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Indian Institute, Oxford.

J. H. Baden-Powell Request
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 S. H. ROUSE, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
1878.
PREFACE.

The Á'in i Akbarí is the third volume of the Akbar-ná'mah, 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 Bábar, the Súr kings, and Humáyún, 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 Akbarí, 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 Gazetteders. It contains the dita (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‘ín 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‘ín was laid under contribution. Le Père Tiffentaller, 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‘ín 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‘ín 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 Aīn. 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 expres-
sions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, shew that the
expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of
sterling wisdom. Abulfazl has far too often been accused
by European writers of flattery and even of wilful conceal-
ment 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 produc-
tions 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 diffi-
culties 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 ren-
dered 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 Ain 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.
# CONTENTS

**Biography of Abul Fazl by the Translator.**

Abul Fazl's Preface: ........................................................................ i to x

**BOOK FIRST.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Household</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Imperial Treasuries</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Treasury for Precious Stones</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Imperial Mint</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Workmen of the Mint</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Banwari</td>
<td>i6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Method of Refining Gold</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The method of refining silver</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The process of Kukrah</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The process of Bugdowal</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Method of Separating the Silver from the Gold</td>
<td>i6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Method of Extracting the Silver from these Ashes</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Coins of this Glorious Empire</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gold coins</td>
<td>i6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silver coins</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copper coins</td>
<td>i6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Dirham and the Dinar</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Profit of the Dealers in Gold and Silver</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Origin of Metals</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>On Specific Gravity</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Imperial Harem</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Encampment on Journeys</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Encampment of the Army</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>On Illuminations</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ain 19.—THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY, ................................................. 4, 50
  " 20.—THE ROYAL SEALS, .......................................................... 52
  " 21.—THE FARHA'SHI KHA'NAH, .................................................. 53
  " 22.—THE ABDAR KHA'NAH, ......................................................... 55

Carpets, ................................................................. ib.

" 23.—THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN, ....................................................... 56
  " 24.—RECIPE FOR DISHES, .......................................................... 59
  " 25.—OF BREAD, ..................................................................... 61
  " 26.—THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE, ................................................. ib.
  " 27.—STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES, ............. 62

The spring harvest, ................................................................. ib.
The autumnal harvest, ............................................................ ib.
Vegetables, ............................................................................. 63
Living animals and meats, ......................................................... ib.
Butter, Sugar, &c., .................................................................. ib.
Spices, ..................................................................................... 64
Pickles, ..................................................................................... ib.

" 28.—THE FRUITERY, .................................................................... ib.
Turani fruits, ............................................................................. 65
The sweet fruits of Hindustan, ..................................................... 66
Dried fruits, ................................................................................. ib.
Vegetables, ................................................................................. 67
Sour fruits, ................................................................................. ib.
Sour fruits somewhat acid, ........................................................ ib.

" 29.—ON FLAVOURS, ..................................................................... 73

" 30.—ON PERFUMES, ................................................................. ib.
A list of Perfumes and their prices, ........................................... 75
A list of fine smelling Flowers, .................................................... 76
A list of Flowers notable for their beauty, .................................. ib.
On the preparation of some Perfumes, ....................................... 77

" 31.—THE WARDROBE AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES, ........ 87

" 32.—ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, &c., .................................................. 91
Gold stuffs, ................................................................................ 92
Silks, &c., plain, ......................................................................... 93
Cotton cloths, ............................................................................. 94
Woollen stuffs, .......................................................................... 95

" 33.—ON THE NATURE OF COLOURS, .......................................... 96

" 34.—THE ARTS OF WRITING AND PAINTING, ............................... ib.
The Art of Painting, ............................................................... 107
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A12. 35.—The Arsenal,</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  36.—On Guns,</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  37.—On Matchlocks, &amp;c.,</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  38.—The manner of cleaning guns,</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  39.—The ranks of the guns,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  40.—On the pay of the matchlock bearers,</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  41.—The imperial elephant stables,</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  42.—The classification of the imperial elephants,</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  43.—The food allowed to the elephants,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  44.—The servants of the elephant stables,</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hawjdor,</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  45.—The harness of elephants,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  46.—The elephants for his Majesty’s use,</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  47.—The manner of riding khasah elephants,</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  48.—On fines,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  49.—The imperial horse stables,</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  50.—The rank of the horses,</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  51.—The fodder allowed in the imperial stables,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  52.—On harness, &amp;c.,</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  53.—The officers and servants attached to the imperial stables,</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  54.—The bargu,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  55.—Regulations for branding horses,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  56.—Regulations for keeping up the full complement of horses,</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  57.—On fines,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  58.—On horses kept in readiness,</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  59.—On donations,</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  60.—Regulations for the jilawanah,</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  61.—The camel stables,</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  62.—The food of camels,</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  63.—The harness of camels,</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ain 64.—Regulations for oiling Camels, and injecting oil into
their nostrils, ........................................ 146

65.—The Ranks of the Camels and their servants, ............ 147

Raibari, .................................................. ib.

66.—The Gaukhanah or Cow stables, ........................ 148

67.—The Daily allowance of food, .............................. 149

68.—The Servants employed in the Cow stables, ............. 150

69.—The Mule stables, .................................... 152

70.—The Daily allowance of food for Mules, .................. ib.

71.—The Furniture of Mules, ................................ 153

72.—The manner in which His Majesty spends his time, .... ib.

73.—Regulations for admission to Court, ...................... 156

74.—Regulations regarding the Kornish and the Tasli'm, .... 158

75.—On Etiquette, .......................................... 159

76.—The Muster of men, .................................... 161

77.—His Majesty as the Spiritual guide of the people, ....... 162

Ordinances of the Divine Faith, ............................ 166

Notes by the Translator on the Religious views of the
Emperor Akbar, ........................................ 167

78.—The muster of Elephants, ................................ 213

79.—The muster of Horses, .................................. 215

80.—The muster of Camels, .................................. 216

81.—The muster of Cattle, ................................... ib.

82.—The muster of Mules, ................................... ib.

83.—The Pagoshit Regulation, ................................ 217

84.—On animal fights. Regulations for betting, ............... 218

Deer fights, ................................................... ib.

85.—On buildings, .......................................... 222

86.—The prices of building material, &c., ..................... ib.

87.—On the wages of labourers, ................................ 225

88.—On estimates of house building, .......................... 226

89.—Rules for estimating the loss in wood chips, ............ ib.

90.—The weight of different kinds of wood, ................... 227
BOOK SECOND.

1. — The Divisions of the Army, 231
2. — On the Animals of the Army, 233
3. — The Mansards, 236
   Note by the Translator on the Mansars, 238
4. — The Ahadis, 249
5. — Other Kinds of Troopers, 250
6. — The Infantry, 251
   The Bandágchis or matchlock bearers, ib.
   The Darbáns or porters, 252
   The Khidmatiyahs, ib.
   The Meeráhs, ib.
   The Shamshérbas or gladiators, ib.
   The Pahlwánás or wrestlers, 253
   The Cheláhs or slaves, ib.
   The Káhárs or Pálki bearers, 254
   Dákhlí troopers, ib.
7. — Regulations regarding the Branding of Animals, 255
8. — On the Repetition of the Mark, 256
9. — Rules about Mounting Guards, 257
10. — Regulations regarding the Waqí’áhánawís, 258
11. — On Sanads, 259
    The Farman i sabti, 260
12. — The Order of the Seals, 263
13. — The Farman i Bayazí, 264
14. — On the Manner in which Salaries are Paid, ib.
15. — Musá’adát, or Loans to Officers, 265
16. — On Donations, ib.
17. — On Alms, 266
18. — The Ceremony of Weighing His Majesty, ib.
19. — On Satyughals, 268
   Note by the Translator on the Qáds of Akbar’s reign, 270
20. — On the Carriages, &c., invented by His Majesty, 275
21. — The Ten Shék tax (Dáhshéri), ib.
22. — On Feasts, 276
23. — The Khushróz or Day of Fancy Bázárs, ib.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Regulations regarding marriages</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Regulations regarding education</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. The Admiralty</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. On hunting</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger hunting</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant hunting</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopard hunting</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. The food allowed to leopards. The wages of the keepers</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill exhibited by hunting leopards</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Siyághosh</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogs</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting Deer with Deer</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Hunts</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Hunting with Hawks</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowance of food</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prices of Hawks</td>
<td>ib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterfowl</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. On Amusements</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ishqázi (pigeon flying)</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Colours of khóyak Pigeons</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The game of Chaupar</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The game of Chandal Mandal</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. The Grandees of the Empire (with biographical notices by the Translator)</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the title of Turkhán</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the title of Aqaf Khán</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the battle of Mughulmári in Oriáá</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the Sayyida of Bárhá (Sádát i Bárhá)</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the Nuğtawiyah Sect</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the Death of 'Usmán Lohání</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Note by the Translator on Akbar’s Mansabdars</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 (continued). The learned men of the time</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poets of the Age</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Imperial Musicians</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Notes</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of persons and things</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Index</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogical Table of the House of Timur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF PLATES
IN THE
FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
ÁÍN I AKBARÍ.

Plates I to III. The workmen of the Mint, pp. 20 to 27.

1. Preparation of acids.—3. Washing of ashes.—4, 9, 10, 12, melting and refining.—5. Weighing.—6, 8. Making of plates.

Plate IV. The Imperial Camp, (p. 47).

a, b, c, d, f, g, roads and bázár. "The principal bázár is laid out into "the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, "now on the right, now on the left, of the Diwán i khág." Bernier.

1. The Imperial Harem (shabistán i iqás). At the right hand side is the Dárshádyánah Mansil; vide p. 54, 3.
2. Open space with a canopy (shámyánáh).
3. Private Audience Hall (daulat-khánáh i khág), p. 46.

"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 Naqqaráh-khánáh, 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 (salíchánáh).
7. The Imperial stables (iqásat).
8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.
9. Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables.
10. The Imperial Office (dáftár).
11. Tent for palkis and carts.
13. Tent where the hunting leopards were kept (chitak-khánah).
14. The Tents of Maryam Makání (Akbar’s mother), Gulbadan Begum (Humáyún’s sister, p. 615), and Prince Dányál; p. 40.
15. The tents of Súltán Salím (Jahángír), to the right of the Imperial Harem.
16. The tents of Súltán Murúd, to the left of the Imperial Harem; p. 48.
17. Store rooms and workshops (buyútín).
18. Tent for keeping basins (áflábchi-khánah).
19. Tent for the perfumes (khushkhá-khánah).
20. Tent for storing mattress (toshak-khánah).
21. Tent for the tailors, &c.
22. Wardrobe (kurkyaráq-khánah), pp. 87, 616.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, &c. (chiráng-khánah).
25. Tent for making sharbat and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing pán leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (mewah-khánah).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (rikáb-khánah).
29. The Imperial kitchen (matbák). 
30. The Imperial bakory (nánbá-khánah).
31. Storeroom for spices (hawej-khánah).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (qur-khánah).
34. Women’s apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

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

“... The king’s private tents are surrounded by small kanats (qanáts, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Musulipatam 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, 25th February, 1665) agrees in minute details with the above.

**Plate V. Candlesticks, p. 49.**
4. The Ákkásía, or Camp-light; vide Pl. IV, No. 4.

**Plate VI. The Emperor Akbar 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 dúsdú.
PLATE VII. THRONES.

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

PLATE VIII. THE NAQQA‘RAH KHA‘NAH, pp. 50, 51.


PLATE IX. THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY, p. 50.

1. The Jhandâ, 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. Sâibdn or Aftâbâr.
4. The Tumantog (from the Turkish tog, or togâ, a flag, and tumân or tûmdân, a division of ten thousand).
5. The Chatr, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or ‘alam.
7. The Chatrtoq. As Abulfazl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced chuturtog, from the Turkish chutur, or chûtîr, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (qatâs) 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 Shâmâyâ or; (2) A yakdari Khargo, or tent of one door; (3) the Dâdârâ, or tent of two doors; p. 54, 8. Rolled up over the door is the chigh; p. 226, Kín 88.

Below these three tents, is the Sardspardah and Guldbdr, p. 54. At the foot of the plate is the Namgirah (pr. dew-catcher), with carpet and pillow (masnad); p. 46.

Plate XI. On the top, the ādârâ, p. 53. Below it, on the left, is the Dâdshydnah Manzil, or two-storied house; vide Pl. IV, No. 1. At the window of the upper story, the emperor shewed himself; vide Index, darzan and jharokah. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the Chobîn Râwâfi (as the word ought to be spelt, from chobîn, wooden, and râwâfi, a square tent), pp. 45, 53. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called zamandos, with one tent pole (yak-surugah, from the Turkish surugh, or surugh, a tent pole).

Below is a Zamandos with two poles (dûsurugah). At the bottom of the plate, to the left, is the Manjal, p. 54, 6; and to the right, the ’Adîbî, 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'hadah (2).
3, 3a. The gupti 'apd (3).
4. The broad dagger, jamdmkar (4).
5. The bent dagger, khanjar (5).
6. The jamk'hadk, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, bannd (8).
8. The jakbeæah, or hiltless dagger (9).
9. The katdrakh, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The marsinmoch (marsing mo'âh?), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, kamân (12).

12, 13. The small bow and arrow, taksh kamân and tir (13).
14a. Arrow.
14b. The pakânsash, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, tarkash (16).
16. The lance, naizak (20).
17. The Hindustani lance, barckah (21).
18. The sânk, or broad-headed lance (22).

19, 20. The saint'hâ (23) and selarah (24).

21. The shusbur, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of shaspar, p. 111, No. 26), from shush, lungs, and bur, tearing.
22. The axe, tabar.

23. The club, gurz (25). On p. 111, No. 29, the word piyâzi has been translated by 'club,' and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call 'piyâzi' a long knife with straight back, ending in a point.

24. The pointed axe, zdghnol, i. e. crow-bill (30).
25. The chakar (wheel) and basolah (31).
26. The double axe, tabar-zdghnol (32).
27. The tarangdlah (33).
28. The knife, kârd (34).

PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (CONTINUED).

29. The gupti kârd, or knife concealed in a stick (35).
30. The whip, gamchâ kârd (36).
31. The clasp knife, chdqâ (37).
32. A bow, unstrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, kamthâ, or kamân i gurkâh (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, tufak i dahân (40).
35. The pushtkhâr (41).
36. A lance called girih-kushâ, i. e. knot-unraveller (43).
37. The khâr i makh, i. e. fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, gobkan (45).
39. The goajây'h, or ânkus, for guiding elephants (46); vide p. 129, No. 27.
40. The shield, sipar (47).
41. Another kind of shield, dhab (48).
42. The plain cane shield, pahš, or phāl (50).
43. The helmet, duchāgah (52).
44. The g'hu'g'hawāk, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, zirīk-kulāh (54).
46. The mailed coat, zirīk (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast-plate, bagtar (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, joshan (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, chahār-dināh (60).

PLATE XIV. WEAPONS AND ARMOURS (CONTINUED).

50. The coat with plates and helmet, koj'kh (61).
51. An armour of the kind called pādiqi (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, angir'k'kāh (63).
53. An iron mask, chākhāz-zirīkh-i-dham (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, chikil-qād (67).
55. The long glove, dastrdānāk (68).
56. The small one is the mosāk i-dham, or iron stocking (71); and the large one, the rāk (69).
57. The kujem, or kejam, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58, 59. The artak i kujem, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The qashqah, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The kast'khāz sobhā (79).
62. The rocket, bān (77).


PLATE XVI. HARNESSES FOR HORSES. Aín 52, p. 136.

PLATE XVII. GAMES; pp. 303, 304.

The upper figure shows the board for Chauper, 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:

Page 31, last line, for Bahrah read Bahirah.

32, line 1, for Kalánwar read Kalánúr.

34, note 2, add vide p. 354.

56, line 13, for woolen read woollen.

57, line 24, for Sárún read Sorún, vide p. 615.

57, line 2 from below, for Bharájí read Bahráich.

63, line 5, for king read kind.

66, line 25, for heron read crane.

73, line 18, for chalk read slaked lime.

84, last line, for Maruraj (? ) read Mararaj.

86, line 1, for Indrakál read Indarkol.

104, note 3, for III, p. 139 read II, p. 278.

122, line 22 E., vide p. 618.

167, line 24, for is read are.

174, line 4 from below, for Husain read Hasan.

176, line 25, for Nabátís read Núfawâs.

180, line 16, for Puzukhotam read Purukhotam.

190, line 15, for the heretic of Jafrdán read the heretical wizard.

225, line 23, for bricklayers read diggers.

226, line 6, for p’ha read p’har.

241, line 8 from below, for duaíspak read duaíspak.

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 Fathpur.

309, line 14, for Sánzbár read Sánbar.

310, line 16, dele Jodh Bái, and vide Additional Notes, p. 618.

310, line 23, for Dás of read Dásr.

333, line 33, for Nisár read unniáz.

313, line 2, for Ma’âmí read Ma’âlit.

318, line 13, for Husain read Husain, son of Sultán Husain Mîrzá.

316, line 4, for Mukram read Mukarram.

326, line 25, for Barhâmpur read Barhâmpur.

318, lines 10 and 13, for ‘Abdul Fath read Abulfath.

330, line 9 from below, for 981 read 975; vide Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, July, 1873.

319, line 9, for at Jágir read as jágir.

322, line 11, for ‘Abdul read Abul.

322, line 16, for 981 read 980.

329, line 23, for Ahmadnagar read Ahmadábâd.

339, line 14, for 147 read 174.

330, line 12, add “General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bîdhi (Sansk. Vriddhi), not Budi.” Vide Index.

322, line 24, for Talbanah read Talambah.

322, lines 2 and 7 from below, for Ák Mahall read Ág Mahall.

338, note 1, for cousíin read uncle.

333, line 4, for Bâbú read Bábá.

335, line 1, for Dost read Daulat.

335, line 3, for Sarkíj read Sarkich.

338, line 9 from below, for Mecenas read Mecenás.

340, line 10, for Sing Rám read Sangrám.
Page 340, last line, dele younger son or.

344, line 18, et passim, for Wajir read Bajor.

345, line 17, for Bajgorah read Pajkorah (or Panjkorah).

351, line 13, for severally read several.

351, line 20, et passim, for Gulabí read Kolábí.

357, line 7 from below, for 81 read 80.

358, note 2, dele and the latter...Editors.

357, line 7, for Chand read Chand.

371, line 2 from below, for Uymaq Kál read the Uymaq of Miyánkál (vide p. 620).

379, line 20, for 330 read 333.

383, line 10, for 223 read 144.

386, line 22, for 362 read 361.

391, line 3 from below, for Jhajhú read Chajhú.

395, line 9 and 17, for Tang read Tisang.

395, line 17, for Tas-ha read Tis-ha.

395, line 18, for Sirdháol, Kíbodah read Sandháolí, Kailáolah.

400, line 27, for Bhasí read Bhaúní.

400, line 28, for Bilkari read Bilkhrí.

407, line 14, et passim, for Bandelah read Bandelah.

414, line 18, for salamát read salámát.

417, note 2, et passim, for Rahtás read Rohtás.

417, for Tamkín read Namakín.

419, line 16 from below, for son of read son of Rájah Sojá, son of.

425, line 11 from below, for Ghúbah of Agrah read near Dihlí.

427, line 5 from below, for Mangálad read the mangálád.

437, line 15 from below, for Jamál read Jalál.

440, line 11 from below, for tuqúl read tuyúl.

441, line 11 from below, for 186 read 186.

448, note, line 1, for political read poetical.

456, note 1, add vide p. 621.

472, note, last line, for Wálf read Wálk.

475, line 5 from below, for 5th read 7th.

478, line 8, for 5th read 6th.

488, note 1, for Biráf read Bárí.

501, line 6 from below, for 396 read 392.

508, line 13 from below, for Waqí read Híqí; vide p. 622.

514, line 17, for Kingá read Kingirá.

539, line 23, for Kapúr read Kipúr.

546, line 6 from below, for Maláná read Mauláná.

567, note, last line, for Sháh read Khán.
BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAIKH ABULFAZL I 'ALLÁMÍ.

Shaikh Abul Fazl, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram, 958,* during the reign of Islán Sháh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaikh Músá, Abul Fazl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the 9th century of the Hijrah in Siwistán (Sindh), at a place called Bel (بلا). In "this pleasant village," Shaikh Músá's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the 10th century, when Shaikh Khízr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindústán. 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 Hijáz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nágór, N. W. of Ajmír, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mír Sayyid Yahyá of Búkhárá.

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 Múbárak, Abul Fazl's father, was born. Múbárak was not Shaikh Khízr's eldest child: several children had been born before and had died, and Khízr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Múbárak, i. e., the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islám 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 Múbárak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaikh 'Aţán (أطان), who was of Turkish extraction and

* 14th January, 1651.
had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodí to Nágor, where he lived in the service of Shaikh Sálár, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaikh Khízr had now resolved permanently to settle at Nágor, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwis-tán. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nágor 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 Nágor only Mubárak and his mother survived.

Mubárak grew up possessing 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 Khwájah Ahrá́r, to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Múldeo disturbances broke out, Mubárak carried out his wish, and went to Ahmadábád in Gujárat, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman Ahmad of Kháštiú. In Ahmadábád, he found a second father in the learned Shaikh Abul Fazl, a khaṭṭih, or preacher, from Kázárún in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaikh 'Umar of Tattah and Shaikh Yúsuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindústán, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamuná, opposite Ágrah, near the Chárbágh Villa, which Bábár had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mír Ráfi'uddín Sañawí of Injú (Suíráz), among whose disciples Mubárak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubárak's two eldest sons, Shaikh Abul Fazl, and four years later, Shaikh Abul Fazl, were born. Mubárak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Ágrah, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign,

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* Died at Samarqand, 29th Rabi' I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.
† Vide p. 507, note. Ahmad of Kháštiú is buried at Sárk'îch near Ahmadábád. He died in 849 (A. D. 1445).
‡ Later called Hasht Bihisht, or the Núrásbán Gardens. It is now called the Ráhm Bágh.
§ Born A.H. 954, or A.D. 1547. Vide p. 490.
and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Agra 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 Badawini, 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-Islamite 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
apostacy from Islam.

A few years before 963 A. H., during the Afghán rule, Shaikh
Mubarak had, to his worldly disadvantage, attached himself to a religious movement, which had first commenced about the year 940, 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 personage, the Rauzat ul-Aimmah, a Persian work on the lives of the
twelve Imams,† has the following passage—

Musalim, Abú Dáúd, Nisái, Baihaqi, and other collectors of the traditional sayings of the Prophet, state that the Prophet once said, “Muhammad
Mahdi shall be of my family and of the descendants of Fatimah [the Prophet’s daughter and wife of ’Ali].” And Ahmad, Abú Dáúd, Tirmizí, and
Ibn Mâjah 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

* Čâhib 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 Rașulpûr. 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 Mahdí belongs to my family, eight and nine years.” Accordingly, people believe in the coming of Mahdí. But there is also a party in Islám who say that Imám Mahdí has already come into the world and exists at present: his patronymic is Abul Qásim, and his epithets are “the elect, the stabiler, Mahdí, the expected, the Lord of the age.” In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surráman-raá [near Baghdád] on the 23rd Ramazán, 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 ʿAskari [the eleventh Imám], whom he asked, “O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalífah and Imám after thee?” ʿAskari 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 Mahdí 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 Islám entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdí movement assumed in Índia* a definite form through the teaching of Mír Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mír Sayyid Kháán, of Jâunpúr. This man was a

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* Badáóní, in his ‘Naqáturrashíd,’ gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshán, from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and Índia. In Badakhshán, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Núrbakhsh, a pupil of Abú Is-háq Kháláfí, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to Tráq, 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. Badáóní has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Núrbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaikh Muhammad Láhíjí, the commentator of the ‘Gulshan i Ráx.’
descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpûr 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 Mahdî,” “thou art Mahdí.” Some people indeed say that Mîr Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdî; 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 Gujarât, where he found an adherent in Sultân Mahmúd I. From Gujarât 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 Mahdî. 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 Tahmáṣp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdî; and even the historian Badáoni, 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 Mahdí of great pretensions arose in Biánah, S.W. of Agra, in the person of Shaikh ‘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 Naqrullah, likewise a learned man, at Biánah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaikh ‘Aláí had shewn 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 Shaikh from his hawdah, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaikh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyán ‘Abdullah, a Niyázi Afghán and disciple of Mîr Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpûr, arrived from Makkah, and settled at a retired spot near Biánah. 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
address 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 Niyázi, and joined the fraternity
which they had formed. The brethren had established among them-
 selves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by
begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qurán,
‘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 them-
selves 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 Basá-
war to Khwáypûr, 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 Agrab; 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 pharisism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions
to ‘Aláí’s men. To the amu-ement 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 Mubárák 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 Makhďūm ul Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhďūm 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 Mubârak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment.*

The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by 'Aláí's success, and Makhďūm's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaikh. 'Aláí and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhín. Whilst at Hardiah on the Narbadá, the frontier of Islám Sháh's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahár Khán A'zam Humáyún and half his army, and the king on bearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaikh 'Aláí.

