to write under the nom *de plume* of Amri, and employed Dakhli to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhli a taste for poetry, and he received from Abul Qāsim the *takhallūs* of 'Dakhli.' After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Ahmad went to Iṣfahān, where he gained a reputation as a poet.

In 997, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1003, he went to the Dakh'in, and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Maāsir i Rahimi was written. He also was a good soldier.
1. I have burnt the furniture of my strong and wise heart; I have set fire to the house of my aspirations and burnt it.

2. I have given up heresy and faith, and, half way between the Ka'bah and the idol temple, I have burnt the sacred thread and the rosary.

1. I know of no plaint that has made impression; I know of no evening that was followed by a cheerful morn.

2. They say that grief is followed by joy, but this is an error: I know but of sorrows being followed by sorrows.

55. Qa'sim Arslân, of Mashhad.¹

He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth, and spends it in a genial way.

I am intoxicated with the pleasures of the society of wits: for there the subtleties of expression vanish at a hint.

Word and thought weep over my circumstances, when without thee I look into the book (of my poems).

My life is half gone—what am I worth now when a single look from thee is valued a hundred lives?

Thou hast the brilliancy of the rose and the colour of wine. How wonderful, what a freshness!

56. Ghayûrî', of Hiçár.²

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

¹ Arslân is Qâsim's nom-de-plume. He chose this name, because his father claimed descent from Arslân Jâzib, an Amir of Mahmûd of Ghazni. The family came from Tûs, and Qâsim was brought up in Transoxania. He was a good poet, and excelled in tarîkhâ. Badûnî quotes an ode written by Arslân on the Mountain of Ajmîr. He died in 995, probably in Lâhor. Daghîstânî says, he died at Ahmadâbâd. Vide p. 103.

² Ghayûrî is called in the Akbarnâmeh Mullá Ghayûrî, and Daghîstânî calls him Ghayûrî of Kâbul. This shows that he came from Hiçár in Kâbul, and not from Hiçár Firûzâh. The Haft Iqlîm tells us that Ghayûrî was at first in the service of Mirzâ Muhammad Hakîm, Akbar's brother and king of Kâbul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar's service, and was a Yûzbâshî, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bir Bar in the Khaibar Pass catastrophe (p. 345).
When longing directs its way to that door [love], it overthrows all possibility of returning.

1. The door of Sháh Akbar, the victorious, is a paradise of rest;
2. And if I shave my board, I do so not to beautify myself,
3. But because beards, like crimes, are of a deep black dye, and can therefore, have no place in a paradise.

57. Qá‘simí, of Mázandarán.

He lives as a Faqír and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yúsuf; Yusuf was not so, I do not flatter.

1. My sickness has increased to-night in consequence of the pain of separation, and my wretched condition arises from the hundred excesses of yesterday.
2. The wine of desire flows every night freer. What shall I to-night do with my unsteady heart?

58. Sherí.

He belongs to a Panjábí family of Shaikhs. Under the patronage of his Majesty he has become a good poet.

The beloved [boy] came, and blotted out my name; nay, he made me quite beside myself.

The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

1 Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; *vide* p. 297.
2 Dághistáni mentions a Qásim of Mázandarán. Qásimí seems to be an unknown poet.
3 Mulla Sherí has been mentioned above, pp. 106, 197, 202, 204. He was born in Kokúwál in the Panjáb (Bárf Duáb). His father's name was Mauláná Yahyá. He belonged to a tribe called in Báchoní 'Májí.' Sherí was killed with Bir Barf, in 994, in the Khaiber Pass.
1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.

2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahi', of Nishápúr.

His name is Khwájah Ján. He is a good man.

1. O Rahí, do no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious belief]; give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory.

2. Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?).

The above (59) poets were presented at Court. There are, however, many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qásim of Gúnábád; Zamír of Iqsfahán; Wahshí of Báfah; Muhtashim of Káshán; Malik of Qum; Zuhúrí of Shíráz; Wálí Dáshit Bayází; Nekí; Çábri; Figári; Huzúrí; Qázi Núrí of Iqsfahán; Çáfi of Bám; Taufí of Tabríz; and Rashkí of Hamadán.