* 'Makhďūm ul-Mulk' was the title of 'Abdullah of Sultânpúr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the Khazínatul Afsâ (Láhor, pp. 443, 464) shows the opinion of good Sönnís regarding Makhďūm.

'Máuláná 'Abdullah Anqaráí of Sultânpúr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishtí in his religious opinions. From the time of Sher Sháh till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of 'Makhďūm-ul-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 and 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,' Máuláná '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. Makhďūm therefore went to Makkah. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the کشف الْغُمْحَة, Kashf ul ghummah; the Así al-Umúd, 'Irfat al-Anbiyá, the سلسلة أديان Miskájuddín, &c. He was poisoned in A. H. 1006.

His son Hájí 'Abdul Karím went after the death of his father to Láhor, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1045, and lies buried at Láhor, near the Zib-unnízá Villa, at Manza' Koç. His sons were Shaikh Yahyá, Iláh Núr, 'Abdul Haq and A'la Hazúr. Shaikh Yahyá, like his father, wrought miracles.

In this account the date is wrong; for Makhďūm ul-Mulk died in 990, and as Badá nó, Makhďūm's supporter, says nothing of poison (Bad. II., 311), the statement of the Kházínat ul Afsâ may be rejected. Badá nó also says that Makhďūm's sons were worthless men.

The titles of Makhďūm ul-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; vide p. 544.
About the same time (955), Islám Sháh left Agra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjáb caused by certain Niyázi Afgháns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biánah, Makhdúm ul-Mulk drew the king’s attention to Miyán 'Abdullah Niyázi, 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 Niyázi rebels in the Panjáb. Islám Sháh ordered the governor of Biánah, who had become a Mahdawí, 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 Mahdawí 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 Niyázi disturbances, returned to Agra, 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

* Badáoni 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 Mahdawi 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 Mahdawis 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 'Ulamá about Court, from whom the Sadrs of the provinces, the Mir 'Adla, Muftís, and Qázís were appointed. At Dihlí and Agrah, 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 'Aláuddín Khiljí, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaikh 'Alá was a great triumph for the Court 'Ulamá, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawi 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 Afgán 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'ism; but when Akbar was firmly established, and the court at Agrah, after the fall of Bairám Khán, who was a Shi'ah, again teemed with Hindustání Sunnís, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaikh Mubárak especially rose to such a height, that Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubárak also belonged to the Mahdawis 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

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* The circumstances connected with 'Alá's death resemble the end of Sidi Múlah during the reign of Jalál-uddín Fírúz Sháh.

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

The fact that Badásání spent his youth at Basáwar near Bánáh, i.e., in the very centre of the Mahdawi movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawi principles.
emperor. Mubarak wisely fled from Agrah, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to seek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur Sikri for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarát, 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 ‘Abdunnab. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out 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 Agrah 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 Fazl 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 Fazl 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 Rab’l 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 *hikami* and *naqš*, or *ma'qūl* and *manqūl*. Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty. An incident is related to show 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
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 pândís of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pãrsís 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-Kurş̄, and presented it when the emperor was at Agrah. 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 Bihár and Bengal. Faízí accompanied the expedition; but Abul Fazl naturally stayed in Agrah. But as Faízí wrote to his brother that Akbar had enquired after him, Abul Fazl attended Court immediately on the emperor’s return to Fat̄hpûr Síkri, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jâmi’ Mosque. Abul Fazl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qurán, entitled ‘Sûrat ul Fath,’ ‘the Chapter of Victory.’

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnís at Court, headed by Makhdúm ul-Mulk and Shaikh ’Abdunnábí, had every cause to feel sorry

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* Name of the 266th verse of the second chapter of the Qurán.
† The details of Abul Fazl’s introduction at Court given in Badáóní differ slightly from Abul Fazl’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 Badáoni 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 casuists had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief-Judge on Sh'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 Hanafí 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 'Abdunnabí, 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 Islám, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution

* Badáoni 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 'Aláuddín Khiljí had before tried to raise the law of expediency (مصلحة الوقت, maslahat i waqt) 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 Mullá. 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 disputations, 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 Islám. It was only now that the Sunnís 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. Islám, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.* The learned party seeing their official position endangered, now showed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaikh Mubárak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islám. Badáoní 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 Islám. 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 'Abdunnábí and Makhdúm ul-Mulk signed indeed the document against their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaikh Mubárak 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 (ṣuh-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 ‘Abdunnabí 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 Akbarnámah the banish-
ment 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 depart-
ments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions.
Enjoying Akbar’s personal friendship, both remained at court in Fath-
pur Sikri, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years
later, Faizi was appointed Sadr of Ágra, Kálpí, and Kálinjar, in
which capacity he had to enquire into the possibility of resuming free
tenures (nayurghádt), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the
part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders them-
selves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue;
and Abul Fazl, in the very beginning of 1585,* was promoted to the man-
sab of Hazári, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and
was in the following year appointed Díván of the Province of Dihlí.
Faizi’s rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hun-
dred. 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

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* Akbarnámah, III, 463.
but just; for after Amīr Khusrau of Dihlī, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizī.*

In the end of 1589, Abul Fazl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbarnáma. 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 Iláhi, or ‘the Divine Faith,’ the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaikh Mubárik’s document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (khálifah) on earth. The Islamic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the ‘elect’ was based on that of the Pársís and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindús. The new era (tárikh i iláhi), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pársí. The Muhammadan grandees at court shewed but little resistance: they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindú 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’hin, hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salím [Jahángír] 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 Qorán. 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 Zakhírat-ul Khawádún. He says that

* For his works, vide p. 543.
† امکانات کتاب در دوره اولیه نیست و شناسایی دوستان در اینجا نظر به جزییات و جایگاه دوستان نهایی شد.
Abul Fazl repented of his apostasy from Islam, and used at night to visit \textit{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 apostasy 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 Qadir of Lahore, a man of saintly renown,\footnote{Born A. H. 960; died at Lahore, 1024. \textit{Khazinat ul-Aghd}, p. 139.} 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 Quran, 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 Badoni, Naqib Khan, Shaikh Sultan, Haji Ibrahim, Shaikh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian.\footnote{\textit{Vide} pp. 104, 105.} Faizi took the Lilawati, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abul Fazl translated the KalilaDamnah under the title of \textit{'Aydar Danish} from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the Mahabharat and in the composition of the \textit{Tariikh i Afs}, the 'History of the Millennium.' The lastmentioned work, curious to say, has an
intimate connection with the Mahdawī movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaikh 'Alā'ī'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 Fathpur Sikrī and by the teachings of men of Sharif i Amuli's stamp,∗ with this important modification that Akbar himself was pointed to as the 'Lord of the Age,' through whom faded Islām 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 Tārīkh i Alfi, therefore, was to represent Islām as a thing of the past; it had existed thousand (ṣaf) years and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnis, was related from a Shi'ah 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 Abul Fazl to the post of Dūhažūrī, or commander of two thousand horse. Abul Fazl now belonged to the great Amīrs (umarā'i kībār) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Faizī was sent to the Dak'hin as Akbar’s ambassador to Burhān ul-Mulk and to Rājah 'Alī Khán of Khándesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salīm. Faizī returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaikh Mubārak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lāhor, (Sunday, 17th Zi' Qa'ādah, 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 Qurān, to which he had given the title of Manbā' ul Nafāis ul 'Uyūn. 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 Shāhjahān. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahāngir'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 Shāhjahān, 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 Badáíí speaks of him as follows:—

Shaikh Mubárák 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 prayer meeting 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 Afghán rule, he frequented Shaikh 'Aláí's fraternity; in the beginning of his Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandí had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadání school; and lastly, when the Shi'áhah 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 Shádí by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qórán 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 Qórán which he composed, resembles the Ṭafsírí Namá or Ṭafsírí ʻÁbáí [the "Great Commentary"], and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled ʻAbáí Íbádís wíl '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 ʻá) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Barßá, the Ode by Ka'b ibn Zubáir, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zí Qá'dáh, 1001, he left this world at Láhor for the judgment-seat of God.

* A writer on 'Ṭájwíl,' 'the art of reading the Qórán correctly'.
† Badáíí says in his 'Naqájí Írásíhí' that Jaláluddín Súyúťí, 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 Agra 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" [Qorân, 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 Mubârak'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 'Alî 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 Fazl, he went away.† How deeply Abul Fazl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbarnâmah and the Aín in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which heprefaces the selections in the Aín 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-Adwâr, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbarnâmah.

* Husain, in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazid; hence the latter is generally called 'Yazid i ma'lûn,' 'Yazid, the accursed.' Badãoî here calls Abul Fazl Yazid. Poor Badãoî had only the thousand big'bars 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.
† Badãoî, II, 406.  ‡ Page 549.
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 Aín i Akbarí, 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 Shahrukh Mirzá.† 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 Indípúr, and as the death of his infant son Mirzá 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 Dau-
latábád, when death overtook him. Abul Fazl arrived the same day, and
found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommen-
ded 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 com-
drivers 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
Satondá. His headquarters were on the Godávarí. He next entered
into an agreement with Chánd Bibí, that, after punishing Abhang Khán
Habshi, who was at war with her, she should accept Janír as sif
and give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dak’hín op-
erations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahádur
Khán to pay his respects to Prince Dányál, and war with Khánádesh
had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Asír, Bahádur
Khán’s stronghold, and appointed Prince Dányál to take command at
Ahmadnagar. Dányál sent immediate instructions to Abul Fazl to
cease all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally.
When the Prince therefore left Burbánpúr, Abul Fazl, at Akbar’s re-
quest, left Mírzá Sháhrukh, Mir Murtazá, 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 Bijaigár. The emperor received him with the
following verse—

فرخنده شیر بابه و خوش مهتاب
تا نور حکابه کنم از هر باب

*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
Khánádesh; whilst the southern Pûrná, with the Dádná, flows into the Godávarí.
Prince Murúd had gone from Kichpúr to Narnálah, and from there to Sháhpúr,
which he had built about eight miles south of Báláspúr. 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 Korhiab. 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

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* Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerabad, when Radha Bado-za [Bajah Bahadur Shah], who had possession of the fortress of Hassar [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-Tsaran, the second Comerghar: 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. Bado-za however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as supplicant 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 Laë's 'India Vera,' and published in the Calcutta Review for 1873.

De Laë is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Tsaran. 'Commerghar' is the Persian 'Kamargah,' 'the middle of a mountain.' The names of Fort Chunah Malai and of Mount Korhiab are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwajah Malai and Korthab, Korthab, Kodhia, 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 Chunar Malai and Mount Korhiah, and Bahadur Khan, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Danyal, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar,* now joined his father at Asir.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Raju Manná, and a party set up the son of Ali Shah as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khan Khanan was ordered to march against him, and Abul Fazl was sent to Nasik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khan Khanan. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Agra, leaving Prince Danyal in Burhanpur. Abul Fazl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khan Khanan 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 'Abdurrahman. After coming to terms with the son of Ali Shah, he attacked Raju Manná, recovered Jalna and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Manná found a temporary asylum in Daulatabad, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Asir, Prince Salim, who had been sent against the Rana of Udaipur, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Ilahabád, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhanpur 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 Salim, the emperor recalled Abul Fazl, the only trusty servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son 'Abdurrahman in charge of his corps, Abul Fazl set out for Agra, only accompanied by a few men. Salim, 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 Rajah Bir Singh, a Bundelá chief of Urchah (U'dchhá),† 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. Faiz'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 Ghâti Chândâ; 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 Rabî‘ I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a kos from Sarai 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, Gadar Khan Afghân, told him quickly to retreat to Antrí, which was three kos distant, as Râi Bâyân and Suraj 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 Ilâhábád, 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 [Ilâhbás, the old form of Ilâhábád], 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. According, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa [Dânyâl 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. سرداری - Sarâ Bar. De Laët’s Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.
province of Osseon [Ujjain], to lie in wait for Fazi near Soor [Narwar?] and GUALIR [Gwalior], 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 Gualir, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fazi. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga [Kulābāgh], and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Fazi and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fazi 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 Bundélá 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 Hindústání 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 Dákhiin. 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 Bundélá, 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—

شیخ ما از شرق پنج هزار کلوی ما آمد
ز اشیاق پاپوسی بر چر وی آمد

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 Unjchá. They defeated the Bundela chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhánder and shut him up in Yrich. 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 Unjchá to kill the rebel wherever he shewed 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 Unjchá and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the Madosir 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 468.
call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Súfis, 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 penetration 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 trousers, 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 'Abdurrahmán used to sit at table as safarché (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammandan, was also in attendance, 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 (ehihirácafé) 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 k'hichri 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 Munsús;† 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 Bukhárá, 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 Munsú.’ 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 Pádisháhnámah, the ‘Alamáráí Sikandárí, or in the still more turgid manner of the ‘Alamgíránámah, the Ruq’át Bedíl, 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 Faizí 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 apostasy 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 intoleration, 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-lláhu (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 Bádáóní to shew that Akbar’s courtiers ascribed his apostasy from Islám to Faizí and Abul Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by ’Urff† from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

† For ’Urff 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 Khán-i A’zam Mírzá 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 of Paradise, ‘The slave Abul Fazl’—which likewise gives 1011 A. H.

Abul Fazl’s works are the following—

(1) The Akbarnómah with the Áin-i Akbarí, its third volume. The Áin-i Akbarí 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 Barár (1596-97, A. D.). The contents of the Akbarnómah 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 Inártullah Muhíb ‘Alí. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muhammad Sálih, which seems to be a corruption of Muhammad Súlíh.

(2) The Maktabát-i ‘Alámí, also called Inshá-i 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 Bukhárá, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islám. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the Áin, &c. The collection was made after Abul

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* The word باغی, 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 Hijr of which Abul Fazl was murdered. The metre of the hemistich is Long Ramal.

† The 46th year lasted from the 15th Ramazán, 1009, to 26th Ramazán, 1010, i. e. to about five months before Abul Fazl’s death.
Fazl's death by 'Abdu'l-ı Camad, 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 Bilgrám says in the preface to his "Sawánih i Akbari"* 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 Ayár Dánísh,† which is mentioned on p. 106.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abul Fazl also wrote a Risaálahi Munáját, or 'Treatise on Prayers'; a Jami'ülluğhat, a lexicographical work; and a Kashkoli. 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 Tárikh i Alafl.

The 'Durar ul Manahf,' a modern Tazkirah by Muhammad 'Askari Husaini of Bilgrám, 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 'Iyár i Dániš', '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 Nawádáir i Hikayát.
‡ Abul Fazl says in the fourth book of the Kín—"The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmas. 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 abate from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir."

Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmíri Bishis as model men.
O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language 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 sect 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.

* This line is Súfistic. 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 Hindustán, 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 Akbar,

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 Mubáarak’s sons.

1. Shaikh Abul Fazl, better known under his poetical name of Faizi. 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 Shawwal, 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 Khándesh.

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 Dak’hin to fetch Prince Dányál.

5. Shaikh Abul Makárim, born 23rd Shawwal, 976. “He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Sháh Abul Fath Shírází.

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


* I. e. Akbar is the inásá 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. Shāikh Abū Ḥāmid, born 3rd Rabi’ II, 1002, and Shāikh Abū Rāshid, born 1st Jumādā I, 1002. “They resemble their father.”

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

1. One married to Khudáwand Khán Dak’hiní; vide p. 442. Badáni calls her husband a Rúfizí, i. e., a Shí‘ah, and says he died in Karf in Gujarát.

2. One married to Husámu’ddín; vide p. 441.

3. One married to a son of Rúfi‘ Abú Khán of Khándesh. Their son Safídar 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 Ágrah, the learned author of the Miftáh ut-tawāríkh, 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 Sikandrah, near Ágrah. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpur 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 Mubárak, Faízí, and Abul Fazl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Tughrā characters may still be seen—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به ثقتي • هذه الروضة للعالم الرباني والعارف

الصدامان جامع العلم شهيد مبارك الله قدس سوته رقف بذلت أحر باهر العلم

شيء إبراففضل سلم الله تعالى في ظل دولة الملك العادل يطلبه أحر الدين

انتبل و الكرم جليل الدنيا و أحبب بإكرادشاه غازى خلد الله تعالى ظلال

سلطانه باهتمام حضرت أبي الوركات في سنة اربع و اف

In the name of God the merciful, the Clement, in whom I trust!

This mausoleum was erected for the divine scholar, the sage of the

* The Lak’hnau edition of the Akbar-námah (III, 630) 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, Jalaluddunyá waddin Akbar Pádisháh i Gházi,—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abul Barakát, in 1004 [A. D. 1595-96].

Thus it will appear that the Rauzah was built in the year in which Faizí died. Shaikh Mubarak, as was mentioned above, died in 1593 A. D. It seems, however, as if Shaikh Mubarak and Faizí 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 Bágh Villa, built by Firdaus Makání [the emperor Bábar]. There the author was born, and there are the resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaikh 'Aláuddin Majzúb and Mír Ráfíuddín 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.

Abul Fazl’s son is the wellknown

Shaikh 'Abdurráhman Afzal Kha'n.

He was born on the 12th Shábán, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunní name of 'Abdurráhman. In the 35th year of Akbar’s reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Sa'ádat Bárak Kökáh’s brother. By her 'Abdurráhman had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.†

When Abul Fazl was in command of the army in the Dakhín, 'Abdurráhman was, what the Persians call, the tár i ráát tarkash i sá, ‘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 Talángánah. When Malik 'Ambar, in the 46th year, had caught 'Alí Mardán Bahádur (p. 496) and had taken possession of the country, Abul Fazl despatched 'Abdurráhman and Sher Khwájah (p. 459) to oppose the enemy. They

† Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyár, who is so often mentioned in Firdausí’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, 

rice Islám Khán (the husband of Abul Fazl's sister), who was sent to Bengal. 'Abdurrahmán also received Gorák'h-púr 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 Qutbuddin appeared in the district of Bhojpúr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiyah Rájabs (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 Gorák'h-púr 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.

Bishotán, 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.
ABULFAZL'S PREFACE.

ALLAHU AKBAR!

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, Abulfaizl, son of Mubârik, 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

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 nature is 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 pdit 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-survär, 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,¹ the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light furri izidi (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it kiyán khwārah (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, see below.
into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden 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 arithmetician, the geometrician, the
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

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1 Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things,—jān (life), mlī (property), dīn (religion), nāmāz (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (pir)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to shew this devotedness, and then belonged to the dīn i ʿlāhī, 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-nál,1 the Keeper of the seal, the Mír-bakhshi,2 the Bár-bégí,3 the Qurbégi,4 the Mír-tózak,5 the Mír-bahrí,6 the Mír-barr,7 the Mír-Manzil,8 the Khwánsálár,9 the Munshi,10 the Qush-bégí,11 the Akhtah-bégí12, 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 Diwán. 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 Mustaúfí;13 and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the Vakil. The Mustaúfí, the Sáhib i Tujíh,14 the Awárjáh Nawí,15 the Mír-Sámán,16 the Názir i Buyútát,17 the Diwán i Buyútát,18 the Mushrif19 of the Treasury, the Wáqi’áh

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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 Diwán.
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 Diwân, 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 sharpsightedness, 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 flattering 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 Mír-'Adl, the Qázi,* 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 shurbat and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class.

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* The Recorder.  ** Collector.
* Also called Sadr i Jakdn, the Chief-Justice and Administrator General of the empire.
* The Qázi hears the case; the Mír '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*

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1 The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the Akhlaq-i Muhsini, Chapter XXXII, entitled *dar siyāsat*. 

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vicious 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; 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 Hindú 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,' 'lám,'
and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished
as 'maqṣūṭuh,' and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are
purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the 'p' in 'padí;' the 'ch' in 'chanán,'
the 'gūf' in 'nigárá,' the 'zh' in 'muzhán. Sometimes I have added to the names of these
letters, the phrase having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindú language I have
distinguished as Hindú. The letter 'ý' as in 'rág,' I have called 'taḥtá́ní,' and the 'tə,' as
in 'dást,' 'fásqá́ná.' The 'b' in 'adáb,' I have merely called 'bá. Similarly, the letters 'nún,'
'sdár,' 'ý,' and 'hé,' when clearly sounded, have been merely described as 'nán,' 'sád,' &c.

The nasal 'nún' I have called 'nán i khufá,' or 'nán i pinhán.' The final and silent 'k, as in 'farkhándáh,' I have called 'muktúb, i.e.,' written, but not pronounced. The 'i' and
'u, when modified to 'é' or 'ó,' I have called 'májkhúl. As consonants followed by an 'alif'
have the vowel 'a, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

AtN 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 shows 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 everything 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 dáms. 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
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 Khaajah sarai I’timad Khan, a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the Khaajah, 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 Jagir lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krór of dálms. Incorruptible bītakhs 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

\[I'timad\text{ means trustworthiness. Khaajah sarai is the title of the chief eunuch. His real name was Phul Malik. After serving Salim Sháh (1545 to 1563) who bestowed upon him the title of Muhammaad Khán, he entered Akbar’s service. Akbar, after the death of Shamsuddin Muhammad Alígh Khán, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed I’timad Khán, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (vide Abulfazl’s list of Akbar’s grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of I’timad Khán. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar’s satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mirán Mubárík, king of Khándésh (1535 to 1566), to Akbar’s harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1576, appointed governor of Bhakkar. When in 1578 Akbar’s presence was required in the Panjáb, I’timad Khán desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness. This led to a conspiracy against his life. In the same year he was murdered by a man named Mauqud ʿAll. Mauqud ut umard.\]

\[Writers.\]
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 dâms, 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 pîshkash\(^1\) receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for nazar receipts,\(^2\) and another for the monies expended in weighing the royal person,\(^3\) 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 Tûrán, 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 krôr of dâms 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 sahaâk, and many of

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\(^1\) Tributes.  
\(^2\) Presents, vows, &c.  
\(^3\) Vide the eighteenth Aîn 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 khayj 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!

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ATN 3.

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 dářóghah, and also skilful jewelers. 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 9½ to 5; 11th class, from 4½ to 1 muhr; 12th class, from 4⅞ to 1 rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

**Diamonds, emeralds, and the red and blue yáqíts, were classified as follows:**
1st class, from 30 muhurs upwards; 2nd class, from 29⅞ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from 14⅞ to 12; 4th class, from 11⅞ to 10; 5th class, from 9⅞ to 7; 6th class, from 6⅞ to 5; 7th class, from 4⅞ to 3; 8th class, from 2⅞ to 2; 9th class, from 1⅞ to 1 muhr; 10th class, from 8½ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4⅞ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1⅛ to ¼ 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 29½ to 15 muhurs; 3rd class, from 14½ to 12; 4th class, from 11½ to 10; 5th class, from 9½ to 7; 6th class, from 6½ to 5; 7th class, from 4½ to 3; 8th class, from 2½ to 2; 9th class, from 1½ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhr, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5, to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to ½ rupees; 13th class, less than ½

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1 A purse in Hindi is called bahlah.
rupees, to 30 dáms; 14th class, less than 30 dáms, to 20 dáms; 15th class, less than 20 dáms, to 10 dáms; 16th class, less than 10 dáms, to 5 dáms. 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, ¼ rupee; 2nd class, ½; 3rd class, ¼ rupee; 4th class, 3 dáms; 5th class, 1 süki; 6th class, 1 dám; 7th class, ¾ dáms; 8th class, ¼ dám; 9th class, ½ dám; 10th class, ½; 11th class, ¾; 12th class, ¼; 13th class, ½; 14th class, ¼; 15th class, ½; 16th class, ½, 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 weighing 11 tánks, 20 surkhs; and diamonds of 5½ tánks, 4 surkhs, each one lakh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17½ tánks, 3 surkhs, 52,000 rupees; yâqûts of 4 tánks, 7½ surkhs, and pearls of 3 tánks, each 50,000 rupees.