ATN 30 (concluded).

THE IMPERIAL MUSICIANS.¹

I cannot sufficiently describe the wonderful power of this talisman of knowledge [music]. It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents. The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or to joy. Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world and to such as still cling to it.

¹ We have to distinguish guyandah, singers, from khwánandahs, chanters, and sázandahs, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwálíár, Mashhad, Tabriz, and Kashmir. A few come from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmir had been founded by Irání and Túrání musicians patronized by Zain ul 'Abídín, king of Kashmir. The fame of Gwálíár for its schools of music dates from the time of Rájah Mán Tunwar. During his reign lived the famous Náik Bakhshú, whose melodies are only second to those of Tánseen. Bakhshú also lived at the court of Rájah Bikramájít, Mán's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rájah Kirát of Káltinjar. Not long afterwards, he accepted a call to Gujrát, where he remained at the court of Sultán Bahádur (1526 to 1536, A. D.). Isám Sháh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rám Dás and Mahápáter. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahápáter was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Orísá.
His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindús, Iránís, Táránís, Kashmíris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week. When his Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication in some, and sobriety in others.

A detailed description of this class of people would be too difficult; but I shall mention the principal musicians.

1. Miýán Tánsen, of Gwáliár. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bábi Rámdás, of Gwáliár, a singer.
3. Subhán Khán, of Gwáliár, a singer.
4. Srigyán Khán, of Gwáliár, a singer.
5. Miýán Chand, of Gwáliár, a singer.
7. Muhammad Khán Dhárá, sings.
8. Bir Mandal Khán, of Gwáliár, plays on the sarmandal.
10. Shiháb Khán, of Gwáliár, performs on the bín.
11. Daúd Dhárá, sings.
12. Sarod Khán, of Gwáliár, sings.
16. Ustá Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (naj).
17. Nának Jarjú, of Gwáliár, a singer.
18. Purbin Khán, his son, plays on the bín.
19. Súr Dás, son of Bábú Rám Dás, a singer.
21. Rangeen, of Agrah, sings.

† Regarding Tánsen, or Tánsain, or Tánsín, vide p. 406. Rám Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tán̄k̄ah as a present. Ibráhím Súr in vain persuaded Tánsen to come to Agrah. Abúfázíl mentions below his son Tántarang Khán; and the Pádishhéhmáh (II, 5—an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Biliás.

† Badáoni (II, 42) says, Rám Dás came from Lakhnún. He appears to have been with Bárám Khán during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lák̄h of tán̄k̄ahs, empty as Bárám’s treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islem Sháh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tánsen. His son Súr Dás is mentioned below.

* Dhárá means ‘a singer,’ ‘a musician.’ Jahángír says in the Tuzuk that Lálí Kaláwan (or Kaláwán, i. e. the singer) died in the 3rd year of his reign, “sixty or rather seventy years old. He had been from his youth in my father’s service. One of his concubines, on his death, poisoned herself with opium. I have rarely seen such an attachment among Muhammadan women.”
22. Shaikh Dáwan Dhári, performs on the karand.
23. Rahmat ullah, brother of Mullá Is-haq (No. 15), a singer.
25. Ustá Yúsuf, of Harát, plays on the tambúrah.
26. Qásim, surnamed Koh-bar.¹ He has invented an instrument, intermediate between the gúbús and the rubáb.
27. Tásh Beg, of Qipchák, plays on the gúbús.
28. Sultán Háfiz Husain, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahram Quli, of Harát, plays on the ghichak.
30. Sultán Hámshí, of Mashhad, plays on the tambúrah.
31. Ustá Sháh Muhammed, plays on the surná.
32. Ustá Muhammed Ámin, plays on the tambúrah.
33. Háfiz Khwájah 'Ali, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mír 'Abdullah, brother of Mír 'Abdul Hái, plays the Qánún.
35. Pirzáfá, nephew of Mír Dowám, of Khurásán, sings and chants.
36. Ustá Muhammed Husain, plays the tambúrah.²