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ATN 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,

1 Surkh means red; also, a little seed with a black dot on it, called in Hind. ghungâhâ, Abrus precatorius. The Persians called it chakm i khurâz, cock’s eye. The seeds are often used for children’s bracelets. Abulfadl means here the weight called in Hind. rati, vulgo rutlace. 8 surkhs, or 8 ratis, = 1 máshah; 12 máshabs = 1 tôlah, and 80 tôlahs = 1 sér. A tánk is valued at 4 máshabs; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth Xin, Abulfadl states that the weight of 1 dám was 5 tánks, or 1 tôlah, 8 máshabs, 7 surkhs; i. e., 1 tánk = 1½ máshah = 4 máshabs, 1½ surkhs.
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, 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 Aín.

2 "Wadd it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say, 'Hallowed be thy name!' Ha'iri.
1. The Da'wāb. He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the onerous burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep everyone to his work, and shew zeal and integrity.

2. The Sairāfī. 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 sarrāfs; 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 dhulali, but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called bāralbānī, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old hūn, 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 'Alá'uddín, 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.

*AIN 6.*

**BANWARÍ.**

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

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1 The same as Sairafī; 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 màshah of pure silver with the same quantity of the best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 màshahs of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one màshah’ is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a surkh each. If now 7½ surkhos 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 surkhos 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, 9¼ bān; 5½ s. gold and 5 parts composition, 9½ bān; 5 s. gold and 6 parts composition, 9 bān; 4½ s. gold and 7 parts composition, 8½ bān; 4 s. gold and 8 parts composition, 8½ 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, ¾ 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 ¼ surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ surkhos 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 surkhos of the second composition, the result will be 6 bān; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half surkhos. 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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1 This màshah contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i.e., 1°, 1°, 1°, 1°.

2 The Hind. term bān means temper, degree.

3 Gold and ½ alloy.
The chief revenue comes to  one of him. Should there be any differences, he
settles the 219th and the other workmen, maintains that which is right,
and proceeds quo vadis?

1. The  Business. He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright
and practical manner, at the same systematic day-book.

5. The  Blocket. He buys up gold, silver and copper, by which he
gains a profit for himself, serves 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 Akadit.

7. The  Weigher, who weighs the coins. For weighing 100 jubali gold-
mohurs, he gets 13 dains; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6$ dains; and for
weighing 1000 copper dains, $ of a dain; and, after this rate, according to the
quantity.

8. The  Molder of the arcs. He makes small and large trenches in a tablet
of clay which he beams 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 21 dains; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dains and 13½
julafs; for the same quantity of copper, 4 dains and 21½ julafs.

9. The  Plater. He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or
seven miskals 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 show the work
done. He receives as wages for the above mentioned quantity of gold, 42½
dains.

AXIOM 7.

THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the abovementioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the
gold, for the weight of every 100 jubali goldmohurs, must furnish 4 sors of

1 The Akadis correspond to our Warranted officers. Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court,
the barnmen in Akbar's workshops, &c., belonged to this corps. They were called Akadis, or single men, because they stood
under Akbar's immediate orders. The word Akadi, the h of which is the Arabic

2 Twenty-five jital make one dain. Tread the 19th Am.
saltpetre, and 4 sérds 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 khák i Khalás, and in Hindi salóni. 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 sitái. 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 múshah 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 tólahs of pure gold, and two tólahs 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 muthurs is three dámas.

11. The Zarráb. 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 muthurs, 21 dámas, 1½ jétals; for the weight of 1000 rupees 53 dámas, 8½ jétals, if he cuts rupees; and 28 dáma in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper dámas his fee is 20 dámas; for the same weight of half and quarter dámas, 25 dámas; and for half quarter dámas, which are called dumris, 69 dámas.

In Irán and Túrán they cannot cut these pieces without a proper anvil; 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, Mauláná
'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-books of the most skilful calligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yūz-bāšī,* 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 hammerer (*patilki*) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 goldmuhurs, 1½ dāms; for 1000 rupees, 5 dāms, 9½ jétals; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 dām, 3 jétals in addition; for 1000 copper dāms, 3 dāms; for 2000 half dāms, and 4000 quarter dāms, 3 dāms, 18½ jétals; and for 8000 half-quarter dāms, 10½ dāms. Out of these fees the sikkachi has to give one-sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The Sebbāk 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 Turān, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dahlahi*; in Hindustān, the sairafs use for it the term *bish-bishah.* 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 *Mugilim* 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. Akadis of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a Yūz-bāšī varied from five to seven hundred rupees per meseem; vide the third Aīn of the second book.
2 Called in Hind. *babāl,* 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 surkhs in 100 tólahs. The ashes of the dish, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindi k’harat, and in Persian kuhnah;* the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarráb, 5 máshahs and 5 surkhs 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 sháhi silver, which is current in ‘Iráq and Khurásán, and of the ldrí and misqáti, which are current in Túrán, there are lost three tólahs and one surkh; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish marjil, and the mahmúdí and muzaffarí of Gujrat and Málwah, 13 tólahs and 6½ máshahs are lost, they become of the imperial standard.

15. The Qurkub 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 damms.

16. The Chádhmigir 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 damms. 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* birinj (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 damms, 4½ jétals.

17. The Nidriyah collects the khák i khálq, and washes it, taking two sér 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 kubrá, 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

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1 Some MSS. have katak.
2 One MS. has six.
quick-silver from its predileptive 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 quick-silver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of ḫalū, the Ṣigvīyēh receives 20 dīnums, 2 jēndils.

The process of ḫalū.

They mix with the ḫalū an equal quantity of ṭǔbar, and form a paste of ṭǔlī, apex fortis, and wild couching. They then pound the first composition, and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two sōrs weight, which they dry on a cloth.

Ṭǔbar is obtained as follows:—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of ḫubīl-wood, at the rate of six fingers of ashes for every manud of lead. The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed; then they cover it with charcoal, and melt the lead. After that, having removed the coals, they place it 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 seamed up the lead. The bricks they frequently remove, to learn the state of the lead. For the abovementioned quantity of lead, there are 4 mishails of silver mixed up with the ashes. These ashes they cool in water, when they are called ṭǔbar. Out of every man of lead two sōrs are burnt; but the mass is increased by four sōrs of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one man and two sōrs.

Ṭǔlī is a kind of acid, made of ṣuhkār and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what ṭǔbar and ṭǔlī are, I return to the description of the process of ḫalū. 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 abovementioned 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 ṭǔbar system. The lead will mix with the ashes,
from which thirty sërs will be recovered, and ten sërs will be burnt. The
gold, silver and copper, remain together in a mass, and this they call bugråwatí,
or according to some, gubråwatí.

The process of Bugråwatí.

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of babûl-wood, half a sër for
every 100 tolâhs of bugråcâtî. These ashes they then make up in form of
a dish, and mix them up with the bugråwatí, adding one tolâh of copper, and
twenty-five tolâhs 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 babûl-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the
ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called
Khârâl, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process,
which will be hereafter explained.

AIN 8.

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. cchâchhiyâ. For every tolâh of the alloy,
they take a másháh of copper, and two másháhs, two surkhs of sulphur.
First, they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of
100 tolâhs weight, the 100 másháhs of copper are employed as follows:—they
first melt fifty másháhs with it, and then twice again, twenty-five másháhs.
The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of
gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty másháhs 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 tolâh of this mixture, two másháhs and two surkhs of sulphur are
used, i.e., at the rate of one and one half quarter sër (1½ sër) per 100 tolâhs.
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 Dihlî, it is termed pînjar. If
the mixture contained much gold, it generally turns out to be of 6½ 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 Salóni 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 1½ tólahs, but a little broader than those which they make in the Salóni 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.

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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 Subhák, p. 22. The ashes of it are also Kharal. The Salóni process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The Paukár having melted the Kharal, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tólah of silver is 1½ dáms. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 dáms to the Dwán. Having reduced the Kharal to small bits, he adds to every man of it 1½ sér of tàngár (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 Subhák, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns punhar.

19. The Paikár buys the Salóni and Kharal 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 dáms, and for the same quantity of Kharal 14 dáms, to the exchequer.

20. The Nichóiwálah brings old copper-coins which are mixed with silver, to be melted; and from 100 tólahs of silver, 3½ rupees go to the
diwán; and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty.

21. The Khakshée. When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described, the Khakshée 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 dáms for every 100 dáms.

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’hansah is a round coin weighing 101 tólahs, 9 másháhs, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 la’t i jaldlí-muhurs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, alsultánu ala’zamun alkhádíyánu almu’a’azzamun khallada alláhu mulkahu wa sultánahu zarbu dari-ikhkílásati Agrah,—“The great sultán, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Agrah.” On the field of the reverse is the beautiful formula,1 and the following verse of the Qurán:2—Alláhu yarínq man yasháhu bighairi hisábin,—“God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure;”—and roundabout are the names of the first four calífs. This is what was first cut by Maulána Maqqúd, the engraver; after which Mullá ‘Ali Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side, Afsalu dinárin yannuquhu alraju’lu, dinárun yannuquhu ‘ala aqúbábihi fi sabililláh,—“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,

Alsultánu alá’lí alkhádíyánu almu’ta’dáli khallada alláhu ta’ála mulkahu wa sultánahu, wa abbáda ’adláhu wa thánahu,—“The sublime sultán, the exalted

1 Also called Kalimah, or the Confession of Faith, lā ila’ha ill-ulláh, Muhamma-
dun rasúl-ulláh.

calif. may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and give
authority to his justice and bounty.”

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

*Khurshíd il-haft barh azú gawbar yáft
Sang e sigah az partar i áyn jahbar yáft
Kún az nazar e tarsiyat é ú zar yáft
Wóy zar sharof az sikhah i Sháh Akbar yáft.*

“‘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, jatba jálábába,—“God is great, may his His glory shine
forth!” in the middle. And on the other side,

*Yá sikhah kih píráyíh u ummúld buraad
Bá naqsh i dorúm u nám i jávíd buraad
Símah e sa’ádásah hawín bas kih badahr
Yák zarrah nazar-kardah i khurshíd buraad.*

“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 mohurs, at 11 másháhs
each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Rubá’í* 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
*shánsah,* and on the other side the following Rubá’í by Fá’átí:—

*Yá naqsh i ranun i quán i shúkhinsháhi
Bá kaukab i sábal kunad hawíndhi
Khurshíd biparváranh azúngú kih badahr
Yábad sharaf az sikhah i Aksharsháhi.*

“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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1 According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls and pre-

* cious stones into existence; *vide* the thir-

teenth Áin. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.
4. The Ātmah 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'i by Faizī—

I'm sikkah kih dast i bahād rá zewār bad
Pirdiyah i nuh sipīr u haft akhtar bad
Zarrīn nagdēst kār azī chūn zah bād
Dar dahr ravoān bandām i shāh akbar bād.

"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 Shāh Akbar."

And on the other side the preceding Rubā'i.

5. The Binsat, of the same two forms as the ātmah, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

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 s'hanah, in value equal to two mukhrs.  

7. The round La'l i Jalālī, in weight and value equal to two round mukhrs, having on one side "Allāhu akbar," and on the other Yā mu'inu—

"O helper."

8. The Aftābī is round, weighs 1 tōlah, 2 máshahs and 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) surkhs, in
value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "Allāhu akbar, jalla jallalhu," and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck.

9. The Iḥābī is round, weighs 12 māshahs, 1 ½ surkhās, bears the same stamp as the Aṣṭābī, and has a value of 10 rupees.

10. The square La'l i Jalālī is of the same weight and value; on one side "Allāhu akbar," and on the other "jalla jallalhu."

11. The 'Aḍlytakah is round, weighs 11 māshahs, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "Allāhu akbar," and on the other, "Ya ma'īnā."  

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

13. Mihrābi ² is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round mukhr. 

14. The Mu'inī is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the La'l i jalālī, and the round mukhr. It bears the stamp "yā ma'īnā."

15. The Chahārgūshah, in stamp and weight the same as the Aṣṭābī. 

16. The Gīrd is the half of the Iḥābī, and has the same stamp. 

17. The D'hān ⁴ is half a La'l i Jalālī. ⁴

18. The Salāmī is the half of the 'Aḍlytakah.

19. The Rābi is a quarter of the Aṣṭābī.

20. The Mun, is a quarter of the Iḥābī, and Jalālī.

21. The Half Salāmī is a quarter of the 'Aḍlytakah.

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

23. The Pandu is the fifth part of the La'l i Jalālī; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The Sunnī, or Ashtsiddh, is one-eighth of the Iḥābī; on one side "Allāhu akbar," and on the other "jalla jallalhu."

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

26. The Zarāh is the 32nd part of an Iḥābī, and has the same stamp as the kalā.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin La'l i jalālīs, Bhans, and Muns, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

¹ It has the Kalimah, (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the A'in).

² The figure called mihrābī, is

³ In Forbes's Dictionary, dahan.

⁴ Several MSS. read: "Half a quarter Iḥābī and La'l i Jalālī." Forbes gives six rupees (?).

⁵ Several MSS. have Rābi. Perhaps we should write Rabbī.
B. Silver Coins.

1. The Rupee is round, and weighs eleven and one half máshahs. It was first introduced in the time of Shér Khán. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "Alláhu akbar, jalla jalálúhu," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty dámas, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The Jalálah 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 Jalálah.

4. The Charn is a quarter Jalálah.

5. The Pandau is a fifth of the Jalálah.

6. The Asht is the eighth part of the Jalálah.

7. The Dás is one-tenth of the Jalálah.

8. The Kalá is the sixteenth part of the Jalálah.

9. The Sáki is one-twentieth of the Jalálah.

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

C. Copper Coins.

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

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

2. The Añhelálah is half of a dám.

3. The Páulah is a quarter dám.

4. The Danú is one-eighth of a dám.

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, Ahmadábád (Gujrát), and Kábúl. Silver and copper are likewise coined in those four places, and besides in the following ten places,—Iláhabád, Agrah, Ujain, Sárat, Dihlí, Patana, Kashmír, Lábór, Multán, Tándah. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmír, Audh, Aták, Alwar, Basáon, Banáras, Bhakkar, Bahár, Patán, Jampaúr, Jálándhar, Hardwár, Hisár, Firúzah.

*Often mispelt chétal. The text gives the correct spelling.*
Kálpí, Gváliá, Góraž’hpúr, Kalánwar, Lak’hmú, Mándú, Nágór, Sarhind, Siyálkót, Sarójí, Saháranpúr, Sárangpúr, Sambal, Qaunúj, Rantánbhúr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round mukurs, rupees, and daims.

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 Rájah Tódármál,¹ four kinds of mukurs were allowed to be current: **A.** There was a La’l i Jahátí, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tólah, 12 surkhs. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 daims. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a mukur with the imperial stamp, of which three degrees passed as current, viz., **B.** This mukur, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 máshahs. Its value was 360 daims. 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 mukur, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 daims. **D.** The same

¹ Rájah Tódármál, a Khétrí by caste, was born at Láhóí. 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 Gujráí. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with Mún’ím Kháín; and three years later, again in Gujráí. In the 27th year, he was appointed Diván of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a Khétrí in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yúsufzayís, to avenge the death of Bir Bar. 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 Bódámí expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the eleventh day A. H. 998, or 10th November 1589, the same year in which Rájah Bhágáwán Dáí died. Tódármál had reached the rank of a Chákárákházárí, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dháráú, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with That’kah. 

Abúlází did not like Tódármál personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Aurangzéb said, he had heard from his father, that Akbar complained of the râjah's independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hindúism. Abúlází 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 Hindúism, Tódármál may be contrasted with Bir Bar, who a short time before his death had become a member of the Divine Faith. Once when accompanying Akbar to the Panjáb, in the hurry of the departure, Tódármál'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 dámas.

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 máshás; it went under the name of Jalálah, and had a value of 40 dámas. B. The round, old Akbarsáhi Rupee, which, when of full weight, or even at a surkh less, was valued at 39 dámas. C. The same rupees, when in weight two surkhs less, at 38 dámas.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mihar of the 29th year of the Divine era, 'Azaduddaulah Amir Fathullah' of Shíráz 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 dámas and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one
twenty-fourth Aín, which caused his death.

Next to Abúfázl, Faizí, and Bár Bar, the Amir was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed to Abulfazl to Akbar himself (!). The Amir was, however, on the best terms with Abulfazl, whose son he instructed. Accordingly to the author of the Mir-'al 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 Madmír ul umard that according to some, the Amir was a Síh-hazdrí, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar's grandees given in the Tabagdí i Akbari, and the last Aín of the second book of this work. Instead of Amir Fathullah, we also find, especially in Badshí, Sháh Fathullah. He lies buried on the Tukhit i Sulaimán. Faizi's ode on his death is very fine.
surkh of coined gold at the low rate of four dāms and a fraction. According to Tādārmal’s regulation, a deduction of five dāms was made for a deficiency of one surkh; and if the mūhur 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 Iżādduddaulah, the value of a mūhur was lessened by six dāms and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 dāms and a fraction only.

Iżādduddaulah 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 Iżādduddaulah went to Khándésh, the Rājāh estimated the value of mūhurs that had been expressed in Jalálah rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on mūhurs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulī Khān² received the charge of the government, he adopted the Rājāh’s manner of estimating the mūhurs; but he deducted...
ten dáms for a deficiency in the weight of a muhur, for which the Rájah had deducted five dáms; and twenty dáms, for the former deduction of ten dáms; whilst he considered every muhur as bullion, if the deficiency was 1½ surkha. Similarly, every rupee, the deficiency of which was one surkh, was considered as bullion.

Lastly, his Majesty trusting to his advisers, 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 muihurs, 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 bábdghúrí 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 Dirhám, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date stone. During the califate of
'Omar, it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of Zubair, it was impressed with the words Allāhu (God), barakat (blessing). Hajjāj stamped upon it the chapter of the Qurān called Ikhlās; 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 Abdūlmalik, the son of Marwān, by whose order Hajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, had struck dirhams. Some say that Hajjāj refined the base dirhams, and coined them with the words Allāhu wadd (God is one), and Allāhu cadd (God is eternal); and these dirhams were called makrāhah (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured; unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Hajjāj, at the time of the reign of Yazīd ibn i Abdūlmalik, 'Omar ibn Hubairah coined in the kingdom of Irāq better dirhams than Hajjāj had made; and afterwards Khālid ibn Abdullah Qasrī, when governor of Irāq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf ibn 'Omar. Again, it has been said that Mu'āqib 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 mishqāls; whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve and ten qirāts, asserting at the same time that 'Omar had taken a dirham of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen qirāts, 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 dāngs, which were called baghli, after Reis 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 dāngs, which were called tabrī; thirdly, some of three dāngs, which were known as maghrībi; and lastly, some of one dāng, named yamani, the half of which four kinds 'Omar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fāzil of Khujand says that in former days dirhams had been of two kinds, first:—full ones of eight and six dāngs (1 dāng of his = 2 qirāts; 1 qirāt = 2 tassūj; 1 tassūj = 2 habbah); and secondly, deficient ones of four dāngs and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The Dirār is a gold coin, weighing one mishqāl, i. e., 1½ dirhams, as they put 1 mishqāl = 6 dāngs; 1 dāng 4 tassūj; 1 tassūj = 2 habbah; 1 habbah = 2 jaus (barley grains); 1 jau = 6 khardeš (mustard-grain); 1 khardeš = 12 fals; 1 fals = 6 fatils; 1 fatil = 6 naqirs; 1 naqir = 6 qitmir; and 1 qitmir = 12 zarrahs. One mishqāl, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. Mishqāl 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 *misqāl* is out of use, and weighs two *gīrāts* less than this; and that the Greek dirham differs likewise from others, being less in weight by \(\frac{1}{4}\) or \(\frac{1}{2}\) of a *misqāl*.

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**AYN 12.**

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

One round muhur of 11 māshahs buys one tólah of gold of 10 bān; or one tólah, 2 surkhs of 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) bān; or 1 tólah, 4 s. of 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) bān; or 1 tólah 6 s. of 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) bān; or 1 tólah, 1 māshah 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 māshah.

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

This sum is accounted for as follows. First, 2 Rs. 18 d. 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) j., due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; secondly, 5 Rs. 8d. 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\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. dung; 4 d. 20 j. salōn; 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 khālāq* (*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 *Laʾl i Jalālī* mühurs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; fifthly, 12 Rs. 37 d. 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. which the merchant takes as his profit; sixthly, 5 mühurs 12 Rs. 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) d., which go to the exchequer.\(^2\) 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 *Salōnī*-process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus,

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\(^1\) One *tangah* = 2 dāms; now-a-days one *tangah* = 2 *paie.*

\(^2\) There is a slight mistake of 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) *jādīla* as the several items added up give 105 m. 30 Rs. 24 d. 23\(\frac{1}{2}\) j., but not 105 m. 39 Rs. 25 d.
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 960 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 27\frac{1}{2} dams. The several items are—first, 2 Rs. 22 d. 12 j., as wages for the workmen (viz., The Weighman 5 d. 7\frac{1}{2} j.; the Chashnigir 3 d. 4\frac{1}{2}; the Meltor 6 d. 12\frac{1}{2} j.; the Zarrab 2 Rs. 1 d. 0 j.; the Sikkachi 6 d. 12\frac{1}{2} 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 Diwan; fourthly, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets for the silver he brought; and fifthly, 3 Rs. 21 d. 10\frac{1}{2} 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 lâri and shâki, 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 Sabbath process, 14 t. 10 m. 1 s. burn away, being at the rate of 1\frac{1}{2} 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 khäk i kharal 3\frac{1}{4} Rs. are recoverable. The several items are—first, 4 Rs. 27 d. 2\frac{1}{2} j. on account of the wages of the workmen (viz., the Weighman 5 d. 7\frac{1}{2} j.; the Sabbath 2 Rs. 0 d. 19 j.; the Qurcköb 4 d. 19 j.; the Chashnigir 3 d. 4 j.; the Meltor 6 d. 12\frac{1}{2} j.; the Zarrab 2 Rs. 1 d.; the Sikkachi 6 d. 12\frac{1}{2} 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 dams buy one man of copper, i.e., at the rate of 26 d. 2\frac{1}{2} j. per sér. Out of this quantity, one sér is burnt away in melting; and as each sér yields 30 dams, there are coined altogether 1170 dams, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 d. 19\frac{1}{2} 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); 58\frac{1}{2} 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, sum mentioned by Abulfazl (1015 Rs. 25d. 14\frac{1}{2} j., i.e., a little more than the 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; moistness easily separates particles, whilst dryness prevents their separation. This wonderful arrangement calls four compounds into existence, first, the ḍār i 'ulwī; 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, earthly 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 earthly particles and air, dry bukhār, or dukhān 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 yaqūt; 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 flies 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 bukhár is greater, pure, black and yellow naphtha 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, khārcheini 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 spirits of life.

Just (powder), which, according to the opinions of some, is Ráh i tákáyyá, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of Jálór, which is a dependency of the Súlah of Ajmír. Some practical mechanics are of opinion that the metal called rícay 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. Safdrú, which the

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1 According to some MSS., the Hindús.
people of Hindustan call kâsî. It is a mixture of 4 sêrs of copper to 1 sêr of tin, melted together. 2. Râj, 4 sêrs of copper to 1½ sêrs of lead. It is called in this country bhangâr. 3. Brass, which the Hindus call pîtal, is made in three ways, first, 2½ sêrs copper to 1 sêr rûh i tûtiya, which is malleable, when cold; secondly, 2 sêrs of copper to 1 sêr of rûh i tûtiya, which is malleable, when heated; thirdly, 2 sêrs of copper to 1 sêr of rûh i tûtiya, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. Sim i sukhtah, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. Haftjâsh, which, like the Khârchâ, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it tâlliân, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. Ashtâhât, a compound of eight metals, viz., the six of the haftjâsh, rûh i tûtiya, and kâsî. It is also made of seven components. 7. Kaulpattr, 2 sêrs of safadrû, and 1 sêr of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.¹

ATN 14.

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of bukhâr and dukhân, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, bukhâr 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 bukhâr predominates over the dukhân, is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the bukhâr and dukhân 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,² now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses, (metre Mujtâse)—

-Za rûy i jussah i haftâd, u yak diram simdâb,
Chîlô shahast, u za arzip siy u haht shumdr,
Zahab qađat surub panjah o nuh dhan chil;
Birînj u mis chihil o panj nuqrah panjah u châr.

¹ This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar.
² Abâ Naqi i Farîkhi, of Farâh, a town in Sijistân. His real name is Muhammad Badruddîn. He has written a Vocabu- lary in rhyme, entitled Niqâb uṣîlpûn, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, for 1868, p. 7.
"Quicksilver is 71; Rúi is 46; Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 49; Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemotechnical words in rhyme, (metre Ramal)—

Nuh silla et masta viyyul hajj rá chńa baraka,
Ikháltié et wazn dárád hár yáké bá ishtiáh.
Zar lakan, zébaq alam, urub dahan, arzú hal,
Qizah nád, áhan yákí, misq o shabah màh, rúi màh.

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following nine metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows:—gold lakan, quicksilver alam, lead dahan, tin hal, silver nad, iron yakí, copper and brass mah, rúi máh." 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 misqal 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 misqal of a body displace, the greater is its volume, and the less its weight; and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 94 m. of water, and the same quantity of gold, 54 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

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1 We fix the specific gravities as follows:—Gold 19.26; Mercury 13.6; Lead 11.36; Silver 10.40; Copper 8.67; Iron 7.76; Tin 7.32; Rúi 8.86.
2 The Arabic consonants of the mnemotechnical words lakan, alam, &c., represent numbers; thus k + k + n = 30 + 30 + 60; a + l + m = 1 + 30 + 40; &c.
of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. *Abu Raihd* has drawn up a table, which I shall insert here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity of water displaced by 100 misqals of</th>
<th>Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 misqals of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold,</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver,</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead,</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūi,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass,</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iron,</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin,</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue),</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (red),</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby,</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zumurrud,</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pearl,</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lapis lazuli,</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelian,</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber,</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billaur,</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weight (in air) of the undermentioned metals, the volume of 100 misqals of gold being taken as the unit of volume.

| The weight (in air) of the undermentioned precious stones, the volume of 100 misqals of the blue yāqūt being taken as the unit of volume. |
|---|---|---|---|
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gold, | 100 | 0 | 0 | Yāqūt (light blue,) | 94 | 3 | 3 |
| Quicksilver, | 71 | 1 | 1 | Yāqūt (red,) | 94 | 3 | 3 |
| Lead, | 59 | 2 | 2 | Ruby, | 90 | 2 | 3 |
| Silver, | 54 | 3 | 3 | Zumurrud, | 69 | 3 | 3 |
| Rūi, | 46 | 2 | 3 | Pearls, | 67 | 5 | 2 |
| Copper, | 45 | 3 | 3 | Lapis lazuli, | 65 | 3 | 2 |
| Brass, | 45 | 3 | 3 | 5(?)Cornelian, | 64 | 4 | 2 |
| Iron, | 40 | 0 | 0 | Amber, | 64 | 3 | 1 |
| Tin, | 38 | 2 | 2 | Billaur, | 63 | 3 | 3 |

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 misqals (1 m. = 8 d.; 1 d. = ¾ t.) But in most items there is an excess of one dānga.
THE IMPERIAL 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 every thing 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 dārōghahs, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, every thing 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. Somo

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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 Tahwîldâr (cash-keepers) of the seraglios. The Tahwîldâr 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 Tahwîldâr, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-Tahwîldâr for distribution among the servants of the seraglios. 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 Râjîâts, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, Ahadîs, and other troops, according to their ranks.

Whenever Begums, 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 seraglios, 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.

ATN 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 Gulûdhâr 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 dâms per rupee.
pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 51 divisions, 24 yards long, and 14 broad; and in the middle there stands a large Chaubín ráoti; and round about it a Sarápírdáh. Adjoining to the Chaubín, 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 chaubín ráots 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 Sídímá of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a Sarápírdáh of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the Urdubhígs, 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 Mahtábi; 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 Namgírah, 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 Gulálbir, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the Mahtábi; and in the midst of it, is a Chaubín ráoti, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards, and separated by canvases. This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called Ibachki, which is the (Chagatáí) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a Sarápírdáh is put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the Sarápírdáh 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 Qulandari, 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 Díván-i- kháq, 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 Afn.  
2 Awnings.  
3 Armed women.  
* As may be still seen in the ruins of Fathpúr Síkri.
obtained leave through the Bakhshis,\(^1\) 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 Divan i 'Am, 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 tadbs is the Naqqārah Khānah,\(^2\) and in the midst of the area the Akāsiah\(^3\) is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the Farrāshes on a piece of ground which the Mir Mansil\(^4\) 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, Mansabārs,\(^5\) Ahmadā. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farrāshes, natives of Irán, Turān, 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 datāms.

**Aïn 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 Naqqārah khānah, 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

\(^1\) 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 tadb, vide the tenth Aïn of the third book.

\(^3\) A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. Vide p. 50.

\(^4\) Quarter masters.

\(^5\) Grandees.
the left centre are the tents of Maryam Makáni,1 Gulbadan Bégum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dányał; to the right, those of Prince Sultán Salím; 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.

ATN 18.

ON ILLUMINATIONS.

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surely, 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 Munyari2 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 Śūrjaṅk, 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.

1 Maryam Makáni, (i.e., dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Arshia, the wife of Pharao, Khadijah, the name of Muhammad’s first wife, and Fatimah, his daughter, are the four perfect women of the Islam) is the title of Akbar’s mother. Her name was Hamidah Bánu Begum; vide Badahmi, ed. Bibl. Ind. I, p. 437. Gulbadan Bégum (i.e., Lady Rose body) appears to be the name of one of Akbar’s favourite wives.

2 The members of the Divine Faith.

* This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Munair is a town in Bahá; 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 *Chandarkranti*, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one *gharti* 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 *gharti* = 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 Akasdiah. 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 dâms.

ATN 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The Shamah* 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 Afshâyr. 4. The Kaukabah,* of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are only used by kings.

5. The 'Alan, 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 Chatrtog, a kind of 'Alan, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaka. 7. The Tumantog is like the Chatrtog, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The Jhanâr 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 Naqqârahkhânah, I may mention, 1. the Kuwargah, commonly called damâmah; there are eighteen pair of

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* From Akâs sky, and dinah lamp. The Akâsidiyah is also mentioned by Bernier.

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

At night, these pictures are illuminated.

* Tidâ 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 naqqarah, twenty pair, more or less. 3. The dakhil, of which four are used. 4. The Karanâ is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals: and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The surnâ of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The nafr, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The siny 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 gharîs before the commencement of the night, and likewise four gharîs before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One gharî before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the surnâ, and wake up those that are asleep; and one gharî after sun rise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kuwargah a little, whereupon they blow the karanâ, the nafr, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqqarah; after a little pause the surnās are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the nafrs. One hour later the naqqāras commence, when all musicians raise “the auspicious strain.” After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The Mursal, which is the name of a tune played by the mursil; and afterwards the bardâhdt, 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 ikhlâś, ibtidâ, shirâzî, qalandarî nigar qatrah,* or nukhûd gatrah, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old Khwarizmite tunes. Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes Jalâshâhî, Mahdîr karkat (?), and the Nawârizi. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of Bā’ miyân dawr. 6. The passing into the tunes asfar, also called ṭâh i bâdi, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwarizmitte tunes, played by the Mursel, after which he passes into the mursat; 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 naqqarah.

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* Or Karranâ.
* Probably blessings on his Majesty.
* Several of these names of melodies are unclear, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words shirâzî qalandarî, “a hermit of Shiraz,” belong to each other. Nigar qatrah means, behold the tear.
Man-abdārās, Ahadis, and other troops are employed in this department. The monthly pay of a foot-soldier does not exceed 340, and is not less than 14 dāms.

ATN 20.

THE ROYAL SEALS.

Seals are used in the threeranches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions. In the beginning of the present reign, Maulānā Maqūd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the ṭiḡū character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timūr-lang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the nasta’līq character, only with his Majesty’s name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, mihrābī in form, which had the following verse round the name of his Majesty—

Rūstā miṣrīb i rizā i khudāst, kā marzatān khā yun khud az rah i rūst.

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

Tamākīn made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Maulānā ‘Alī Ahmad of Dihlī improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chagatāi) name of Ṭūzūk, and is used for farmāwā i saḥīs; 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 Allāhu Akbar, jallā jahābīlū, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to farmāwās, another stamp is used of various forms. Of seal-engravers I shall mention

1. Maulānā Maqūd of Herāt, one of the servants of Humāyūn, who writes well the ṭiḡū and nasta’līq characters. The astrolabe, globes, and various mistārās which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

1 Corresponding to the threefold division of the ʾĀn i Akbarī.
2 The word mahār, 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 bhīla nut is preferred.
* Tīde note p. 50.
* Tīde the eleventh Ān 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 mistār, from sātār, a line. The copyist then puts the blank
2. **Tumkin of Kábul.** 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 *nastaʿlīq.*

3. **Mír Dost of Kábul.** He cuts both the *riqḍ* and *nastaʿlīq* characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His *riqḍ* is better than his *nastaʿlīq.* He also understands assaying.

4. **Maulána Ibráhím.** 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 *riqḍ* and *nastaʿlīq* from the master pieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words *laʿl jalálī,* or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. **Maulána ʿAli Ahmad** of Dihlí who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nastaʿlīq* is charming; but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father Shaikh Husain, studied the manner of Mauláná Maqṣúd, and eventually surpassed all.

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**ATN 21.**

**THE FARRĀSH KHANAH.**

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 *bārgāh,* when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand people. It takes a thousand farráshes 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 bārgāh 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 *chaukin rāwati* 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.

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*Nizám* of Herát, in his *Tabaqát 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
cross beam, 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 Dódshydnah 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 folds, sometimes with one, sometimes with two
door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions.
5. The 'Ajúbi 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 Manqal 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 A’ták’k’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
Qalándarí has been described. 11. The Sarápárdah 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
Gulálbár, 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 gulálbár 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 Goshkán, Khúzistán, Kirmán, and Sabzvár. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. There are found in every town, especially in Agrah, Fathpúr, and Láhór. In the imperial workshops, single carpets are made 20 gass, 7 tassijes long, and 6 gass, 11½ tassijes broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees. 

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

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

AIN 22.

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 Agrah 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 Hardwá. For the cooking of the food, rain water or water taken from the Jamnáh and the Chánáb 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 with it a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through,
they boil it, clean it, and let it crystallize. One sér of water is then put into a goblet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sér of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sér of water, and in this mixture the goblet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goblet will become cold. The price of saltpetre varies from 3/4 to 4 mams 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 Pānīhān, in the northern mountains, about forty-five kās from Lāhār. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sér 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 sér, at the rate of 5 dáns. 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 sér, 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 sér 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. 21 j.; and in the average 5 d. 15 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. 19 j.; in the middle 16 d. 2 j.; and in the end 19 d. 15 j., per sér; in the average 8 j. d.

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

AYN 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 sarásart, 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 1/4 rupee, i. e., 1/8 of a dam, or 8 j. d.
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 storehouse 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 Diváds i buyútdí and the Mir Bakáwal, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g., Sukháds rice from Bharáij, Düztrah rice from Gwáliár, Jinjín rice from Rájóí, and Nimlah, g'hu from Hiçdr Fírúzah; ducks, water-fowls, and

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1 Superintendent of the stores, workshops, &c.
certain vegetables from Kashmir. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, herberies, 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 derwish 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.

ATN 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 csufydnah; secondly, such in which meat and rice, &c., are used; thirdly, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First, 1. Zerd birinj. 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugarcandy; 3½ s. of g’hi; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ s. of each; ½ s. of salt; ½ s. of fresh ginger; 1¼ dâms saffron, 2¼ misqâls 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. of rice; ½ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of Dâewzirah paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sârs make a full pot; jînîn rice yields 22 sârs. 3. K’hihchiri. Rice, split dal, and g’hi 5 s. of each; ½ s. salt: this gives seven dishes. 4. Shirbirinj. 10 s., milk; 1 s. rice; 1 s. sugarcandy; 1 d. salt: this gives five full dishes. 5. T’hâlt. 10 s. of wheat ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of g’hi; 10 misqâls 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 dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 s. g’hi; 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. Bâdinjân. 10 s. rice; 1½ s. g’hi; 3½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafetida, each ½ m. This gives six dishes. 8. Pahît. For ten sârs of dal, or vetches, or gram, or skinned lentils, &c., take 2½ s. g’hi; ½ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cuminseed; 1½ m. assafetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with Khushkah. 9. Ság. It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, &c., 1½ s. g’hi; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamums and cloves: this gives six dishes. 10. Halûd. Flour, sugarcandy, g’hi, 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. *Qubuli*. 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, ½ d. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Duezabiryán*. 10 s. rice, 3½ s. g'hi; 10 s. meat; ½ s. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. *Qimah Palao*. 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. *Hughrá*. 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; 1½ s. g'hi; 1 s. gram; 1¼ 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. *Qimah Shurbá*. 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. *Harisah*. 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. g'hi; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. *Kushk*. 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. g'hi; 1 s. gram; ½ s. salt; 1½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. *Halim*. The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. g'hi; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ½ s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. *Qutáb*, which the people of Hindústán call sanbúsah. This is made several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. flour; 2 s. g'hi; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. fresh ginger; ½ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamum, cuminseed, cloves, 1 d. of each; ¼ s. of summaq: This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. *Biryán*. For a whole *Dashmandi* sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. g'hi; 2 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways.

2. *Yakhná*. For 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and ½ s. salt. 8. *Yulma*. A sheep is scalded in water till all the hair comes off; it is then prepared like *yakhná*, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable.

4. *Kabáb* 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, 1½ d. of each. 5. *Musamman*. They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole, ½ s. minced meat, ½ s. g'hi; 5 eggs; ¼ s. onions; 10 m. coriander; 10 m. fresh ginger; 5 m. salt; 3 m. round pepper; ¼ m. saffron; it is prepared as the preceding. 6. *Dhwiyázah*. 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 dipes. 7. Mutanjah sheep. 10 s. meat, middling fat; 2 s. g'hi; ½ s. gram; ¼ s. ginger; 1 d. cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed 2 d. of each; this will give seven dipes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. Dampukht. 10 s. meat; 2 s. g'hi; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. Qalyah. 10 s. meat; 2 s. g'hi; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 d. each; ½ s. salt; this will give eight dipes. In preparing qalyah, the meat is minced, and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the mutanjah. Here in Hindustan they prepare it in various ways. 10. Malghubah 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. g'hi; 1 s. onions, ½ s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dipes.

ATN 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'hi; 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 chapatti, which is sometimes made of khushkah; it tastes very well, when served hot. For the bread used at court, one man of wheat is made to yield ¼ 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.

ATN 26.

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (Qūfiyānah.)

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

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² Living according to the manner of the Súfís.
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 dáms.

ATN 27.

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

B. The autumnal harvest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mushkín paddy, per man</td>
<td>110 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déwzírah rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sádah paddy, do</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinjin rice, do</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suk'hdás rice, do</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakah (?) rice, do</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dúnahparsál rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zírhí rice, do</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sámzírah rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sát'hí rice, do</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakarchín rice, do</td>
<td>90 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 16th 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price per Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māsh (a kind of vetch), per man</td>
<td>16 d. Lahdarah, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō'th (do.), do.</td>
<td>12 d. Kōdram, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sesame, do.</td>
<td>20 d. Kūri, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black sesame, do.</td>
<td>19 d. Shamākh (Hind. Sānuvāl), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōbiyā (a king of bean), do.</td>
<td>12 d. Gāl (Hind. Kangī), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juwārī (a kind of millet), do.</td>
<td>10 d. Millet (Hind. chinah), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūng dāl, per man</td>
<td>18 d. Lentils, per man,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukhūd dāl, do.</td>
<td>16(\frac{1}{2}) d. Mō'th dāl, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour, per man,</td>
<td>22 d. Nukhūd flour, per man,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. coarse, do.</td>
<td>15 d. Barley flour, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Vegetables</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fennel, per man</td>
<td>10 d. Garlic flowers, per sēr,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach, do.</td>
<td>16 d. Upalhāk, (from Kashmir) do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint, do.</td>
<td>40 d. Jitū, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions, do.</td>
<td>6 d. Ginger, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic, do.</td>
<td>40 d. Pōi, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips, do.</td>
<td>21 d. Kachnārbuds, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage, per sēr</td>
<td>1 d. Chūkā (sorrel), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankachhū, from Kashmir, do.</td>
<td>4 d. Bāt'hwah, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duwrētū, do.</td>
<td>2 d. Ratsakā, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqāqu (wild carrot), do.</td>
<td>3 d. Chaulāi, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Living animals and meats</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāshmandī sheep, per head</td>
<td>6(\frac{1}{2}) R. Duck, per head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan sheep, 1st kind, do.</td>
<td>2 R. Tughdarī (bustard), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2d kind, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) R. Kūlāng (heron), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3d kind, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4}) R. Jarz (a kind of bustard), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir sheep, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4}) R. Durrāj (black patridge), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani sheep, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4}) R. Kabg, (partridge), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbāri goat, 1st kind, do.</td>
<td>1 R. Būdanah, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2d kind, do.</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) R. Lawah, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutton, per man</td>
<td>65 d. Karwānak (stone curlew), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat, do.</td>
<td>54 d. Fākhtah, (ringdove), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese, per head</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E. Butter, Sugar, etc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G'hi, per man,</td>
<td>105 d. Refined sugar, per sēr,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil, do.</td>
<td>80 d. White sugar candy, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, do.</td>
<td>25 d. White sugar, per man,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curds, do.</td>
<td>18 d. Brown sugar, do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
64

F. Spices.

Saffron, per sér, .................. 400 d. Aniseed, per sér, .................. 2 d.
Clove, do. .......................... 60 d. Turmeric (Hind. haldí) do. .... 10 d.
Cardamums, do. .................. 52 d. Coriander seed, do. ........... 3 d.
Round pepper, do. ................ 17 d. Siyáhánah (Hind. kalaunji), do. 1½ d.
Long pepper, do. .................. 16 d. Assafartáda, do. ............. 2 d.
Dry ginger, do. ..................... 4 d. Sweet fennel, do. ............. 1 d.
Fresh do., do. ..................... 2¼ 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. bádínján (egg-plant), do. 1 d.
Pickled ashtarghár, do. ......... 8 d. Do. raisins & munáqa, do. 8 d.
Mangoes in oil, do. ............... 2 d. Do. kach lár, do .............. 2 d.
Do. in vinegar, do. ............... 2 d. Do. peaches, do. ............. 1 d.
Lemons in oil, do. ................. 2 d. Do. sahajnah (horse-raddish), 1 d.
Do. in vinegar, do. ............... 2 d. Do. karíl-buds (capparis), do. ½ d.
Do. in salt, do. .................... 1½ d. Do. karílberries, do. ½ d.
Do. in lemon-juice, do. .......... 3 d. Do. súrán, do. ................. 1 d.
Pickled ginger, .................... 2¾ 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. .............. ¾ d. Do. bádrang, (gourd) do .... ½ d.
Do. bamboo, do. ................... 4 d. Do. kachuló, do. .......... ½ d.
Do. apples, do. .................... 8 d. Do. raddishes, do. ......... ½ d.

AIN 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 Túrání 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. Muskmelons come in season, in Hindústán, in the month of Farvárdín (February—March), and
are plenty in Urdibihist (March—April). They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called náshpíit, bálásahákhí, 'alishkrí, aškah, bárg i ná, dúd i chirígh, &c. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of Sharhívar (August) they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season, plenty are brought from Kabul; during the month of Asár (November) they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshán, and continue to be had during Dái (December.) When they are in season in Zábulistán, good ones are also obtainable in the Panjáb; 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 Khurádd (May) to Amurádd (July), whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmir grapes during Shahrívar. Eight sér of grapes sell in Kashmir at one dám, 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 Míhr (September) till Urdibihisti grapes come from Kabul, together with cherries, 1 which his Majesty calls sháhálú, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, girdálás, and álúchas, &c., many of which fruits grow also in Hindústán. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or kúknar (he calls the latter sábrás), 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 Mansábdárs, Ahadís, 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.

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A. Turáni Fruits.

**Arhang** melons, 1st quality, @ 2½ R. Kabul and European apples, 5 to

Do., 2nd and 3rd do., @ 1 to 2½ R. 10 for..........................1 R.

Kábúl melons, 1st do., @ 1 to 1½ R. Kashmír grapes, per man,....108 d.

Do., 2d do., @ ½ to ......... 1 R. Dates, per sér,..............10 d.

Do., 3rd do., @ ½ to ......... ½ R. Raisins, do. .................. 9 d.

Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for 1 R. Khójésh (large raisins), do.....9 d.

Quinces, 10 to 30 for ............ 1 R. Plums, do. .................. 8 d.

Guavas, 10 to 100 for ............ 1 R. Khúbání (dried apricots), per sér, 8 d.

Pomegranates, per man, 6½ to 15 R. Qandahár dry grapes, do.....7 d.

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1 The original has a word kíldá, which is not to be found in our dictionaries.

A town in Badakhshán.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figs, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
<td>7 d</td>
<td>Chilghúzah nuts, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaqqa, do.</td>
<td>6½ d</td>
<td>Sinjúd (jujubes), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jujubes, do.</td>
<td>3½ d</td>
<td>Pistachios, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds, without the shell, do.</td>
<td>28 d</td>
<td>Jauz (nuts), do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., with do., do.</td>
<td>11 d</td>
<td>Filberts, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, do.</td>
<td>9 d</td>
<td>Hazel nuts, do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes, <em>per hundred</em>, up to</td>
<td>40 d</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineapples, one for</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td>Dates, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Angúhal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcanes, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Delú, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackfruits, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Gúlah,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantains, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Bhoilsari, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bér, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td>Tarkul, two for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, <em>per man</em>, 80 to 100 d</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td>Paniálah, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, two for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Lahsaúrah, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Gumbhi, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulberry, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td>Karahri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custard apples, one for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Tarri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melons, <em>per man</em>,</td>
<td>40 d</td>
<td>Bangah, two for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water melons, one</td>
<td>2 to 10 d</td>
<td>Gúlar, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’hirná, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td>Pilú, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuwá, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
<td>Barautah,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dép’hal, do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td>Piyár, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Téndú, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mulberries and gúlars are in season during spring; pine apples, oranges, sugarcanes, bér, úsirá, bhólsari, gumbhí, dép’háls during winter; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, lahsaúrah, karahri, mahuwá, téndú, pilú, barautah, during summer; and mangoes, plantains, dates, delas, gúlah, pomegranates, guavas, watermelons, paniálas, bangahs, k’hirnis, piyárs, during the rains.

**C. Dried Fruits.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cocoanuts, one for</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td>Mak’háná, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry Dates, <em>per sér</em>,</td>
<td>6 d</td>
<td>Súpyári, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnuts, do.</td>
<td>8 d</td>
<td>Kaulgattáh, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiraunchí, do.</td>
<td>4 d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates, walnuts, chiraunchís, and kaulgattáhs are in season during summer, and cocoanuts, mak’hánás and supyárs, 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.

Palwal, per sér, ............... 2 d. Kachálá, per sér, ............... 2 d.
Gourd, one .................. 2 d. Chachindá, do .................. 2 d.
Báđinján, per sér, .......... 1¼ d. Súran, do .................. 1 d.
Turai, do .................. 1½ d. Carrots, do .................. 1 d.
Kandúrí, do .................. 1¼ d. Sing'hárah, do ............... 3 d.
Sénba, do .................. 1¼ d. Sálak, do .................. 2 d.
Pét'h, do .................. 1½ d. Pindálú, do .................. 2 d.
Karilah, do .................. 1¼ d. Séálí, .................. 3 d.

Súrans and séális are in season during summer; palwals, gourds, turais, kachálás, chauchindás, kandúris, sénbas, pét'hás, karilahs, kakúrads, and sing'hárah during the rains; and carrots, sálaks, pindálás, and kasérás, during winter. Báđinjánas are to be had throughout the year.

E. Sour Fruits.

Límées, four up to ........... 1 d. G'hép, .................. 2 d.
Amalbét, do .................. 1 d. Bijaurá, one for ............... 8 d.
Gabgal, two up to ........... 1 d. Knélah, per sér, ............... 2 d.

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

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

Ambili, per sér, .................. 2 d. Kait, four up to ............... 1 d.
Badhal, one for ............... 1 d. Kánkú, .................. 2 d.
Kamarak, four up to .......... 1 d. Pákár, per sér, ............... ½ d.
Nárańgí, two up to ........... 1 d. Karná, one for ............... 1 d.
Mountain grapes .................. * Labhírá, .................. 1 d.
Jáman, per sér, ............... 1 d. Janbhírá, five up to ......... 1 d.
P'hálísah, do .................. 1¼ d. Garnah, .................. 3 d.
Karáundá, do ............... 1 d.