¹ Koh-bar, as we know from the Pádísábánmáh (I, b., p. 335) is the name of a Chaghtái tribe. The Naifís ù Múdárir mentions a poet of the name of Muhammed Qásim Kohbar, whose nom-de-plume was Çábrí. Vide Spengler's Catalogue, p. 50 (where we have to read Koh-bar, for Gúb-paz).
² Pirzáfáh, according to Badbóní (III, 318) was from Sabzwár. He wrote poems under the takkalluf of Liwáí. He was killed in 995 at Láhor, by a wall falling on him.

The Músárí í Rahími mentions the following musicians in the service of Muhammed Náí, son of Hájí Ismá'il, of Tabríz; Maulání Aqwáí, of Tabríz; Ustád Mírzá 'Alí Fatháq; Maulání Sháráf of Nishápúr, a brother of the poet Nazírí (p. 579), Muhammed Múmín, alias Háhzák, a tambúrah-player; and Háfiz Nazr, from Trácxániss, a good singer.

The Tuzuk and the Iqídánímah mention the following singers of Jahángír's reign—Jahángírdád; Chátir Kháán; Parwizlád; Khurrámídád; Mák'hú; Hamzah.

During Sháhjáhán's reign we find Jagnát'h, who received from Sháhjáhán the title of Kabráí; Dirang Kháán; and Lál Kháán, who got the title of Gun-samundar (ocean of excellence). Lál Kháán was son-in-law to Bilás, son of Tánsen. Jagnát'h and Dirang Kháán were both weighed in silver, and received each 4500 Rupees.

Aurangzíb abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-historians. Music is against the Muhammedan law. Kháfí Kháán (II, 213) tells a curious incident which took place after the order had been given. The court-musicians brought a bier in front of the Jharok'hah (the window where the emperors used to shew themselves daily to the people), and wailed so loud as to attract Aurangzíb's attention. He came to the window, and asked whom they had on the bier. They said, "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it." A short time after, the Jharok'hah also was abolished.

**END OF VOLUME I.**
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 32, note 1.

TODAR MALL. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, vide p. 351.

Page 34, note 2.

QUILJ KHA'N. The correct year of his death is given on p. 354.

Page 35, line 24.

BA'NA'GHU'AY. This word is not in the Dictionaries; but there is no doubt that it means 'White Agate.' The word is also mentioned in the 4th Book (my Text Edition, II, 60), where it is said that all the weights used at court for weighing jewels were made of 'transparent Bábághúri.' Táhir Naqzábádí, in his Tázkírah, under Jalál, has the following. "When the case came on, he said to Mírzá Taqí, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bábághúri threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

Page 44, last line.

SALARIES OF THE BEGUMS. Under Sháhjáhán and Aurangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtíz Mahall had 10 lákhs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lákhs, half in cash and half in lands. Aurangzib gave the "Begum Çáhib" 12 lákhs per annum.


Page 48, note 1.

GULBADAN BEGUM. From Badáoní II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, i.e. she was Humáyún's sister. She was married to Khízír Khwájah; vide pp. 198, 365.

Page 55, line 9, from below.

SORON. Soron is the correct name of a town and Parganah in Sirkár Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol ('Alígarh), near the Ganges.
Page 66, line 10.

PAHAN. This I believe to be a mistake for 'Pathán,' or 'Pathánukot.' The MSS. have "Pathán" or "Pathánukot," but as the initial šin in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with kāf, and reversely. The spelling "Pathán," for "Pathán," is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.

Page 65, note 1.

K'IA'S. Mr. F. S. Growse, c. s., informs me that gilás is to the present day the Kashmiri term for cherries.

Page 70, line 28.

MAHUA. This partly confirms Elliot's note under Gulú (Beames' Edition, 'Races of the N. W. Provinces,' II, p. 335) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary.