Kamaraks and nárańgíés are in season during winter; ambilís, badhalás, mountain-grapes, p'hálísás, labhírás, during summer; and kaitás, pákars, karñaós, jáhans, káráundás, jhanbhíríás, during the rains.

The fruits of Hindustan 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 Nágháhák, as appears from a verse of Khuináu.1 This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmándo of Túrán and Irán place it above muskmelons and grapes.

1 * Vide the fourth note on p. 75 of my text edition.

* 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 gâlyâhs (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 kōilâs. 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 Bhâdiyyâh. 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 every where in India, especially in Bengal, Gujârât, Malwâh, Khândésh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Pâñjab, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Lâhor 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 mangoe, 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 Safari, 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 mangoe. 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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* Jahângîr in his Memoirs (Tbooiz i Jahângîri, ed. Sâyyid Ahmâd, 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 *Babul* bark, mixing it at the rate of ten *sárs* 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 ambreis, 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 Duddaasah, 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 Mahuwá tree resembles the mango tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called Gilaundah, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The Bhálezirí 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 tári; when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time, it turns subacid, and is inebriating.

The Panílah fruit resembles the Zardílú; 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 Gumḍhi 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 Turrī 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 Piyār 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 Cocouan is called by the Persians Jauz 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 pān-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and ghichaka (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 sers 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 Pindk’haju. The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits.

The Sūpyārī, or betel nut, is called in Persian jāfāl. 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 Sing’hārah 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 Sālak grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up.

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

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

The Sālī 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 kāghazi. 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 Amalbel 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 Karnā 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 Hindūstān.” 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 Bilāhrī 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 Kākhār leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The Jaiswār leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The Kapūrā leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The Kapūrkand 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 Banāras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The Banglā leaf is broad, full, hard, fluffy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of Chait (March—April), about Now-Year’s time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with Kāranj 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 Karhany leaf, which they separate for seedlings, and call Péri. The new leaf is called Gadautah. 2. The Nauti leaf. 3. The Bahuti leaf. 4. The Chhiw leaf. 5. The Addinleko leaf. 6. The Agahniyah or Lévar leaf. 7. The Karhany 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 Péri.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called Lahdsah, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called Dhiili; a lahdsah is made up of dholls. 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 katla on one leaf, and some chalk paste on another, and roll them up: this is called a bérah. 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.

ATN 29.

ON FLAVOURS.

As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavours. Heat 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 'ufqat, 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, viz., the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations is endless; some have however names, e.g., bashd'at is a bitter and tart flavour, and su'tqah a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

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 amborgis, 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 pās 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. Suntūk is used for keeping the skin fresh: ½ tólaah Civet; 1 t. Chúwah; 8 máshahs Chambélli essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. Argajuh, ½ s. sandel wood; 2 t. Iksir and Mid; 3 t. Chúwah; 1 t. violet root, and cólhlh (the seed of a plant); ½ m. sahpor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. Gulkámah. Pound together 1 t. best Ambergis; ½ 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 scr of the juice of the flower called Gul i wutk, 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 Sándy stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called Bahár i Náránj, and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black Ráihán (also called black Kábúš). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. Ruahzán, 5 s. Aloewood; 1½ s. Sandelwood; 1½ s. Ládan; Iksir, Lúbán, Dhúp (a root brought from Kashmir), 3½ t. of each; 20 t. violet root; 10 t. Ushnáh, called in Hind. Chharilah. 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. Opanah is a scented soap. 2½ s. Ládan; 1½ 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 uttīb, called in Hind. Chhar; the same quantity of Ushnáh; 38½ t. musk; 1 s. 4 t. páchah leaves; 36 t. apples; 11 t. Su'd, called in Hind. Mút'h; 5 d. violet root; 1 t. 2 m. Dhúp; 1½ t. Íkanki (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurbúd, 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. Sumbulutíb; 3 d. Duwálak; 4 t. musk of Khátá (Cathay); 2½ d. Ládan; 7½ d. 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. Kishlak, 24 t. Aloewood; 6½ Ládan, Lúbán, and Sandelwood; Iksir and Dhúp, 2 t. of each; violet root and musk, 2 t.; 1 t. Ushnáh; 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; ½ s. Ládan; 2 t.
musk; 5 t. Iksir; mix with two sers of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. Fatilah, 5 s. Aloewood; 72 t. Sandelwood; Ikair and Ladan, 20 t. of each; 5 t. Violet root; 10 t. Luban; 3 t. refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. Bedjat, 1 s. Aloewood; 5 t. Ladan; 2 t. musk; 2 t. Sandelwood; 1 t. Luban; ½ t. Camphor. Then distill it like Chuwah, (vide below). 11 'Abir-Iksir, ½ s. Sandelwood; 26 t. Iksir; 2 t. 8 m. musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. Ghasul (a liquid soap),* 35 t. Sandelwood; 17 t. Katul (?); 1 t. musk; 1 t. Chuwah; 2 m. Camphor; 2 m. Mid. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

A List of Perfumes* and their Prices.

'Ambar i ashab, ........................................... 1 to 3 Muhurs, per tola.
Zabad (civet), ........................................... ¼ R. to 1 M., do.
Musk, ................................................... 1 to 4½ R., do.
Lignum aloes, Hind. Agar, ............................... 2 R. to 1 M., per sér.
Chuwah (Distilled wood of Aloes), .................. ½ R. to 1 R., per tola.
Gaurah,* .................................................. 3 to 5 R., do.
Bhimini Camphor, ....................................... 3 R. to 2 M., do.
Mid, ...................................................... 1 to 3 R., do.
Zafaran, ................................................... 12 to 22 R., per sér.
Zafaran i Kamandi, ...................................... 1 to 3 M., do.
Zafaran (from Kashmim), ............................... 8 to 12 R., do.
Sandalwood, ............................................. 32 to 55 R., per man.
Nafah i musk, ............................................ 3 to 12 M., per sér.
Kalanbok (Calembic), .................................. 10 to 40 R., per man.
Silras, .................................................... 3 to 5 R., per sér.
'Ambar i Ladan, ......................................... 1½ to 4 R., do.
Kafir i Chinah, .......................................... 1 to 2 R., do.
'Araq i Fitnah, .......................................... 1 to 3 R., per bottle.
'Araq i Bod i Muskh, ................................... 1 to 4 R., do.
Rosewater, ................................................ ½ to 1 R., do.
'Araq i Bahar, .......................................... 1 to 5 R., do.
'Araq i Chambeli, ...................................... ½ to 2 R., do.
Violet-root, .............................................. ½ to 1 R.; per sér.
Arzaf utfib, ............................................. 1½ to 2 R., do.
Bag i Maj (brought from Gujrat), .................... ½ to 1 R., do.
Sugandh Gugal, ......................................... 10 to 13 R., do.

* According to some MSS. Kamel.
* In the text, p. 85, by mistake Kazra.

Vide my text edition p. 94, l. 6.
Láblán (from Sargard ?), .................. ½ to 3 R., per tólak.
Láblán (other kinds), ...................... 1 to 2 R., per sér.
Alak, Hind. Chhár, ......................... ½ to ½ R., do.
Duwálak, Hind. Khwarílah, ................ 3 to 4 d., do.
Göhlah, ........................................ *
Su’d, ........................................... *
Ikauki, ........................................ *
Zurnábál, ...................................... *

A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The Sceti. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The Bhólárkt. Whitish; in the rains.
3. The Chambéll. White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.
4. Raibél. White and pale yellow. In the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rains.
6. The Champá. Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.
7. Költé. The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot season.
10. The Júkt. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
13. The Kéwarah. From Leo to Libra.
14. The Cháltah.
17. The Singárhrár. It has small white petals. In the hot season.
18. The Violét. Violet. In the hot season.
20. The Kapár ból.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

2. The Gúl i Kauwal. White, and also bluish. In the rains.

* The original text does not mention the prices.
3. The Je'farī. 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 Ratammanyant. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.
6. The Kēlā. In the hot season.
10. The Gūl i Mīdīt.
14. The Kadam. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.
15. The Nākhīsar. In spring.
16. The Surpan. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.
18. The Jait. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
20. The Lāghī. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The Gūl i Karwanda. White. It is smaller than the Chambīlī, and blooms during the rains.
22. The Dhumantar resembles the Nilišfar. During the rains.
23. The Gūl i Hinnād.
24. The Dupahriyā. Bright red, and white. All the year.
25. The Būn Champā. Peach coloured.
26. The Sudarshā. Yelllow; it resembles the Nilišfar, but is smaller.
27. The Kauglīt. There are two kinds, red, and white.
29. The Sen. 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 šdrā; 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 Sīnād 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 ashabāb. 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 Ḳhaubhāshī. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bazar-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 Qibras (Cyprus) and Qīsās (Chios) or Qīstās. 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 Rībhāh, or Qaṭqūṭ. 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 Rībhā near Qaṭīr, 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 Baṭṭār, 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 Qurqṣ, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called Kawkāb. 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 Bhīmaṇī. If kept with a few barley grains, or pepper-corns, or surkh dānah, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of Zurumbād by mixing it with other ingredients, is called Chintī or Magyīt-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. Zabad (civet) is also called Shākhā. 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 Aḥlin, 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 mahāns. 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

1 Bāzār dealers here give a few pepper-corns 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
Chamboli, or Ráibch, or Surkh gul, or Gul i Karnah, 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 Aschín. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

6. Mid 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 Mid, is found in various countries, and only sells from five to
six dâns. Some say that Mid is the dried bag of the civet cat, pounded and
boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the surface is the Mid.

7. *Ud, 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 Hindi.
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 Samandâri; the Quandari, which is inferior to
it; the Qâquli, next in rank; the Barri; the Qifti; and the Chinese, also
called Qumâri, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the Jaldâli, the
Mayââqi, the Luccâqi, the Ritali. But of all kinds the Mandali, is the best
Samandâri 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 Chânpánir. It is generally

* Mid with the kasrah, a kind of per-
fume. Kushfulughâdt.  
* The last three names are doubtful.
brought from Achn and Dahnásari. Nothing is known of the habitat mentioned in old books. Aloe wood 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 tôlahs of Chúwah. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, trying thereby to cheat people.

9. **Sandalwood** is called in Hind. Chandan. 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 Maqḍarī. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. **Siláras** (storax) is called in Arabic Mi’ah. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear, is called Miḥah i sā’ilah (liquid); the other kinds, Mi’ah i yábinah (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 Zirbád (?); 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 *Zirbád* (Zirbád), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. Ghidsullughát.
12. The *Maláqir* 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 yábisah*. When exposed to fire, it evaporates like camphor. The Lubán which the Persians call *Kundur i darvāzī* (mastix), is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. *Az-fūr utṭīb*, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind. *Nak’h*, and in Persian *Nákhan 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 sambuls, 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 gūgulī* (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 *Sékeli* 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 *Chambeli* there are two kinds. The *Rái Chambéli* has from five to six petals, outside red. The *Chambélí 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 *Rái bél* 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 *Mungrá* resembles the *Rái bél*. 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, 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.

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1 Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.
6. The *Kālī* 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 *Kērāh* 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, Gujrat, Mālwaḥ, and Bahār.

8. The *Chaltāh* 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 *Hamešah Bahār*, 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 *Tsēbūgūlād* 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 *Bholsāri* 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 *Singārkār* 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 *Kūzah* looks like a *Gul i surk̪h*; but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals, and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make *Abīrmāyah* and an extract from it.

13. The *Pādāl* 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 *Jūtī* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Niwāri* looks like a simple *Rādī bāl*, 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 Kapūr bel has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower.
This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The Za‘j kūr (saffron). In the beginning of the month of Urduhol-h, 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 Abān; 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 pats of salt. At the time of Ghāzi Khan, the son of
(Khōjji) Chak, another custom became general: they gave the workmen
eleven taks of saffron flowers, of which one tark was given them as wages;
and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarsāhī sōrs of clean,
dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarsāhī mans of saffron flowers they had to
give two sōrs 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 Panpur, which belongs to the
district of Marurāj. The fields there extend over nearly twelve kōs.

1 Vide a similar account of the saffron
flower in the third book (Sūbah Kābul).

2 He was the contemporary of Shēr
Khan; vide Abulzil’s list of Kashmir
Rulers in the third book. A good
biography of Ghāzi Khān may be found
in the beginning of the Mudisir-i Kāhini,
Persian MS. No. 43, of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal.

3 One Kashmiri Tark = 8 sēr (of
Akbar) = 4 Kashm. mans; 1 Kash.
mans = 4 Kash. sērs; 1 Kash. sēr = 7½
pats.

4 These places lie to the south of Sṛ-
nagar, the capital of Kashmir; for
Marurāj the text has جَزِر. Vide Sūbah
Kābul, third book.
Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspur, near Indrakāl, not far from Kamraj, where the fields extend about a kōś.

18. The Aṭṭābi (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 Kanva. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the ṣhaqdiq-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 excrecence 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 Ḥiṣārī is a pretty round flower, and grows larger than the ḍudbar. 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 Ḡuḏhal resembles the ḣojḥdi-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 Ṛatmanjani has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The tree and the leaves resemble the Rābīl. It flowers in two years.

23. The Ḵērī 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 Ḵaṅer 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 ḫada resembles a tūmdghah (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the nut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The ḑūg ḳeṣar, like the Gul-i 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 Ḥinnād plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The Sṛṭkhandī is like the Chambeli, but smaller. It flowers in two years.
29. The Hissa has four petals, and resembles the flower called Náfarán. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

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

31. The Bhán champá resembles the Nílafar 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 Sudarsan resembles the Raibol, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the Sósan flower.

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

34. The Ratamádá is round and small. Its juice is cooked out, and when mixed with vitriol and Muzafar, 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 Sínzárëd 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 Malti 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 Karil 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 Champalak 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 Lahí 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 Karaundah resembles the Jákhi flower.

42. The Dhanowntar resembles the Nílafar, 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 Bau 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 Kanglái has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The San flower (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the Chandr. 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 Patson. 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 Turán, as the Gul i Surkh, the Nargis, the violet, the Yasaman i kabúd, the Sósan, the Ráshán, the Báná, the Shágíq, the Tij i khurús, the Qalghah, the Náfárán, the Khatamí, &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 bárs, or loads, (5 surkhs = 1 mshah ; 16 mshahs = 1 karga ; 4 kargas = 1 pala ; 100 palas = 1 tulá ; 20 tulás = 1 bár) ; i.e., according to the weights now in use, 96 mams. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two gharrés (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 jújáns.¹ 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.

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 كرکونین which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk i Jahángírí; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagastáí Dictionary. The meaning a wardrobe is however clear.
Lahor, Agrah, Pathpur, Ahmadabad, 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 Ghiás i 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.² 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 Takauchiya 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.³ It requires seven yards and seven giriks,⁴ and five giriks 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 misqal of silk is required.

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² Or as we would, the prices have become less by 66⅔, and even 75 per cent.
³ The coats used now-a-days both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (Germ. Schlaufrock), 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 (chadar).
⁴ It is not stated in the Aín how many giriks the tailor’s gaz, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 giriks = 1 gaz, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, vide the 87th and 80th Aíns of this book. The Persian word girik is pronounced in India girak.
2. The Pishwads (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

3. The Dutdhi (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 misqāl of silk is required.

4. The Shāh-ajidah (or the royal stitch coat) is also called Shaṭkhat (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 Sōzanī requires a quarter of a sér of cotton and two dāms of silk. If sewed with bakhyaḥi stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with ajidah stitches costs four rupees.

6. The Qalāni requires ¾ s. cotton, and one dām silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The Qabā, which is at present generally called jānah i pumbahādār, 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 girih binding, nine for bordering, 2½ s. cotton, 3 m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

9. The Furdjī has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the jānah (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 Furgul 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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3 Bakhyaḥ, in Hind. bāk'hiyā, corresponds to what ladies call backstitching. Ajidah is the button hole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which bakhyaḥ and ajidah now have. Sozani, 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.

* A cost used in rainy weather. Calcutta Chagatā Dictionary.

* The etymology of the word furgul is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, now-a-days current in India, are Portuguese; as adya, a petticoat; fta, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustan, are padri, clergyman; girja, a church, Port. igreja; khāk, cabbage, Port. couvo; chā, a key, Port. chave. Abul Fazl’s explanation (vide my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II. p. 683 a.
quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price, from $ to 2 R.

11. The Chekman* is made of brocadel, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Duvâd 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 R.; of wool, 1$
\frac{1}{2}$ R.; of wax cloth, $\frac{1}{3}$ R.

12. The Shalâvâr (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$\frac{1}{2}$ m. silk, $\frac{1}{2}$ s. cotton. Price, from $ to $1 R.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chirâba, faštah, and dupatta, 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 everything that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears woolen stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that His Majesty’s clothes become so 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 jâmeh (coat), he says sarbâdâtî, i.e., covering the whole body; for izâr (drawers), he says yâpirâbân (the companion of the coat); for nimlunah (a jacket), tanzeb: for faštah, patgat; for burqa (a veil), chitragnîta; for kirâh (a cap), sis sobhi; for miîbâf (a hair ribbon), késbân; for putlâ (a cloth for the loins), Kotzâb; for shâl (shawl), parma; for..., parmgâra; for kapîrahâr, a Tibetan stuff, kâpârânâr; for pângsâr (shoes), charandhâr; and similarly for other names.

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* As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vullers’ form chaaspân.

* Stuffs of different shapes, used for making turbans.

* In allusion to the practice of Čâfîs, who only wear garments made of wool (çâfî). Abul Fuzl often tries to represent Akbar as a Čâfî 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 Fuzl, though it would more appropriately lie against Faiz 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 Hindî terms.

* The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Benaras MS. has parâdak Firâng; or European Pardak (f).
ATN 32.

ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, &c.

His Majesty improved this department in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the *Tis* 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 Alecha, also called *Tarkhdar*, 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 *Zardosi*, *Kalahbatin*, *Kashidas*, *Qadhat*, *Bandana*, *Chint*, *Alech*, *Purzdar*, 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 *misl*, 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 *Urmaud* day (first day) of the month of *Farvardin*, 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: *fus*, safidalchah, ruby coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mevor* like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac,

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2. *Zardosi*, *KalahBatun*, (Forbes, *kala-batian*), *Kashidas*, *Qalhat*, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; *Bandana*, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; *Chint* is our *chintz*, which is derived from *Chint*. *Purzdar* are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.
3. *Akbar*, like all Parsees, believed in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most unpractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following Ains. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.
coloured like the Rotanamajeni flower, coloured like the Kāmi flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, .........., bhōjpatra coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the qalghah flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, blueish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the Fākhtah 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. Nowadays 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 māyāin, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for chirāhs (turbans), faṇṭahs (loin bands), &c.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

A. Gold stuffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brocaded velvet, from Yazd²</td>
<td>15 to 150 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Egypt, do.</td>
<td>10 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Gujrat, do.</td>
<td>10 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Kāshān, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Herat, do.</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhōr, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Bursah, (?) do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṭabbag,² do.</td>
<td>2 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milak, do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocaded, from Gujrat, do.</td>
<td>4 to 60 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tās'. Brocaded, from do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 35 M.</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 Ḥarāz; Ajantī, north of Iṣfahān. "The asses of Kāshān are wiser than the men of Iṣfahān," which latter town is for Persia what Buotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, or the kingdom of Fife for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bahār for India,—the home of fools. During the time of Móguls, the Sāvīnjīs of Bārshah enjoyed a similar notoriety.
³ Mūṭabbag, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from Khallukh, and Milak from Naushād in Turkestān. Ghītasul-būgah.

* Tās means generally brocade; Ddrābāf is a kind of brocaded silk; Mūqayyash is silk with stripes of silver—the Ghītasul-būgah says that Mūqayyash comes from the Hind. kesh, hair, to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicised form of the Hind bistā word, as qarangul, a clove, for the Hind. karm-p’hl; it is a kind of medicine, for triphal, as it consists of three fruits; &c. Mushajjar is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; Dēbā is coloured silk; Khārā, moïre antique; Khazz is filoselle-silk. For tās, (vide Freyling 111. p. 359), we also find tyṣṭiḥ.
Dáráí báf, from Gujrát, ........................................ 2 to 50 M.
Múçayyash, do. ........................................ 1 to 20 M.
Shirwánd Brocade, do. ........................................ 6 to 17 M.
Mushajjar, from Europe, per yard, .................. 1 to 4 M.
Débá silk, do. do. ........................................ 1 to 4 M.
Do., from Yazd, do. ........................................ 1 to 1½ M.
Khârd, do. ........................................ 5 R. to 2 M.
Satin, from Chinese Tartary, ........................................ *
Nawdr, from do. ........................................ *
Khazz silk, ........................................ *
Tafchah, (a stuff from Mecca) from do. ........................................ 15 to 20 R.
Kurtahwár, from Gujrát, ........................................ 1 to 20 M.
Mindul, ........................................ 1 to 14 M.
Chirah, (for turbans) ........................................ ½ to 8 M.
Dupatlah, do. ........................................ 9 to 8 R.
Fawtah, (loin bands) ........................................ ½ to 12 M.
Counterpanes, ........................................ 1 to 20 M.

* The Text does not give the prices.

B. Silks, &c., plain.
Velvet, from Europe, per yard, ........................................ 1 to 4 M.
Do. from Káshán, per piece, ........................................ 2 to 7 M.
Do. from Yazd, do. ........................................ 2 to 4 M.
Do. from Mashhad, do. ........................................ 2 to 4 M.
Do. from Herát, do. ........................................ 1½ to 3 M.
Do. Kháfi, do. ........................................ 2 to 4 M.
Do. from Lábár, do. ........................................ 2 to 4 M.
Do. from Gujrát, per yard, ........................................ 1 to 2 R.
Qaṭífah i Púrabi, do. ........................................ 1 to 1½ R.
Tájah Báf, per piece, ........................................ 2 to 30 M.
Dáráí Báf, do. ........................................ 2 to 30 M.
Muṭābbaq, do. ........................................ 1 to 30 M.
Shirwání, do. ........................................ 1½ to 10 M.
Mîlak, do. ........................................ 1 to 7 M.
Kamkháb, from Káböl and Persia, do. ........................................ 1 to 5 M.
Tawár, (?) do. ........................................ 2 R. to 2 M.
Khúrí (?) do. ........................................ 4 to 10 R.
Mushajjar, from Europe, per yard, ........................................ 2 R. to 1 M.
Do. from Yazd, per piece, ........................................ 1 to 2 M.
Satin, from Europe, per yard, ........................................ 2 R. to 1 M.

1 A kind of velvet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Herát, per piece</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khárá, 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>Qutni, per piece</td>
<td>1½ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katán, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>¾ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Táftah, do</td>
<td>¼ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbari, do</td>
<td>4 d. to ½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darú, do</td>
<td>½ R. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitipúrí, per piece</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qubáband, do</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tát bandpúrí, do</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 ⅔ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Láh, per yard</td>
<td>½ to ¾ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miçri, per piece</td>
<td>¼ to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sár, per yard</td>
<td>½ to ¾ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tussar, per piece</td>
<td>½ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain Kurthwár Satin, per yard</td>
<td>¾ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapúrmur, formerly called Kapirdhur, do</td>
<td>½ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcháh, do</td>
<td>¾ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafzilah, 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>Kháçah, per piece</td>
<td>3 R. to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chautár, do</td>
<td>2 R. to 9 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmal, do</td>
<td>4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tansak‘h, do</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirí Çáf, do</td>
<td>2 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangíjad, do</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhíraun, do</td>
<td>4 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahan, do</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhónah, do</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atán, do</td>
<td>2½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asáwáli, do</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Báfth, do</td>
<td>1½ R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmúdi, do</td>
<td>½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchtoliyah, do</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhélah, do</td>
<td>½ to 2½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sálú, 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, woollen; hence taffeta.
5 Now-a-days chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; vulgo, tessa.
Dóriyah, per piece, ........................................... 6 R. to 2 M.
Bahádur Sháhí, do. ........................................... 6 R. to 2 M.
Garbah Sútí, do. ........................................... 1½ to 2 M.
Shéláh, from the Dek’han, do. ................................... ½ to 2 M.
Míhrkúl, do. ........................................... 2 R. to 2 M.
Míndíl, do. ........................................... 1½ to 2 M.
Sarband, do. ........................................... 1 to 2 M.
Dupattah, do. ........................................... ½ to 2 M.
Katáncháh, do. ........................................... 1 R. to 1 M.
Fántah, do. ........................................... 1 R. to 1 M.
Góshpéch, do. ........................................... ½ to 6 R.
Chhúnt, per yard, ........................................... 1 to 2 R.
Gázínah, per piece, ........................................... 2 d. to 1 R.
Siláhatí, per yard, ........................................... 2 to 4 d.

D. Woollen stuffs.

Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe1, and

Portugal, per yard, ........................................... 2½ R. to 4 M.
Do., from Nágor and Láhóí, per piece, ................................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Cúf i Murabbá’, do. ........................................... 4 to 15 M.
Cúf i......2, do. ........................................... 3 R. to 1½ M.
Parmnarm, do. ........................................... 2 R. to 20 M.
Chírah i Parmnarm, do. ........................................... 2 R. to 25 M.
Fántah, do. ........................................... ½ to 3 M.
Jámahwár i Parmnarm, do. ........................................... ½ to 4 M.
Góshpéch, do. ........................................... 1½ R. to 1½ M.
Sarpchéch, do. ........................................... ½ to 4 M.
Aghrí, do. ........................................... 7 R. to 2½ M.
Parngarm, do. ........................................... 3 R. to 2½ M.
Katás, do. ........................................... 2½ R. to 10 M.
P’húk, per piece, ........................................... 2½ to 15 R.
Durmah, do. ........................................... 2 R. to 4 M.
Patú, do. ........................................... 1 to 10 R.

1 The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (vide Badkóni 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 no longer 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. topí, and in Persian tak哈ýfak (vide Bahár i’Ajáam) 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.
Rewkár, per piece, .......................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Mişri, do. .................................. 5 to 50 R.
Burd i Yamani, do. .......................... 5 to 35 R.
Mánji (?) namad, do. ....................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Kanpak (?) namad, do. ....................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Takyahnamad, from Kábul and Persia, .......................... *
Do., country made, do. ....................... 1½ to 5 R.
Lóí, do ........................................ 14 d. to 4 R.
Blankets, do. .................................. 10 d. to 2 R.
Kashmirian Caps, do. ......................... 2 d. to 1 R.

AIN 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 qábil, i. e., capable of being acted upon, and muflaza, i. e., subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

AIN 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

* 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 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 (maddi). 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 Khilq (from khilqat) referring to states of the mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, &c. These, Abulfazl says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.

2 The fabulous cup of king Jamshid, 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, Hafiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhara. 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.

* 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 gala', 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 gala', 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 'Alí Siná, call this modifying element (dariz) 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, (y) 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 preferred*.

1 Abul Fazl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because ق, ت and ج, have the same fundamental sign.
2 Or rather, the alif was preferred to the wáw or yá, because these two letters may be either sákin or mutaharrik. But the custom has become established to call the alif when mutaharrik, hamzah; and to call the alif, when sákin, merely alif. 'Abúl wásid', of Hánúsh, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled Risalát i 'Abúl wásid', 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, when you say the Alphabet: look upon it as a mere example of a sákin letter.' The term hamzah, as used here in native schools, is carefully distinguished from the terms Shakt i Hamzah and Markiz i Hamzah. Shakt i Hamzah is the small sign consisting of a semicircle, one extremity of which stands upon a straight line slightly slanting. Markiz i Hamzah is either of the letters alif, wáw, or yá, but chiefly the latter, when accompanied by the Shakt i Hamzah. Hamzah is a general term for either of the three letters alif, wáw, yá, when accompanied by the Shakt i Hamzah. In European grammars, the chapter on the Hamzah is
as an example, is because the letter lám is the middle letter of the word ʾalif, and the letter ʾalif the middle letter of the word lám.

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 a u; and a red dot below a letter, an i. It was Khalíf 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 in an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Maʾqālī, Kūfī, Kashmírī, Abyssinian, Ráhánī, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, Ráhánī, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to ʿAdám i Hafthaṣárārī;* but some mention Idrīs as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the Maʾqālī character. According to several statements, the Kūfī character was derived by the Khalíṣah ʿAlī from the Maʾqālī.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes: thus the Kūfī character consists of one-fifth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the Maʾqālī 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 Irán and Túrán, 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 Muqālāh from the Maʾqālī and the Kūfī characters, viz., the Sull, Tawqī, Muhāqqaq, Nuskh, Rāhánī, Riqq. Some add the Ghubār, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The Nuskh character is ascribed by many to Yāqūt, a slave of the

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* He is said to have been born A. H. 100, and died at Baṣrāh 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-hazdrīf, 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. Víde the first Ațn of 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 Abūlfażīl's letters, where nearly the whole of this Ațn is repeated, contain a reference to printed books. "The first book printed in India was the Doctína Christíána of Giovanni Gonzálvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I
Khalifah Mu'amam Billah. 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 khaasi. The Tariiq and Riqqa consist of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines; the former is jali, the latter is khaasi. The Mahiqqaq and Rahma contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is jali, and the Rahma khaasi.

Among famous copyists I must mention 'Ali ibn i Hilal, better known under the name of Ibn i Burwah; he wrote well the six characters. Yaqut brought them to perfection. Six of Yaqut's pupils are noticeable; 1. Shaikh Ahmad, so well known under the name of Shaikhzadah i Suhrwardi; 2. Argün of Kâbul; 3. Maulání Yusuf Shâh of Mashhad; 4. Maulání Mulârik Shâh, styled Zarrin qalam (the golden pen); 5. Haidar, called Gaubhanwâr (i.e., the writer of the jali); 6. Mir Yahya.

The following calligraphists are likewise well known: Qâfi Naqullah, also called Qâdr i 'Iraq; Argün 'Abdullah; Khâjâh 'Abdullah i Qairâf; Hâji Muhammad; Maulânâ 'Abdullah i Ashâq; Maulânâ Muhi of Shiráz; Mu'maddin i Tamûrî; Shamsuddin i Khâtû; 'Abdulrahim i Khalûli (?); Abdullah; Maulânâ Ja'far of Tabriz; Maulânâ Shâh of Mashhad; Maulânâ 'Mâ'ruf of Baghdâd; Maulânâ Shamsuddin i Bâyângulâr; Mu'maddin of...
Faráh; Abdulhaq of Sabzwár; Maulaná Ni'matullah i Bawwáb; Khájági Múmin i Marwárid, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper; Sultán İbráhim, son of Mirzá Sháhruck; Maulaná Muhammad Hakím Hájíz; Maulaná Mahmúd Siyáush; Maulaná Jamáluddín Husain; Maulaná Pir Muhammad; Maulaná Fazlulhaq of Qazwín.

A seventh kind of writing is called Ta'liq, which has been derived from the Riqa' and the Tawq'. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khájah Táj i Salmání, who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern calligraphists I may mention: Maulaná 'Abdulhay, the Private Secretary* of Sultán Abú Sa'id Mírzá, who wrote Ta'liq well; Maulaná Darwish;* Amir Mançúr; Maulaná İbráhim of Astarábád; Khájah Ikhtiyár;* Munshi Jamáluddín; Muhammad of Qazwín; Maulaná Idris; Khájah Muhammad Husain Munshí; and Ashraf Khán,* the Private Secretary of His Majesty, who improved the Ta'liq very much.

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

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* The Maktúbát and the Mir-dt also mention Mullah Abú Bakr, and Shaikh Mahmúd.

* According to the Maktúbát and several MSS., Selōmání.

† In the original text, p. 114, l. 5, by mistake, Maulaná 'Abdulhay and the Munshi of Sultán Abú Sa'id.

* Maulaná Darwish Muhammad was a friend of the famous Amir 'Ali Shér, the vizer of Sultán Husain Mirzá, king of Khurásán (A. D. 1470 to 1506), and the patron of the poet Jámi. Maulaná Darwish entered afterwards the service of Shah Júmaid i Calái, king of Persia (A. D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Maulaná may be found in the Mādásir i Rohání, p. 751.

† Khájah Ikhtiyár, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding calligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sultán Husain Mirzá.

* This is the title of Muhammad Aqshahr, a Sayyid from Mashhad—or according to the Tabhát i Akbari, from 'Arabsháhí. He served Humâyûn as Mr Munshí, Mír 'Arzí and Mr Májí. He accompanied Taríf Bég on his flight from Dihlí, was imprisoned by Bairám, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Akbar, in A. H. 968, when Bairám had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of Ashraf Khán, and served under Mun'im Khán in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Akbar's reign, A. H. 973. In Abúl Cáži's list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khán is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Budáoní mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. Abúl Muzaffár, Ashraf Khán's son was, A. D. 1506, a commander of five hundred.

† The Mir-dt mentions a third immediate pupil of Mir Ali. Maulaná Khájah 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 Amir 'Ali Shér, and died A. H. 910, during the reign of Sultán Husain Mirzá, mentioned in the fourth note.
them all. He imitated the writing of Maulana Azhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sultan Muhammad i Khamdän, Sultan Muhammad Nūr; Maulana 'Ala'uddin of Herät; Maulana Zainuddin (of Nishapūr); Maulana 'Abdul of Nishapūr; Muhammad Qasim Shādi Shāh, 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 Maulana Sultan 'Ali, of Qāvin; Maulana Sultan 'Ali of Mashhad; Maulana Hijrānī; and after them the illustrious Maulana Mir 'Ali, the pupil, as it appears, of Maulana Zainuddin. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultan '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 Maulana. He said, "I have brought his writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

In conclusion I may mention:—Shah Mahmud of Nishapūr; Mahmud Is'hāq; Shamsuddin of Kirmān; Maulana Jamshīd, the riddle-writer; Sultan Husain of Khujand; Maulana 'Alishi; Ghiasuddin, the gilder; Maulana 'Abdu'lamad; Maulana Malik; Maulana 'Abdul karim; Maulana Abdurrahim of Khāriza; Maulana Shaikh Muhammad; Maulana Shāh Mahmud i Zarrinpaham (or gold pen); Maulana Muhammad Husain of Tabriz; Maulana Hasan 'Ali of Mashhad; Mir Mu'izz of Kāshān; Mirza Ibrāhim of Isfahān; and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shews much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skillful 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 Kashmir. He has been honoured

1 He was called Khamdān, as he was always happy. He was a friend of Amir 'Ali Shīr, and died A.H. 915.
2 In the Makṭūbah, 'Ala'uddin Muhammad of Herat.
3 He was the instructor of Sultan Husain Mirzā's children, and died A.H. 914. Qāvin is a Persian town, S.E. of Khurisīn, near the frontier of Afghānistān. It is spelt Ghayoum on our maps.
4 According to the Makṭūbah, Maulānā Sultan 'Ali Shīr of Mashhad, which is evidently the correct reading.
6 Maulānā Mir 'Ali, a Sayyid of Herat, died A.H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mir Ahmad, son of Mir Khosrau of Dihli, and Bārām Khiān, Akbār's Khānkhānān, as a master of Dakhī poetry. Dakhī, or entering, is the skillful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.
7 According to the Makṭūbah and the Mirāt, Shāh Muhammad of Nishapūr. Both mention another calligraphist, Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad.
8 He was the teacher of the celebrated calligraphist Imād, whose biography will be found in the Mirāt. Vide also the preface of Dr. Spranger's Gulistān.
9 He died A.H. 1020, six years after Akbar's death.
with the title of Zarringalam, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Maulānā 'Abdul-'Azīz; his maddāt and dawār show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr 'Alī. Of other renowned calligraphists of the present age, I must mention Maulānā Bāqīr, the son of the illustrious Mullā Mīr 'Alī; Muhammad Amin of Mashhad; Mīr Hussain i Kulanki; Maulānā 'Abdulhay; Maulānā Daurī; Maulānā 'Abdurrehām; Mīr 'Abdullah; Nizāmī of Qazvin; 'Alī Chāman of Kashmir; Nūrullāh Qāsim Aresālān.

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, Hindī, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, 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 Akhlāq i Naṣirī, the Kirmiyā i Sa'ādat, the Qābūnāmah, the works of Sharaf of Munair (vide p. 48), the Gulistān, the Hadīqah of Hakīm Sanā'ī, the Ma'nawi of Ma'nawi, the Jām i Jam, the Bustān, the Shāhnāmah, the

* By maddāt, (extensions) calligraphists mean letters like \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{i} \); by dawār (curvatures), letters like \( \dddot{a}, \dddot{i} \).

In Grammar the word markīz means the same as shōshah in calligraphy; thus \( \dddot{i} \), \( \dddot{a} \), consist of a markīz, and a shakl i hamzah.

By iqṭād calligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or refilling a written letter with ink (Hind. styākh bharī), or erasing (Hind. chhāna).

* His name is Sultān Bāyazīd; he was born at Herāt. Daurī is his poetical name. Vide Badfoni's list of poets (Vol. III of the Bibl. Indica). Akbar bestowed on him the title of Kātb ul mulk, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Khājah Muhammad Husain, an Ahwāl (vide Badfoni, II, p. 394, where for Ibrāhīm, in the Tūrkīkh, read Bārdhīm).

* Observe that the Arabic books are placed last.
collected Masnavis of Shāhīzād Nizāmi, the works of Khusrau and Maulānā Jām, the Diwāns of Khāṣ̱ām Anwārī, 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 Zàhī Ja'ddī Mrizā (vide IIrd book, Aii 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amīr Fathullah of Shirāz (vide p. 33), and also the Kishhnāshī, the Gangādhār, the Molosh Muhāmand, from Hindi (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahābhārata which belongs to the ancient books of Hindūstān has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqīb Khānī, Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir of Badaʿī, and Shāhīzād Sultān of Thūmāsānī. The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history Razmānāmah, the book of Wars. The same

1 Regarding this renowned man, vide Abdīlz's list of Granpees, Hind book, No. 161.

2 Mullā 'Abdul Qādir, poetically styled Qādirī, was born A. H. 917, or 1513, at Bāhāwī, a town near Dīhilī. He was thus two years older than Bāhā. His father, whom he lost in 1523, was called Shaikh Muhāmmed Shāhī, and was a pupil of the Saint Kānī of Samindān. Abdul Qādir, or Badaʿī, 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 Mentakhab. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court Lālīm for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Bāhā by Jalāl Khān Qāmī (vide List of Grāndees, Hind book, No. 213). For forty years Badaʿī lived in company with Shaikh Muhāmmed, and Faizi and Abdīlzā, the Shaikh's sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badaʿī hinted upon them as heretics. At the command of Bāhā, he translated the Ramaṇya (Bāhā, ii, pp. 336, 356) from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand hālik or Ashrafis and 10,000 Tangahs; and parts of the Mahābhārata; extracts from the History of Rashīd; and the Bahī dr asmarī, a work on the Hādīs. A copy of another of his works, entitled Bayātivārid, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled Mentakhab-ut Towvīdīkh, is much prized as written by an enemy of Bāhā, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the Bāhāmānāmah, or the Tabāyūdī, or the Māsidī, or Bāhāmānāmah. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Bāhā's time. The History ends with the beginning of A. H. 1004, or eleven years before Bāhā's death, and we may conclude that Badaʿī died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the Mirātul Ulāma, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badaʿī's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzuk i Jahāngīr unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badaʿī's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which the Māsidī or Bāhāmānāmah was written, whose author complains of the want of a history beside the Bahūmat, and the Bāhāmānāmah.

In point of style, Badaʿī is much inferior to Bakhītar Khān (Mīrātul 'Ulūm) and Muhammad Kāzīm (the 'Alamgrīmānamāh), but somewhat superior to his friend Mirzā Nizāmuddīn Ahmad of Herīt, author of the Tabāyūdī, and to 'Abdul Hamīd of Lāhūr, author of the Pādshāhīmānāmah.

'Abdul Qādir of Badaʿī must not be confounded with Maulānā Qādirī, another learned man contemporaneous with Bāhā.

3 Vide Badaʿī, III, p. 118, and for Hājī Ibrāhīm, III, p. 139.
learned men translated also into Persian the Ramáyan, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rám Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Háji Ibrahim of Sarhind translated into Persian the A’tárbaran 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 Hindú veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdul Faiz i Faizí. At the command of His Majesty, Mukhammad Khán of Gujrát translated into Persian the Táják, a well known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs* of Bábár, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a Code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mírzá  

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* "In this year (A. H. 988, or A. D. 1575) a learned Brahmín, Shaikh Bháwan, had come from the Dekhán and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the A’tárbaran. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of the Islam. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh Bháwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizí, and then Háji Ibrahim, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the A’tharban, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter 4, and resembles very much our La iláh iláhá. Besides, I found that a Hindú, 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 Islam. Let us praise God for his conversion!" Baddoni II. p. 212.

The translation of the Mahábharat was not quite a failure. "For two nights, His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahábharat, and told Naqib Khán to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqib Khán; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a Harimkhur and a turnip-caterer, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqib Khán and Mullá Shéri, and another part by Sultán Háji of Thánásar; then Shaikh Faizí was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Háji 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 Pandú and the Kurdús. 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 Islam; for He allows men to return to Him in repentance! This Razmánkás was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and Abdul Fazi wrote an introduction to it of about two jus, &c." Baddoni II. p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen jus (u) among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One jus (y) = sixteen pages guardo, or two sheets.

* This work has been printed. Abdulazí's words Hindús veil are an allusion to Lilawáti'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 Maulána Shah Muhammad of Sháhábád. The Mu'jam al Hadijín, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullá Ahmad of Thát'ah, Qásim Bég, Shaikh Munawwar, and others. The Haribans, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Maulána 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 Kalilah Dánnah, and published it under the title of 'Ayár Dánnish.¹ The original is a master-piece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naqrullah i Mustauff and Maulána Husain i Wá'íz had translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindi story of the Love of Nál 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 Láffí Majnún, and is now everywhere known under the title of Nál Dáman.²

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 Thát'ah, and the whole concluded by Ja'far Bég i ACF Khán. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of Túrikh i Alfi,³ the History of a thousand years.

¹ "During this year (A. H. 999, or A. D. 1600-91,) 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." Badáoni, II. p. 374.
² "Regarding the tragic end of this "heretic," vide Badáoni II. p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of Badáoni.
³ For 'Ayár i Dánnish, Such abbreviations are common in titles. 
⁴ "Faizi's Naldaman (for Nál o Dáman 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 askrafs as nazur. 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 Mír Khúsran of Dhih, has composed." Badáoni, II. p. 396. 
⁵ In A. H. 1000, A. D. 1591-92, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that the Islâm and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be Imam Mahdá, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badáoni's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the Dín i Iláhí. The Túrikh i Alfi was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

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

Drawing the likeness of anything is called taqwir. 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 Dārōghahs 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 Bihād, 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;² 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 Tabrīz.² 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. Khájah Abduḍcamel, styled Shīrīqalam, or sweet pen. He comes from Shīrz. 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 Khájah's pupils became masters.

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² Compare with Abufazl's opinion, Elphinstone's History of India, second edition, p. 174.
² Better known as a poet under the name of Juddī. Vide the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the Story of Amir Hamzah, mentioned on the next page.
² He was a Chahārdadī. 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, Mushkin, Farrukh the Qalmáq (Calmuck), Mádhú, Jagan, Mohesh, K’hémkarán, Tará, Sánwlah, Haribáns, 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 Nal Daman, the Kaliláh Danmah, the ’Ayár Dánish, &c., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likenesses, and also ordered to have the likenesses

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1 Mentioned in the Madsir i Rahímí (p. 753) 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, Ahadás, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1200 to 600 dáns.

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 bazárs.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords, (khaḍṣah 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 khaḍṣah 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 Jámáhrs and K'hapuáhs, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty kotals, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and barchkas are required monthly. Of eighty-six Mashhádi bows, Bkaddýan 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 Bár i 'Am, or Lovoc, the sons of the Amirs, and other Mansábdrás and Ahadás, carry the Qur in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e., every four of them carry four

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, pijázi war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a foot-stool, all properly arranged. Several qitárs 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 Amirs and other persons 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, naqqáshs, flags, the kankáshs, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the Qur, while eager mace-bearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mir-bakhshís. 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.

1. Swords (slightly bent), .................. $\frac{3}{4}$ R. to 15 Mukurs.
2. K’ádah (straight swords), .................. 1 to 10 R.
3. Gupti ‘Aça (a sword in a walking stick), 2 to 20 R.
4. Jand’har (a broad dagger), .................. $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 2½ M.
5. Khanjar, ........................................ $\frac{1}{3}$ R. to 5 R.
6. K’hapwah, ...................................... $\frac{1}{3}$ R. to 1½ M.
7. Jam K’hák, ...................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 1½ M.
8. Bájik, .......................................... $\frac{1}{3}$ R. to 1 M.
9. Jhanbwhah, .................................... $\frac{1}{3}$ R. to 1 M.
10. Katáráh, ....................................... $\frac{1}{3}$ R. to 1 M.
11. Narsink Mot’h, ............................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 2 M.
12. Kamán (bows) ............................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 3 M.
13. Taksh Kamán, ............................... 1 to 4 R.
14. Náwak, ........................................ $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 1 M.
15. Arrows, per bundle, ...................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 30 R.
16. Quivers, ....................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 2 M.
17. Đuđí, .......................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 R.
18. Tirbardár (Arrow drawers), ............ $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2½ d.
19. Paikánkásh (Do.), ......................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 R.
20. Naizah (a lance), .......................... 1½ R. to 6 M.
21. Barchhah, ................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
22. Sáuk, ......................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1½ R.

1 Five camels are called a qitár, in Hind. qitár. 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 tir-i-pardar, an arrow with a feather at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. Saiigt'hi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Sélarah</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 d. to 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Gurz (a war club)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 to 5 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Shashpar (do.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 R. to 3 M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Kestan (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Tabar (a war axe)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Piýazi (a club)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Zághnól (a pointed axe)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Chakar-Basólah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Tabar zághnólô</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Tarangálah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Kárd (a knife)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d. to 1 M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Gupti kárd</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 R. to 1 1/2 M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Qamóhí kárd</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 3 1/4 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. Cháqu (a clasp knife)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d. to 1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Kamán i Gurélah (bullet bow)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Kam't'hah</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 d. to 3 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. Tufak i dahán (a tube; Germ. Blaserohr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 d. to 1 1/2 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. Pushkhár,</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Shactówéz</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. Girikhrawáh</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 d. to 1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Khár i Mátí</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Góbhan (a sling)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/4 d. to 1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Gajbág</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Sipar (a shield)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 50 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Dhält</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. K'hérah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Pahri</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Udánah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Dubulghah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 R. to 3 1/2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. K'hógh'í</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Zirih Kuláh</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. G'húgh'huwah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Jaibah</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 R. 30 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. Vide my Text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The Dictionaries give no information.

2. Vide Journal As. Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 61.

* A weapon resembling the following. The word Shactówéz, or more correctly shactówéz, means a thing by which you can hook anything. In Vullers' Persian Dicty. II. p. 426, 5, read biz for panír (?).  
* This word is used in a general sense, an armour. It is either Türkisk, or a corruption of the Arab. jubbah. The form jásbād is occasionally met with; but jásbah, as given by Vullers I. p. 508 s., is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.
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. Daroghas 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 Gajnds. Guns which a single man may carry, are called Narndis.

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 Gajnds and Narndis.

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

ATIN 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 Damandak. 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., Ustád Kabir, and Hussain.

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 Daud. 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 tânts, 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 târdâwîh 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 pargaz, &c. 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

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1 The text has an unintelligible word; the variântes lectiones are marked on p. 125 of my text edition, Note (13). The Bandras MS. has az. The word appears to be a foreign term.

2 Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Vide Tuzuk i Jahângiri, p. 16.

3 Târdâwîh means a trickling; the particular meaning which it here has, is unclear and not given in the Dictionaries.

4 Pargaz, or Purgaz, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the Dict., 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 esdah (plain), rangin, (coloured), and koftkâr (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as khâraj, 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 kotalal. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, kotalal are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; kotalal; plain; coloured; koftkâr, not handed over to the slaves; koftkâr, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from peshkash presents, or from such as were bought; Dambnaks, selected from peshkash, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five khâraj guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a khâhk, 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 khágah guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half kotalas, fourteen; quarter kotalas, seven; one-eighth kotalas, four; one-sixteenth kotalas, two; one-thirty second kotalas, one. When kotal guns are given away, they bring half kotalas; 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 kotalas, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the koftkár not in charge of the slaves, the koftkár in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected Damánaks, 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 Sangrán, one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the Farwardín month of the present era.

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ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.


1 A man placed over ten. The rank of the Mirdahah appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul Armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a Dağháši, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a Dagháshi was the lowest Mansabdár rank (vide the second book). Mirdahah is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after ten horses.
ATN 41.

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. Bhaddar. 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. Mirg. 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 frighted, when it thunders.