Page 73, line 1.

PA'N LEAVES. In the 3rd Book of the Ain (Text, p. 416, l. 20) Abulfazl mentions another kind of pán, called Mak'hi or Mukhi, grown in Bihár.

Page 78, last line.

QAIC'RI'. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is Fançúri'. According to Marco Polo, Fançúr was a state in Sumútra, probably the modern Barús.

Page 81, note.

ZER'BA'Í. This should be ZERBA'D, for zor i bád, i. e. 'under the wind,' leeward, the Persian translation as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay Bówakh angís, 'below the wind,' by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumútra.

Kháfi Khán (I, p. 11) couples Zerbád with Khatá, over both of which Túlí Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, ruled.

Page 87, note 2.

Körkurár. I have since seen the spelling which brings us a step nearer to etymology. Yárág means 'supella,' and kürk means 'fur.'

Page 88, line 1.

AHMADÁBA'ÁD. The comma after Ahmadábád may be wrong. Ahmadábád is often called Ahmadábád in Gujrát.

Page 88, line 19.

GHIÁ'S I NAQSHBAND. We know from the Tazkírah of Táhir Naqrábádí that Ghiás was born in Yazd. 'The world has not since seen a weaver like him. Besides, he was a good poet. Once he bought a piece of mushajjar brocade, on which
there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Sháh 'Abbáṣ (1585 to 1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghíás said on the spur of the moment.

"The gentleman looks chiefly at the bear. Each looks at his own likeness."

Bears in the East are looked upon as stupid animals. A proverb says,

'A bear on the hill is an Avicenna;' i.e. a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Naṣrábádí quotes some of Ghíás's verses.

Page 94, middle.

COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abulfazl—Chantár was woven in Hawelí Saháranpúr.
Síri Čáf and Bhíraupp, in Dharangáon, Khándesh.
Gángájal, in Sírkár G'hórág'hát, Bengal.
Míhrkúl, in Alláhábád,
and Panchhtóliáh was mentioned on p. 510, in connexion with NúrJahán.


ADAM I HAFTHAZÁ'RÍ. I find that this expression is much older than Abulfazl's time. Thus Zíáuddín Barání in his preface to the Tárikh i Fírúzsháhí (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalífah 'Umar lived seven thousand years after Adam.

Page 101, note 6.

ASHRÁF KHÁN. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 389. He died in 983, not 973.

Page 102, note 1.

KHANDÁN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the Tazkirat ul Aulid written by Khandán in 920 A. H., and yet the Mir-át ul 'Alam gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 104, note 2, line 7.

BECHU'). Though Bechú is a common Hindústání name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchú, or Panjú, vide p. 538. Badáoni (II, 54) gives as târikh of his death the words شنٍّ بپنچر and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (پ), i.e. 971—2=969. Vide also my Essay on 'Badáoni and his Works,' Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 116, line 24.

SANOTHAM, Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tuzuk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmáll, the champion of Chítor.
The reader is requested to substitute the following—the
Elephants are found in the following places. In the Čubah of Āgra, in the jungles of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Čubah of Ilāhabād, in the confines of Pannah, (Bhāt'h) Ghorā, Ratanpūr, Nandanpūr, Sirgūja, and Bastar; in the Čubah of Mālwh, in Handiā, Uchhod, Chandī, Sāntwās, Bījāgarh, Rāisin, Hoshangābad, Gārha, and Hārijāgarh; in the Čubah of Bihār, about Rohtās and in Jhārk'hand; and in the Čubah of Bāngal, in Orīsā and in Sātgaon. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

Sulaimān Kararānī reigned in Bāngal from 971 to 980.

Prince Murād was born on the 3rd Muḥarram, 978. Baddōnī II, 132. Vide below.

In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bāngal, for May, 1870, (p. 146) I have shewn that the unclear words in Baddōnī's text are,—

‘the cunabula which is their time of mirth.’

By ‘cunabula’ the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, &c., which they used to exhibit in Āgra and Lāhor.