From a mixture of those 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 germaniá 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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* During the reigns of Akbar's successor, the price of a well trained war elephant rose much higher. Vide Tuzuk i Jahangiri, p. 198. At the time of Shahjahán, the first white elephant was brought from Pégú, Páthisáhnamah, I. p. 297. * This excrescence is also called Grajmoti, or elephants' pearl. Forbes has, a so Gajmanik, and the Dalit i Sáti, gaj wati?.

* In the fourth book of this work.

* The time is differently given. The emperor Jahángír 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. After giving 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, 1863.
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 fetus 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 fetus becomes quite distinct. In the seventeenth month, there is every chance of a premature birth, on account of the efforts made by the fetus 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 fetus 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 fetus 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 fetus 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 shews 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 fetus 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 these 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 Sarkari. 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 Singadhul; and when the fluid trickles from all three places, Tuljor. When hot, elephants got attached to particular living creatures, as men, or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

The Bhadadu ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the Maid in spring; the Mirg in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the Mir in any season. Elephant drivers

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1 Ghallah ofshdn. 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 instru-
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 Gaṇumaktah; 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, hālāki, &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. Airāwata, in the East; 2. Pundarika, South-east; 3. Bīman, South; 4. Kuradas, South-west; 5. Anjan, West; 6. Puskpadanta, North-west; 7. Śrīvabhūma, 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 ...; 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.

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1 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps khuchasuj, 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 Déva mizáj (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 Gandharba mizáj (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are Barhman mizáj (of a brahminical temper). 4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernmentable, are said to have the temper of a Khetri, 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 Sódra mizáj. 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 Píshácha (spectre). 8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a Ráchhas (demon).

The Hindus have written many books in explanation of these various tempers, as also many treatises on the diseases of the elephants, their causes and proper remedies.

Elephants are chiefly found in the Súbah of Agrah, in the forests of Bayáwán and Narwar, as far as Barár; in the Súbah of Iláhábás (Allahabad), in the confines of Páthá (?), and Ghúrág'hát, and Ratanpur, Nándanpúr, Sargach, and Bastár; and in the Súbah of Málwah, near Handiyah, Uchhod, Chandéri, Sántwás, Bijágarh, Ráisin, Hoshangábád, Ghád, Haryágadh; in the Súbah of Bahár, in the neighbourhood of Rahtás and Chár K'hand; and in the Súbah of Bengal, in Orissá, and Sátgáw (Hógli). The elephants of Páthá (?) 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 Abul Fazl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of PrinceSálim (Jalálingir), Long. 77° 58', Lat. 25° 30'; Ghúrág'hát, near Dimnegar, Long. 80° 17', Lat. 25° 12'; Ratanpur (Abul Fazl evidently means the one south-east of Sargach) Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 11'; Sargach, Long. 83° 8', Lat. 23° 8'; Bastár, Long. 81° 38', Lat. 19° 15'. The towns from Handiyah to Haryágadh lie all between Long. 78° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 21° (Gwáliár). For Uchhod (عَجْخْد) the third book has Ùchhod (عَجْخْد). The Fort of Rahtás, the scene of Sher Sháh's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38'. The name Páthá (بَاب) 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 get 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 Ayás. For some reason, it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watching 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 lawlessness; 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 Dárogáhs. Certain elephants were also declared *khíyák, i. e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.*

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**ATN 42.**

**THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.**

His Majesty made a seven-fold division, based upon experience;

1. *Mast* (full blood); 2. *Shargir* (tiger-seizing); 3. *Sádah* (plain); 4. *Manjholah* (middlenest); 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.

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**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 sors; middle-sized, 2 m. 19 s.; small ones, 2 m. 14 s. 2. *Shargirs.* Large ones, 2 m. 9 s.; middle-sized ones, 2 m. 4 s.; small ones, 1 m. 39 s. 3. *Sádahs.* Large ones, 1 m. 34 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 29 s.; small ones, 1 m. 24 s. 4. *Manjholas.* 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. *Mokas.* 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 1500, when Bázím fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.
18 s.; sixth class, 16 s.; seventh class, 14 s.; eighth class, 12 s.; ninth class, 10 s.; tenth class, 8 s.

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.

ATN 44.

THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.

1. Mast elephants. There are five and a half servants for each, viz., first, 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 dâmas per month; but if the elephant be khati, 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 Met’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. Met’hs of all classes get on the march four dâmas daily, and at other times, three and a half.

2. For every Shergir, there are five servants, viz., a Maháwat, at 180 d.; a Bhoi, at 108 d.; and three Met’hs as before.

3. For every Sdah, 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 Manjolah, there are four servants; viz., a Maháwat, at 149 d.; a Bhoi, at 80 d.; and two Met’hs.

6. For every Karkha, 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 Phandurka, 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.

* I.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.
The Faujdars.

His Majesty has appointed a Superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty, elephants. Such a troop is called a brija; 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 Qadi (a commander of one hundred or higher), he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other Faujdars, as Bittis (commanders of twenty and Duabshiis (commanders of ten), being under his orders. The same order is followed from the Duabshiis up to the Akadia (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the Qadi is different. Some Faujdars have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A Qadi marks two horses. A Bitti of the first grade has 30 Rupees per annum; second grade, 25 R.; third grade, 20 R. A Dabahishi of the first grade has twenty R.; second grade, 16 R.; third grade, 12 R. Bittis and Dabahishis mark one horse, and belong to the Akadia. Such Faujdars as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves, have to pay the wages of the Mahawat 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 Mahawat.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several halagaah 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 (Ain 78).

ATN 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 sers; 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 Andá is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The Berí 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 berí resembles the Andá, 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 Charhí 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 fuzee wrapt in 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. Andhiyá, i. e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into Upáyá, i. e., light, is a piece of canvass above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, &c., and tied with two ends to the Kildwah (vide 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 canvass, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The Kildwah1 consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half

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1 This should be Kaldwah. Abulfazl edition, p. 138, l. 16. It looks as if spells the word wrong; vide my Text Abulfazl 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 foot 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 Dultzí is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a stick. This
they tie over the kaláwah, to strengthen it.

11. The Kaurí 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 Dór 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 trapp-
ings to it.

13. The Gudeláh, is a cushion put on the back of the elephant, below
the dulzí. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

14. The Gudantí is a chain of brass. They attach it near the tail, which
it prevents from getting injured by the dulzí. It is also ornamental.

15. The Pichwah is a belt made of ropes, and is fastened over the
buttocks of the elephant. It is a support for the Bhóí, and of much use to
him in firing.

16. The Chaúrdhí consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of
broaddoth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through
it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. Píchakh 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. Qútória (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 Ťyáyá consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four
fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the Ťyáyá
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.
Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the kaláwah; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The Qutás 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. Qutás 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 Pák'har is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

22. The Gaý-jhamp is a covering put as an ornament above the pák'har. It looks grand. It is made of three folds of canvas, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside.

23. The Mog'h dambar is an awning, to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty. It also looks ornamental.

24. The Ranpiyala is a fillet for the forehead, made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and qutás hang down.

25. The Gatél 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 Páí ranján consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The Ankus is a small crook. His Majesty calls it Gaýbâdh'h.1 It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

28. The Gaš 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 Banjri 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 Jagdwaft resembles the Gaš (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoi uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The Jhandâ, or flag, is hung round with Qutás, like a togh.2 It is fixed to the side of the elephant.

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants.

For each Mast and Shorgir and Sádah, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ dánas. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindî kambal, at 10 d. each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 d.

1 I.â., an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name Ankus, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." Rushidî.

Hence the Persians pronounce it anguzâh.

2 Tógh is the same as tógh. Vide Kín 19, p. 50.
For Manjholah and Karha elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For Phandurkiyas, 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 dar is allowed ten sers 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 kalacah of the elephant on which the Faujdar 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 dans is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

ATN 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (KHÂCAH).

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 ghî, 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-canex, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the Makawat.

Each elephant requires three bhol 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 Mel'hs. In the Halqahs, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each khacah elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half mel'hs; second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes, the same as in the Halqahs.

As each Halqah is in charge of one of the Grandees, so is every khacah elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten khacah elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called Dähâddâr. They draw twelve, ten, and eight rupees per mensum. Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called Naqib (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 Ahadi. His Majesty

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.

**AYN 47.**

**THE MANNER OF RIDING KHAÇAH-ELEPHANTS.**

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of suspiciousness, 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 caprisoned, 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, e.g., the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 R.; the Daháí, 31 R.; the Naqíb, 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 kháçah elephants, the bhoís receive 250 dáms as a present; but if other elephants, the bhoís get 200 d.

The Daháí of kháçah elephants receives one dáa for every rupee paid as wages to the Bhoís and Meth's; the Mushrif is entitled to ½ d., and the Naqíb to ½ d. In the case of Haláqah elephants, the Caidálí, the Daháí, and the Bisitt, are entitled to 1 d. for every rupee; and the Mushrif and the Naqíb receive the allowance given for kháçah elephants.

**AYN 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 kháçah elephant, the Bhoís are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhoís and Meth's are fined two-

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¹ Jahángír, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect; vide Tuzuk, p. 16.
thrids 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 khāqah 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 khāqah elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh, to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the Pāgosht Regulation (vide Kān 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the bhois are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of Ḥalqah elephants, Ahadis are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the Mahākat 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 dāroghah 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 khāqah elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.

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 'Irāq i 'Arab and 'Irāq i 'Ajam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drovers after droves arrive from Tūrān and Irān, 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.

Skillful, 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 Sanújí; so also in the district of Patí Haibatpúr,8 Bajwáráh, Taháráh, in the Súbah of Agra, Mewát, and in the Súbah of Ajmúr, where the horses have the name of pachcarviyáh. In the northern mountainous district of Hindústan, a kind of small but strong horses is bred, which are called γύτ; and in the confines of Bengal, near Kúch [- Bahár], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the γύτ and Turkish horses, and are called ṭânghán: 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 everything 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 hardness 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 Kárvdánará, 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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1 Several good MSS. read Satújí.
2 Haibatpúr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76°.
3 Taháráh, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 76°.
4 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.⁴

ATN 50.

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. Khāṣah; 2. Those that are not khāṣah. The khāṣah 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., st-aspi, bist-aspi, dah-aspi 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 Bist-muhri stable, and so on.

Grandees and other Mauçals, and Senior Akhadis are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except for the horse which the Fatāqdar (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain and grass at his own expense.

ATN 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A khāṣah horse was formerly allowed eight sers fodder per diem, when the ser weighed twenty-eight dāms. Now that the ser is fixed at thirty dāms, a khāṣah horse gets seven and a half sers. In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch; in summer, grain. The daily allowance includes two sers of flour, and one and a half sers 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 Abulízld mentions this very often in the Aīn. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasure; 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 Muhājans (bankers). It was the same in Persia.

² The clerks whose habit it was to annoy people, gave him (Wazîr Mirzâ Čâlîh, brother of the great Persian historian Sîkandar Bây) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (muhaçîl), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mirzâ Rahîm, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mirzâ Čâlîh 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. "Tâhir Nâşrîddîn’s Tâdžkîrah."
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'hî; and when the season of fresh grass comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow afterwards six sers of grain and two sers of molasses per diem. In other 'Irâqi and Turki stables, they give seven and a half sers of grain. During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain boiled, an allowance of one dâm being given for boiling one man of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter ser of salt. When g'hî and fresh grass are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one mulhurs, gets also one ser of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty mulhurs, 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 mulhurs, get one man and ten sers of g'hî; such as are worth from eleven to twenty mulhurs, thirty sers; but horses up to ten mulhurs get neither g'hî, brown sugar, nor green oats. Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a dâm, though it is mostly given in a lump. 'Irâqi 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 khâqâb horse. The g'at horses get five and a half sers 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 1 d., when in the country; but they do not get g'hî, molasses, or green oats. Qisrâqa, i. e., female horses, get, at court, four and a half sers 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 dâm are allowed. Stud mares get two and three fourths sers of grain; but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal suck's 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 sers of grain per diem; after which period, the allowance is every six months increased by a ser, 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 khāṣah horses on which His Majesty rides out.

For the whole outfit of a khāṣah horse, the allowance is $277\frac{1}{2}$ d. per annum; viz., an artak, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 d.; a yālposh (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 yālposh; 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 push-tanq (girth), 8 d.; a magas-rāq (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 yālposh, $27\frac{1}{2}$ 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 magasrān, 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 qisrāq, and gūṭ, the allowance is $117\frac{1}{2}$ d.; viz., an artak, 37 d.; a yālposh, $24\frac{1}{2}$ d.; a jul, 24 d.; a nakhtah band and a pāiband, 8 d.; a nakhtah and qaisah, 8 d.; a push-tanq, 5 d.; a magasrān 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 suqtaq. Similarly, qaisah is pronounced qaisah; 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 Karāh is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a karāh is at the rate of one hundred and forty dāms per man of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The Missin Soṭṭ, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten khāḍah 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 Ahanī makh, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five sers, and costs 15 d. 5. The Tabartukhmag, or hammer, weighs five sere, 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 khāḍah stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dāroghahs; 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 dāms were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. Kundīds. One is allowed for ten horses. The price of it is 80½ R.

ATN 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The Aḥbāt 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 Khan Khánān 2 (Commander-in-Chief).

2. The Dāroghah. 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 Muẖriṣ, 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. Ḧāj, which our meagre dictionaries describe as “a kind of tent.”

2 Or Mīrād Khān Khánān, i. e., Abdurrahim, son of Bahrām Khān; 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 Didahcar, 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 Munsabdar or Ahadis. 5. The Akhtarchis look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis. 6. The Chahbak-muadir 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 Hadd. 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 Mirdobah is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Ahadi: but in other khāzah stables, he only gets 170 d.; in the country-bred stables, 160 d.; in the other Siaspi stables, 140 d.; in the Bistaspī stables, 100 d.; and in the Dah-aspi stables, 30 d. Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The Baitdar, 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 Daroghas 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 Sāis, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the Chihilaspī 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, 126 d.; in the other Siaspi stables, 106 d.; in the Bistaspī stables, 103 d.; and in the Dohaspī stables, 100 d. 12. The Jilauddar (ride Kin 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 Nālband, or farrier. Some of them are Ahadis, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 d. 14. The Zindār, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the Khāzah 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 Akkaš, 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 Furrāsh (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every khāzah stable. His pay is 130 d.
17. A Sipandāvā is only allowed in the stables of forty horses; his pay is 100 d. 
18. The Khākrāb, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan Haldikhur;² 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 ddōrahs 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 dāroghah has not received the extra-allowance. Each cooly gets two dāms per diem.

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ATN 54.

THE BĀRGĪR.

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 Dāroghahs and Mushrifis. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the Bitikē (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a Bārgīrmuādr.

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ATN 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 ين (nasar sight), sometimes with the word دغ (ddgh, mark), and sometimes with the

¹ The seeds of sipand (in Hind. sarso, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (nasar i bād, chasam rasiān), 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 Sipandōz. Vide the poetical extracts of the Hind book, under Nīkeki. 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 Fatāpūr Sīkri.

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. 55, l. 16; p. 90, l. 22; also Forbes’ Dictionary under ‘rangārd. Haldikhur, i. e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for hardānkhur, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, &c. The word haldikhur is still in use among educated Muhammadans; but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar’s invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is mikhār, a prince, which like the proud title of khālifah, now-and-again 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 Mūjannas' 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.

**AIN 56.**

**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 khāqāh 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.

**AIN 57.**

**ON FINES.**

When a khāqāh horse dies, the Dārogah has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdahah ten d., upon every muhur of the cost price; and the

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1 Vide Aīn 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A. H. 981, A. D. 1573, when Shabbāz had been appointed Mīr Bakkhshī. He followed the regulations of 'Alāūddīn Khiljī and Sher Shāh; vide Badāonī, pp. 173, 190.

2 Mūjannas, i. e., put nearly equal (to an 'Irāqī horse); vide 2nd 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 Mirdahah and the grooms the above proportions. But now, they take one rupee upon every muhur for one to three 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 Mirdahah is fined ten dáms 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 kháçah horses; but of courier-horses, three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to the ten muhur stables and the Gúfs. They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a misl.

First misl, one from the chihílaepli stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of kháçah courier horses. Second misl, one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the studbreds; one from the chihílaepli stables; one courier horse. Third misl, one horse from the stables of the three princes; one stud bred. Fourth misl, one horse from each of the stables of horses of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten muhurs.

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth misl. But when prince Sháh Murád joined his appointment, His Majesty also rode the best horses of the stables of forty muhurs. The arrangement was then as follows. First misl, one horse from the stables of forty; one horse from the stables of the eldest and the youngest prince, and a courier horse. Second misl, stud bred horses from the stables of horses above seventy muhurs; kháçah horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses. Third misl,

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1 "Prince Murád, in the beginning of the fortieth year (1596) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gujrat, 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 Abulfazl, to bring the prince back to court. Abulfazl came just in time, to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (paroxysms), delirium tremens?) brought on by habitual drunkenness.” Mir-át.
one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud bred, and the seventy muhur horses. *Fourth mixt*, horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty muhurs.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten muhurs and the *GIfts*.

ATN 59.

ON DONATIONS.

Whenever His Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six *khâdâgh* 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 *khâdâgh* horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one dâm to the *Abbâg*, two to the *Jilawâdâr*; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqib, the Akhtâchî, and the Zindâr. In 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.

ATN 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 *Jilau* is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called *janibâgh*. The adjective *jilawândâh*, which is not in the dictionaries, means referring to a led horse. We have to write *jilawândâh*, not *jilawânâh*, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives; as *na-in*, *jawîn*, from *nai*, *jaun*, not *nai-in*, or *jau-in*. The *jilawândâr*, or *jânibâghdâr*, or *jânibâkkas*, is the servant who leads the horse. The *jilawâbîgâ* is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The *tahsîldâr* collects the fee.
divided as follows:—The Aḥbegi gets five dāms; the Jilaubegi, two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqibs, nine jetals; the grooms, a quarter dām; the Tahçildar, fifteen jetals; the remainder is equally divided among the Zindar and Akhtachī.

In this country, horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 Rupees.

AYN 61.

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 Irān and Turān.

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 khāţah camels, which is named Šāhpasand (approved of by the Šāh), 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 finesse of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ajmir, Jodhpur, Nágór, Bikānir, Jaisalmir, Batinda, and Bhāntir; the best are bred in the Sūbah of Gujrāt, 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 That’hab.

The success of this department depends on the Arvāṇah, 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 māyah (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the nar the name of Bughdī, and to the female that of Jam Fadeh. The bughdī is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the jammāzah 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 jammāzah goes by the name of j’hurd; the female is called māyah.

* In the text māyah, which also means a female camel—a very harmless

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 jammáza, the young one is called bughdi or lok respectively. But if a bughdi or a lok couples with an arcúnah, the young mule is named after its sire, and the young female after its dam. The lok is considered superior to the g'hurd, and the máyah g'hurd.

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into qaţârs (strings), each qaţár consisting of five camels. The first camel of each qaţár is called peshang; \(^1\) the second, peshdarah; the third, miyánah qaţár; the fourth, daundast; the last camel, daundár.

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**AYN 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 s. of grain; when three and a half to four years old, 5 s.; up to seven years, 9 s.; at eight years, 10 s. The same rule applies to bughurs. Similarly in the case of jammázas, g'hurds, máyah g'hurds, and loks, up to four years of age; but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 s.; and at the age of eight years, 7½ s., at the rate of 28 dáms p. ser. As the ser has now 30 dáms, 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 s., according to the provisions of the Págosh rule (Ain 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 Págosh 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, 1½ d. During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels to meadows to graze.

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\(^1\) So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of pesh-áhang, the leader of a troop. *Pesh-* | *darah* means ‘in front of the belly, or middle, of the qaţár.'
ATN 63.

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for khāṣah camels:—an Afsār (head stall); a Dum-afsār, (crupper); a Mahār kāṭhi (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather larger,—an invention of His Majesty); a Kūchā (which serves as a saddle-cloth); a Qāṭārhh; a Sarbhā; a Tang (a girth); a Sørāng a (head-strap); a Shebband (a loin-strap); a Jalājil (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a Gardanband (a neckstrap); three Chādas (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 qaṭārs of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a Miḥaffāh, 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 qaṭārs, they allow three qaṭārs coloured articles.

For Bughās, 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 kalālagi (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a puṣkapon (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a dum-afsār (a crupper), 1½ d.; for a takalātī (saddle quilt) and a sarbhā, both of which require 5 sers of cotton, 20 d.; a jūl (saddle-cloth), 68 d.; a jahāz-i gajkārī,3 which serves as a mahārkāṭhi (vide above), 40 d.; a tang, shebband, guḷābant (throat-strap), 24 d.; a tāndāb (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope āṣah tāndāb, or kharwar—38 d.; a bālāpūṣi, or covering, 15 d.4

For Jammaṣahs, 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 Bughās and Jammaṣahs amounts to 168½ d., viz., an afsār, studded with shells, 10 d.; a dum-afsār, ½ d.; a jahāz,

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1 The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. sarb, like qitār, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that sarbhā is a sort of quilt.
2 Gajkārī appears to be the correct reading. The Arab. jahāz means whatever is upon a camel, especially the saddle and its appurtenances, generally made of coarse canvas, steeped in lime (gaj). Hence gajkārī, white-washed.
3 These items added up give 246 d., 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 trimnially, but had to last a longer time.
16½ d. ; a jum, 52½ d. ; a tang, a shebband, and gulaband, 24 d.; a āfhāb ūnāb, 37½ d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.¹

For Loks, the allowance for furniture is 143 d., viz., an afsur, jahāz, khārjār, according to the former rates; a jum, 37½ d.; a tang, shebband, gulaband, 14½ d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.²

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 qaṭūr, sixteen dāms, and of plain furniture, fourteen dāms, 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.³

¹Alafīt 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 afsur, 5 d.; a jum, 36½ d.; a sarādz, ½ d.; a tang, and a shebband, 10½ d.; and [for Loks], an afsur, a tang, and a shebband, as before; a jum, 45½ d.; a sarādz, ½ d.

From the annual estimate one-fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder.

Shalīlah ṭāts, or canvass sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every qaṭūr, at a price of 30½ d. for bughās and jannirdāns, and 24½ 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 allowed to ‘Alafīt camels.

AIN 64.

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS.

The scientific terms for these operations are taṣliyah and tānshqīq, though we might expect taṣliyah and tānshqīq, because tānshqīq means injecting into the nose.

¹ These items added up give 169 d., instead of Abulfazl’s 168½ d.
² The items added up give 144 d., instead of Abulfazl’s 143 d.
³ Hence the Government paid, as a rule, ½ × ¾ = ¼ of the estimates presented.
⁴ The addition gives 52½ d., instead of 62½. The following items, for Loks, give added up 62½.
For each Bughdi and Jammdzah 3/4 sers of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz., three sers for anointing, and ½ ser for injection into the nose. So also ½ s. of brimstone, and 6½ s. of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is ½ s. of brimstone, 6¼ s. of butter-milk, and ½ 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 qaṭār, and given each qaṭār in charge of a sārbān, 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 qaṭār are of three kinds—1. Every five qaṭār are in charge of an experienced man, called bistopanjī, or commander of twenty-five. His salary is 720 d. He marks a Yābū horse, and has four drivers under him. 2. Double the preceding, or ten qaṭār, are committed to the care of a Panjāhī, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 960 d., and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred qaṭār are in charge of a Pančādī, or commander of five hundred. Ten qaṭār are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one qaṭār, Government finds drivers for the others. The Panjāhīs, and Bistopanjīs are under his orders. Their salary varies: now-a-days many Yūzbāsibis' are appointed to this post. One camellist told off for the fardashes. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each Pančādī 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 Sārbān is fined the full value; so also the Panjāhī and the Pančādī. If a camel get lame or blind, they are fined the fourth part of the price.

**Raibārī.**

Raibārī 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

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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 Raibari 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, bughdi, and jammáza, in the stud, the allowance for oilling and injecting into the nostrils, is 4 s. of sesame oil, 3 s. of brimstone, 6½ s. of butter milk. The first includes ¾ s. of oil for injection. Loks, arwánahs, g’hurds, and máyah g’hurds, only get 3½ s. of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection,—6½ s. of butter milk, and 3 s. of brimstone.

Botahs and Dumbalaha—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens—are allowed 2½ s. of oil, inclusive of ¼ s. for injection into the nostrils, ¾ s. of brimstone, and 4½ s. of butter-milk.

Full grown stud camels get weekly ½ s. of saltpetro and common salt; botahs get ¼ s.