The Čadr read the khāṭbāh in the name of the new king, and thus the julūs became a fact. Khaṭī Khān, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.


Akbār's wives. For Raqiyāh the diminutive form Ruqayyāh is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bāī vide next note.

Sultān Salimāh Begum. She is the daughter of Gulrūkh Begum, a daughter of Bābar. Mīrzā Nūruddin Muhammad, Gulrūkh's husband, was a Naqshbandī Khwājah. Gulrūkh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrūkh Begum, who was the daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā (vide p. 464).

Of other women in Akbar's harem, I may mention, (1) the daughter of Qāzī 'Isā (p. 449); (2) an Armenian woman, Tuzuk, p. 324. Vide also Keane's Agra Guide, p. 38. (3) Qismiyūh Banī, married by Akbar in the 19th year (Akbarn. III, 94); (4) a daughter of Shamsuddin Chāk (Akbarn. III, 659).

Sultān Mura'd. He was married to a daughter of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōkāh (p. 325). Their child, Sultān Rustam, did not live long (Akbarn. III, 539, 552).
SULTÁN DA'NYA'L. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumáda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confound ۸۰۰ and ۸۰۵. His first wife was a daughter of Sultán Khwájah (p. 423), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Sa'ádat Bánú Begum, who was born in 1000 (Abkárn. III, 643).

Page 310.

JAHÁNGIR's wives. An additional list was given on p. 477, note 2. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Mubárák Chak of Kashmir; (2) a daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmir (Abkárn. III, 659); (3) another Kashmiri lady, mentioned in Abkárn. III, 639.

I stated on p. 309, that Jahángir's mother was called Jodh Bái. This is wrong. Jodh Bái was the wife of Jahángir and daughter of Mot'h Rájáh of Jodhpúr. There is little doubt that Jahángir's mother (the Maryam umamdní) is the daughter of Rájáh Bihári Mall and sister to Rájáh Bhagwán Dás.

Page 314, last line.

DEATH OF MI'RÁZA' RUSTAM. Thus the date is given in the Madáir ul Umárá; but from the Padisháhnámah (II, 302) we see that Mírzá Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rábi’ I., 1052. The author adds remarks that "the manners (áusd) of the Mírzá did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother."

Page 315, line 11.

QARÁQO'ILU TURKS. The correct name is Qaráqo'linü. The Calcutta Chaghtáí Dictionary gives Qaráqo'linü. Vambéry (History of Bokhárá, p. 265, note) mentions the Ustájli, Shámli, Nikallü, Bahárli, Zulqadr, Kájar, and Afshár, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurásán. Qaráqo'linü means 'the black sheep tribe.'

Page 317, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bairam was defeated is Gúnschúr, گنسرچور, which lies S. E. of Jálindhar. The word کنور پهلور, which lies S. W. of Gúnschúr.

Page 324, note 1.

I do not think that Pir Muhammad came from the Sharwán mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Shirwání Afgán.

Page 325, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 406, line 10, and p. 416, note 1.

Page 329, line 8 from below.

ZULQADR, is the name of a Turkmán tribe; vide above.

Page 339, last line.

GOGANDÁH. Regarding the correct date of the battle vide p. 418, note 2.
Page 351.

TODAR MALL. The Maśāir ul Umarā says that Todar Mall was born at Lāhor. But it is now certain that Todar Mall was born at Lāharpūr, in Audh; vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, September 1871, p. 178.

Page 372, note.

MIYĀN KĀ'L. The note is to be cancelled. Miyān Kāl has been explained on p. 545, note.

Page 373, line 22.

YuṣUF KHA'N. Regarding his death vide Tuzuk, p. 328. His son Izzat Khān is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pādiskhāndāmak (I, b., p. 302) غُدُرَت خان. His name was 'Azīz ullah; hence his title Izzat.

Page 379, last line.

QA'BIM KHA'N. I dare say, the phrase 'Chamanārāi Khurāsān' merely means that he was Governor of Kābul.

Page 381, line 14.

BA'QĪ KHA'N. He is often called 'Khān Bāqī Khān.'

Page 389, line 1.

Mr. BA'BU's. The spelling 'Uigur' is now common; but in India the word is pronounced 'Ighur.' The query may be cancelled; vide p. 441, note.

Page 398, line 10.

DASTAM KHA'N. Vambéry spells 'Dostum.'

Page 413.

SHAIKH FARI'D I BUKH'AR'I. That the name of Farīd's father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhārī, may be seen from the short inscription on the 'Bukhārī Mosque' in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaikh Lād, at the cost of Farīd i Bukhārī, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Farīd's Jāmi' Masjīd in Farīdābād,—

بهذ ال شاه نور ان الدین جهانگیر
اساس ان بنا خبر بنده
خلاف ان اعلان تا شاهزادان
پی شاه تارخ این جاید بنیان

1. In the reign of Shāh Nūrūddin, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,
2. Mūrtazā Khān, the unique one (farīd) of the age and faith, erected this religious building.
3. He is honored, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men ['Alī].
4. As Tārīkh of this lasting structure, the words Khair ul Biqāʾ issued from the pen.

This gives 1014, A. H.
KEWA'JAH TA'HIR MUHAMMAD. He is mentioned as Sijistáni on p. 528, among the Bakhshás.

Page 431, note 1.

MA'CÜM KA'HN KABULI. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bábú Rájendrála Mitra, from Rájáh Pramatha Náth, Rájáh of Dighaputi, Rájáháli. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village, called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputi.

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sultán, the chief of Sáyyídás, Abul Fath Muhammad Ma'¿um Khán—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever, O Lord, O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khán, Khán Muhammad, son of Táj Muhammad Khán Qáqshál, in the year 989.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zí Hajjah, 987); vide p. 439.

Page 438, line 13.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD. Regarding the correct date of his death, vide p. 490.

Page 450, line 14.

Sú'RA T. There is every probability that Soráth, and not Súrat, is intended.

Page 456.

THE GÁKK'HÁRS. Vide pp. 486, 487.

The places Phárwálah and Dángáli (دنجلي), not Dangáli) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gák'har District, are noticed in E. Terry's 'Voyage to East India' (London, 1655, p. 88). "Kákáros, the principal Cities are called Dékales " and Púrkola; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from "Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus; it is the extremest part North under the Mogol's "subjection."

De Laét also gives the same passage.

Page 460, line 2.

YARA'Q KHA'N. The correct name is, I believe, Boráq Khán. Vide Vambéry's "Bokhara", p. 163.

Page 493, line 10.

KU'C H HÁJO. Regarding Kúch Hájo and Kúch Bihár and Mukárram Khán, vide my article on these countries in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1872, p. 54.
Page 493, line 21.

GHAZNĪ'S KHA'N, of Jálor.

"The Pahlunpúr family is of Afghán origin, belonging to the Lohání tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihár in the reign of Humáyún. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihlí; and from Akbar Sháh, in A. D. 1597, Ghaznín Khán, the chief, obtained the title of Díwán, for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghán tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Lábor. In A. D. 1682, Fath Khán Díwán received the province of Jálor, Sánchor, Pahlunpúr, and Disah from Aurangzib. Fath Khán died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pir Khán, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamál Khán, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rá'íshans of Má'wár, was compelled, in A. D. 1698, to quit the country [Jálor], and retire with his family and dependants to Pahlunpúr, where the family has remained ever since.—Selections, Bombay Government Records, No. XXV.—New Series, p. 15.

Page 608, line 13 from below.

WAČL'. This is wrong, and should be HIJRI. Khwájah Muhammad Sharíf, as correctly stated in the genealogical tree on p. 612, had two sons. The eldest is Aghá Muhammad Táhir, whose nom-de-plume is WAČL', and Gháís Beg.

Page 524, line 20.

ALI' QULI' BEG ISTAJLU'. Vambóry spells Ustajlí, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; vide p. 619.
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