The wages of a herdman is 200 d. per mensis. For grazing every fifty stud camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 d. per diem. 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 bughdi and jammáza, each camel being assessed to yield four scrs of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with dum-afairs, wooden pegs, &c.

The following are the prices of camels:—a bughdi, from 5 to 12 Muhurs; a jammáza, 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 bughdi, not more than 10 muns; a second class do., 8 m.; superior jammáza, loks, &c., 8 m.; second class do., 6 m.

In this country, camels do not live above twenty-four years.

ATN 66.

THE GAÔKHÀNAH 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, butter-milk, 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 mulures.
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
mulures. 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 Dihli again, cows are not more worth
than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of
dams [5000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmhir, the Qatás, 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 khâpâh, 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, Aín 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 Aín 22).

There is also a species of oxen, called gâñî, small like gât horses, but
very beautiful.

Milk-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and
handed over to intelligent servants.

AÍN 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first khâpâh class is allowed daily 6½ s. of grain, and
1½ s. of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 man, 19 s. of molasses, which
is distributed by the Darogah, who must be a man suitable for such a duty and office. Cattle of the remaining khúçah 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 gainás get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ d.. Second class do, 2½ s. of grain, and ¾ 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-waggons¹ get 6½ s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons get formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1½ d. for grass; but now they get a quarter 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 f'hadát. 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 dáms weight of g'hi for every ser of milk.

Aín 68.

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW-STABLES.

In the khúçah 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 Ahadís; others get 360 d., others 256 d. down to 112 d. Baháls, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. Chatridár or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the chatár, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called g'hurbaháls. 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 dâms [55 Rupees.]

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the Dâroghah was fined one-fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury.

Formerly the Dâroghahs paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a dâm ñng money—ñng 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 Dâroghahship 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 Dâroghahs, 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 Págosht 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 ñng, 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.
ATN 69.

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'hal, 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 'Irāq i 'Arab and 'Irāq i 'Ajam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into qaṭār of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each qaṭār, which is called bardast, [instead of ṭrbdvrh, vide Aín 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

ATN 70.

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'hal lies between Atāk (Attock) and Kashmīr, a little north of Rawul Pindé. 'I'de towards the end of Book III.
ATN 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ d.; an iron chain weighing 2 s., 10 d.; a ranak (crupper) of leather, 4 d.; a pálán (pack-saddle), 102 d.; a shítang (shawl strap), and a palás-tang (blanket strap), 36½ d.; a šágah šánd (a rope for fastening the burden,) 63 d.; a qatír šaláq (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every qatír, 10 d.; a horse hair saddle, 40 d.; a káláwáh (vide Aín 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 4½ d.; a sardox (a common head stall) 4 d.; a khurjin (wallet), 15 d.; a fodder-bag, 4 d.; a magaš-rán (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove (for washing), 4 d. Total, 345½ d.

For country-bred mules the allowance is 151½ d., viz., a head stall of leather, 4 d.; pack-saddle, 51 d. 18½ j.; the two straps, 16½ d.; a šágah šánd and sardox, 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 qatír 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 pesháng (first mule of their qatír) 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 muleeer 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.

ATN 72.

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 lead him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as as a means of dulling 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 slanderings 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 significations, 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. 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 Çufis, 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 g'haris 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, tradespeople, 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 kurnish (vide Aín 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.

AÍN 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, darsan (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 skilful 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. Vide Ain 77, and the Note after it.
His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, *viz.*, prostration (ṣijdah); 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 Darbăr i 'Ām (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.

**Ain 75.**

Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend on an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality. If a king possess a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office; and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God. Should any one search for an example, I would point to the practice of His Majesty, which will be found to exhibit that happy harmony of motives, the contemplation of which rewards the

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1 The prostration, or ṣijdah, 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 ṭalavātīn had been the usual salutation. “It was Nizâm of Badakhsán who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpūr [before 1586]. The success of the innovation made Mullah 'A'lam of Kābul exclaim, “O that I had been the inventor of this little business!” Dād. III, p. 153. Regarding Nizâm, or Ghâzî Khan, vide Abūl-Fazl’s list of Grandees, II and book, No. 144. The ṣijdah 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 kornish, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed,² 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 Yasaal.* One or two attendants* stand nearer than all.

¹ The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, and lends 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 kamarband. When in this position, a servant is called aimdah 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 qaff i midāl. The emperor sits on the throne (ride Plate VII.) with crossed legs, or chahāz-zādā, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called foraunt nishkat, 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 durūnā 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.
* Yasaal 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 (ride pp. 109, 110), the Mullās and the 'Ulamā, &c.
* The servants who hold the sāibān Aín 19, or the fans.
A'IN 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 Túrán and Irán, Turkey and Europe, Hindustan and Kashmir, 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 Ahadī 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 dāms for each horseman.

Special Būtikhis [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 Ahadī to buy his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadīs that

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1 This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. Vide next Aín.  

2 As settling a family-feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, &c.  

3 Abulfazl means men who were willing to serve in the several grades of the standing army. The standing army consisted of cavalry, artillery, 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, Aín 1), a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.  

4 As Ahadis drew a higher salary (II, Aín 4), they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.  

5 Aín 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Ahadis.  

6 So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 168, 1. 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 Aín 4, of the second book, an Ahadī 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 mensem 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 MAJESTY1 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 (duc), and the other class to worldly thoughts (dunya). 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.

a horse when his first horse had died.
To such cases the negative phrase would refer. But it was customary for Ahadis to bring their own horse on joining; and this is the case which Abulfazl evidently means; for in the whole Afn he speaks of newcomers.
1 A note will be found at the end of this Afn.

* As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.

* God. He may be worshipped by the meditative, and by the active man. The former speculates on the essence of God, the latter rejoices in the beauty of the world, and does his duty as man. Both represent tendencies apparently antagonistic; but as both strive after

God, there is a ground common to both. Hence mankind ought to learn that there is no real antagonism between duc and dunya. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Cufic depth to practical wisdom. By his example, he teaches men how to adore God in doing one’s duties; his superhuman knowledge proves that the light of God dwells in him. The surest way of pleasing God is to obey the king.

The reader will do well to compare Abulfazl’s preface with this Afn.

* The world.

* These Cufic lines illustrate the idea that the same enrapturing beauty is everywhere. God is everywhere, in everything: hence everything is God. Thus God, the Beloved, dwells in man,
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-starred 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 will 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 every-
thing 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, and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they

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 taqlid, which means
to put a collar on one's own neck; to
follow another blindly, especially in
religious matters. All things which
refer to prophethood and revealed religion
they [Abulfazl, Hakim Abulfath, &c.]
called taqlidya, 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. 1576] a great number of Portu-
guese, from whom they likewise picked
up doctrines justifiable by reasoning." Baddoni II, p. 281.

* Vide Abulfazl's preface, p. III, l. 19.
* This is an allusion to the wonderful
event which happened at the birth of
the emperor. Akbar spoke. From
Mirza Shah Muhammad, called Ghazin
Khan, son of Shah Begkhan, who had
the title of Dauran Khan, and was an
Arguhn by birth. The author heard
him say at Lahor, in A. H. 1053,
"I asked Nawab 'Aziz Kukah, who has
the title of Khan 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 Saadis, Jogi, Serras, Qalandars, Hakims, and Cufis, 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 difficulties, 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 proclaiming 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, Afn 30], whether the late emperor, like the Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother. He replied, "His mother told me, it was true." Dabistán ul Mazákhib, Calcutta Edition, p. 390. Bombay edition, p. 260. 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 1595, 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. 95.
4 The text has zabān i hāl, and a little lower down, zabān i befāwāt. Zabān i hāl, or symbolical language, is opposed to zabān i maqādī, 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 Shaṭ,1 upon which is engraved ‘the Great Name,’2 and His Majesty’s symbolical motto, ‘Allāhu Akbar.’ This teaches the novice the truth that

"The pure Shaṭ 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 Divino Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allāhu Akbar!" and the other responds, "Talla Jalālihu."3 The motive of His Majesty, in laying down this mode

1 Shaṭ 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 Badá nóf, the members wore on their turbans.

2 The Great Name is a name of God.

3 Some say, it is the word Allah; others say, it is gamad, the eternal; others, al-haqq, the living; others, al-qayyum, the everlasting; others, arrahman, arrahim, the element and merciful; others, al-mu-haizin, the protector. Ghíás. “Qádí Hamíduddín of Núgor says, the Great Name is the word Hú, 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 hú is a root, not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it.” Kánhfúllughdát.

4 These formulae remind of Akbar’s name, Jaláliuddín Muhammad 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, fármás, &c. His era was called the Divine era; his faith, the Divine faith; and the note at the end of this Aín shews how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the Mujtahid 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. 1557-76] 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 themselves alight; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdeatchers.

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 Tacárkh* by ‘Abdul Qádir íbn i Mulúk Sháh 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 ul Masáhil*, 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 Rodolpho Aquaviva,

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the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said, people would like it very much. But Haji Ibrahim objected, and said, the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and the emperor might substitute the Qurin verse *La sûru Allâh akbar* (To think of God is the greatest thing), because it involved no ambiguity. But His Majesty got displeased, and said,

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it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness, would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme.” Baddoni, p. 210.

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 Padre Rudolf.* 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 Badáoní, 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 Badáoní.* The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badáoní.

Abulfazl’s second introduction to Akbar. His pride.


*It was during these days [end of 982 A. H.] that Abulfazl, son of Shaikh Mubárik of Nágór, 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 Çabúkhīs, 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-kurš.*

has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

* Not Padre Rudolf, پادرا دیوی, as in Elphinstone’s history, but رادف, the letter (lám) having been mistaken for a ژ (yād).

As in the following extracts the years of the Hijrah are given, the reader may convert them according to this table:—

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<td>27 August, 1595</td>
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* Qor. Sur. II, 258.
which contained all subtleties of the Qur'an; 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 Akbār* (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 Mullās 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 Ḥabashī and others), Shaikh 'Abdunnabī and Makhdūm ul mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously represented to the emperor that Shaikh Mubarakī also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdī*, 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 Salīm i Chishtī at Fathpūr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him, it would be better for him to go away to Gjurāt. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubārik applied to Mirzā 'Aziz Kokah [Akbar's foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaikh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talent of his two sons, adding that Mubārik 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.

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2. *Badrī* 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 those 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.”

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badáni 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‘iniyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qur’an), and the word of the prophet (the Hadis, or Tradition). Questions of Qur’ism, 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 Yâ hâ and Yâ hâdî, which had been mentioned to him, and his
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 Shaikhs and 'Ulamás, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mírzá Sulaimán, a prince of Qúfí tendencies, and a Çáhib i hádí was coming to him from Badakhshán.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called Anáptalá, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the 'Ulamás and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the 'Ulamás, and the heretical (Shi'íite) subjects discussed in this building, caused Múllá Sherí, 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, 'Ulamás, 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 'Ulamás, 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 'Ulamás 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 'Ulamás that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Aqaf Khán, "If I were to carry out this order, most of the 'Ulamás 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 Badáoní calls him Қarıдāz. He is sometimes called Қarıдāzi; sometimes, Қarıдāzi. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 981, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.

2 Hādī 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.

3 The text has Shab i Jum'ah, the night of Friday; but as Muhammadan commences the day at sunset, it is our Thursday night.
Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.


"Some people mentioned that Hájí Ibráhím of Sárkhád 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 Hájí 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 Sultánpur, who had received the title of Makhdúm ul mulk, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Hájí 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 Maulána, 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 Maulána, 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 fatwa, 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 Qizilbashis (i. e., the Shi’ah 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.

Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before 990 A. H.
Khán Jahán also related that the Maulání had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal alms upon the wealth which he amassed 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 Moses 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 Aimadárs 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 'Abdunnabi had risen to power, whilst the star of the Maulání was fast sinking.³

But a heavier blow was to fall on the 'Ulamás. [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 'Abdunnabi had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the 'Ulamás present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abí Leila; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qorán verse (Qor. Sur. IV, 3), "Marry whatever women ye like, two and two," and three and three, and four and four;" but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abdunnabi,

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 Hardáddát 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 Shaikhl," 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 nikāh] 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 nikāh wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl i Jamá'at.

On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would
refer the reader to my work entitled Nujátrurshid [vide note 2, p. 104],
in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse,
Naqíb Khán fetched a copy of the Mucatta 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 Yá'qúb, Shaikhl Abul-Fazl, Hájí Ibrahim, and
a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the
Anúptalaó tank. Shaikhl Abul Fazl had been selected as the opponent,
and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding Mut'ah marriages,
which his father (Shaikhl Mubárík) 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 Sháfí'i and the Great Imám (Hanífah) look upon Mut'ah marriages
as illegal. But, should at any time a Qázi of the Málíki 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 Shaikhl 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 Málíki Qázi Husain
'Arab as the Qázi before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and
you, Yá'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 Makhdúm ulmulk, Qázi Ya’qúb, 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, Maulána Jaláluddín of Multán a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was ordered from Agrah (to Fathpúr Sikrí,) and appointed Qázi of the realm. Qázi Ya’qúb was sent to Gaur as District Qázi.

From this day henceforth, ‘the road of opposition and difference in opinion’ lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mújtaḥid of the empire.” [Here follows the extract regarding the formula ‘Alláhu Akbar, given on p. 166, note 3.]

[Badáoni II, p. 211.]

“During this year [983], there arrived Hakím Abulfath, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Quli, and lastly to Hakím Humám,) and Núruddín, who as poet is known under the name of Qarárī. They were brothers, and came from Gilán, 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 Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazídí, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the Čahábah (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imáms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shi’áh. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bāṣ—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abulfazl, and Hakím Abulfath, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islá̄m, 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 Qázi Jaláluddín and several ’Ulama to write a commentary on the Qorán; but this led to great rows among them.

Deb Chand Rájah 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 (Súrat ul baqaráh) of the Qorán.

His Majesty had also the early history of the Islá̄m read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the Čahábah. 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 taqlíá́, 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."

[Bahá'í, II, p. 248.]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dīpálpúr in Málwah, Sharíf of Auul 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 Çúic nonsense in the school of Maulánu Muhammad Záhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Hussain 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 Maulánu 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 Dák'hirn, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dák'hirn 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 Nabátís, 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 colour 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 ducání (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-

\footnotetext[1]{Chatkhí i azrāq. Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Harírí 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 Timúr. Mahmúd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy, as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but titál, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language.' The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Bahár o Kúnâh (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 Sharif—that dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled Terashshuhk i Zuhár, in which he blindly follows Mir 'Abdulawwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words misfardand (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 as 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 Khírz Khán of Shirwán, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mir Habshí, 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 Makhdum uhnulik; 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 shewn 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 perdition 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 Shâh Ṭahmâsp of Persia had died, and Shâh Ismâ‘il II had succeeded him. The Târikh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words دو سیخ, نف, ف + د + ه = 984.] Shâh Ismâ‘il 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 Shâh Ismâ‘il, son of Shâh Ṭahmâsp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister Pari Jâm Khânun. Mir Haidar, the riddle writer, found the Târikh of his accession in the words Shahinhâhi râi zamân [984], ‘a king of the face of the earth,’ and the Târikh of his death in Shahinhâhi zer i zamân [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, Shirwân, and Mâzandarân. Sultan Muhammad Khudâbandah, son of Shâh Ṭahmâsp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the Câhâbâh.

But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindustân from Persia."

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1 As Tâhmâsp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word دو سیخ [930] as the Târikh of his accession, we have Ṭahmâsp from 930 to 984. Ismâ‘il II. 984 to 985. Prinsep’s Tables (11th edition, p. 308) give: Ṭahmâsp, 922 to 983, Ismâ‘il II., from 983 to 985.
Bada'oni's Summary of the Reasons which led Akbar to renounce the Islam.

[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 every thing which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of enquiry opposed to every [Islāmītic] 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 Islam, 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 Sumanis 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 (tawīzēkh). 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 Islāmitic 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 Puzukhotam, 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 Debī was pulled up the wall of the castle, sitting on a chārpāī, 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, Mahādev, Bishn, Kishn, Rām, and Mahāmāri, 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 Ahl i Kitāb (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 Tujjudden of Dhilli, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaikh is the son of Shaikh Zakariya of Ajodhan. The principal Ulama of the age call him Tujjudden, or crown of the Qufis. He had learned under Shaikh Zamun of Panipat, author of a commentary on the Lawaab, and of other very excellent works, was in Qufism and pantheism second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabi, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the Nuzhat ulemaaah. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Qufistic 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 Qufists will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemical matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the Fud'at wlihikam," 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 Koran, or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase 'Insan i kamil (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 sijjada (prostration), which people mildly call zamindif (kissing the ground,) he allowed to be due to the Insan i Kamal; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king Ka'bah i Murridat, the sanctum of desires, and Qiblah i Hajat, the cynosure 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 Qufi conforms to the Qoran, he is skar'si; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the profanum vulgus, he is daddi, free, and becomes a heretic.

2 Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore mal'min, accused by God. But according to some books, and among them the Fud'at, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses a true prophet.

3 The Islam says, Alluma baina-l khaufi uwarajd, '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 zamindar, or the use of holy names as Ka'bah (the temple at Makkah) or gibli (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'qúb of Kashmir, a well known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by 'Ain ulqázat of Hamadán, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of Alhádí (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of Amruzill (the tempter), that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, louthsome abuse against the first three Khalifahs, called the whole Cahlábah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnis and the Akl i Jamádat, and represented every sect, except the Shi'ah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the 'Ulamás, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the 'Ulamás of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imám i Ghazzáli and Imám i Rázi, and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his 'Ulamás, 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 Pádra. They have an infallible head, called Pápá. 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 Murád to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspicious-

1 The text has an unintelligible sentence.
2 According to the Islám, God leads (kádl) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.
3 Akl i Jamádat is a term which is often joined with the word Sunná. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurán; or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (qiáds) of famous Cahlábís; or lastly, upon ijma', agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the Hijrah. Hence Akl i Jamádat comprises all such as believe ijma' binding.
4 Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of Imám Ghazzáli are the Ihgá ululáim, and the Ki'miá i Sa'dádat, which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Abkar liked.
5 The text has پادکر.
6 Prince Murád was then about eight years old. Jahángír (Salim) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Káblulawwal 977. Three months after him, his sister Sháhídeh Khánum was born; and after her (perhaps in year the 978) Sháh Murád, who got the nickname of Pahárd, as he was born in the hills of Fathpír Síkri. Dávád was born in Ajmir during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th the Jumádalawwal 979.
ness, and charged Albulfasl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual
Bismillâh-irrahmân-irrahim, the following lines were used—

\[ Ai ndân i tu Jusus o Kiristo \]

(O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, 'O thou whose name is gracious and blessed;' and Shaikh
Faizi added another half, in order to complete the verse

\[ Subhadaka la iwa dâ Yâ hû. \]

(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 Bar 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 Naurûz i Jalâli* 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 'Bismillâh, &c.' is said by every schoolboy before he commences
to read from his textbook.

The words Ai ndâm i tu Jesus o Kiristo are taken from the Dabštán; the edition
of Badshâni has Ai ndâm i was shâzo Kiristo, which, though correct in metre
(vide my Prosody of the Persians, p. 33, No. 32.) is improbable. The formula
as given in the Dabštán has a common Masnavâ metre, (vide my 'Prosody,' p.
33, No. 31), and spells Jesus زری دژس dezus.

The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

* Vide the Tarikh i Mulki, 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 Naushári in Gujrat, 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 Persis, and
ordered Abul-Fazl 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 Hom (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 Brahmans 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
Čáhibqirán, and Mirzá Ulugh Beg i Gurgán, and several others, had
themselves read the Khuṭbah (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 Mujahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first Jumáda-lawwal 987, in the Jámi’ Maṣjíd of Fathpúr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khuṭbah. 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 Imam (leader of the prayer) to Háfiz Muhammad Amin, the Court Khátib. 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 Qurán, 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 Makhdám ulmulk, of Shaikh ’Abdunabi, çáduççudár, of Qázi Jaláluddín of Multán, Qásilquzát, of Çadr Jahan, the muftí of the empire, of Shaikh Mubárik, the deepest writer of the age, and of Gházi Khán of Badakhshán, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences.

1 As Abulfazl has done in the Áin. ‘But Faizi added the usual praise of the prophet (ná’i) to his Nád Dáman, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends.’ BADDáNI.
2 Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula ‘Bismilláh, &c.’ had been changed to Alláhu Akbar, we also find Alláhu Akbar in the heading of books, as in the Áin.
The object of the document was to settle the superiority of the Imám i ṭālī (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 ijtihād, and as to whom the term Mujtahid was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imám 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 Hindūstān 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 'Ulamā, 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 Qurān (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 Imám 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 Sulṭān 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 Islām, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, Abū Fath Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh i ghāzi, 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 Qurán, 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 Mubárík. 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 Hairatí of Samarqand,¹ who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Máwaral-nahr (Turkistan), joined the old foxes of Shi‘ític 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 Khwájá of Ajmir, 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 Makhdám ulmulk and Shaikh ‘Abdunnabi had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qurán, elicited

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¹ The birthplace of the poet Hairatí is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistan. It is said that he was a great wine-bibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kashán, 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 Jinns, 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 fitnahāi ʿummāt, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Qūṭbuddin Muhammad Khān and Shahbāz Khān (vide List of grandees, Id book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Qūṭbuddin 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 showed 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 Bir Baż—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 Badāomī bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abūl Fāżl, &c., who threw away the means of grace of the Islām (prayers, fasts).
“In this year the Tumghâ (inland tolls) and the Jazyah (tax on infidels), which brought in several kroks of dāmus, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.”

In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpûr, headed by Muhammad Ma’qûm of Kábul, Muhammad Ma’qûm Khán, Mu’izzul Mulk, ‘Arab Bahádur, 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 Mullá Muhammad of Yazd (vide above, pp. 175, 182), who was Qâzî-Iquzât at Jaunpûr; 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. Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, and Mu’izzulmulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Agrah, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnâh.

In the same year the principal ‘Ulamâs, as Makhdûm ul mulk, Shaikh Munawwar, Mullá ‘Abdushahukûr, &c., were sent as exiles to distant provinces.

“Háji Ibrâhîm 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 ’Arabî. In this book, it was said that the Çâhib i Zamân 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 Çâhâbî (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 Háji during discussions, behaved impudently towards Abulfazl, Hakim Abulfath, and Sháh Fathullah, he was sent to Rantânbhûr, where he died in 994.

Parmâns were also sent to the leading Shaikhs and ‘Ulamâs of the various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to enquire into their grants (vide IIâd book, A’in 19) and their manner of living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving

1 Çâhib i Zamân, or ‘Man of the Period,’ is a title frequently given to Imâm Mahdi.
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.""
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 Quṭbuddín of Jaleasar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Quṭbuddín 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 faqīrs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqīrs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahār, 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 Ilāhīs. 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 Islām, and for the fast. At the command of His Majesty, they were sent to Bhakkar and Qandahār, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts."

[p. 301.]

"His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islamic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaikhs and 'Ulamā 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 Islām, 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 zamínboz 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 drunkeness, or gatherings, and uproar. 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 Shaitanpūrah, or Devilsville. A Dārgah 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 drunkeness 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 Rājah Bīr Bār, 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 jāgīr in the Parganah of Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jōgī; 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. Pondering 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 Islām 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 Qāzīs' of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words *kamā yaf'alu ba'ūlqudī* (as some Qāzīs have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be *kamā yaf'alu ba'ūlṣu'dāt* (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 so on, and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words *Kufr shā'ī shud,* or 'heresy became com-

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1. *Fzādil i arba'ah,* or the four virtues viz., *ḥikmat* wisdom; *shujā'at* courage; *ṣafat* chastity; *ṣaddāt* justice. Books on *Alkhaq* divide each into several kinds. Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

2. The text has *o balbaln.* (?) *khhushqdh i takdnast,* which I do not understand.
mon', express the Türkîk (985). Ten or twelve years after the commence-
ment of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mirzá Jâni,
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 Islâm in all its phases, whether low or high,
as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of
Shâh 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 effec-
tive 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 Islâm, 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 re-
ligious 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 possess 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,1 used to
put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Per-
sians and Hindustânis, followed this example, even taking the tongues of
dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it.

Tell the Mir that thou hast, within thy skin, a dog and a carcass.2

A dog runs about in front of the house; don't make him a messmate.

The ceremonial ablation after emission of semen3 was no longer con-
sidered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the
sperma generale, 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 ablation; 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.4 Such feasts
were called Ashi hayât, food of life.5

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the

1 Faizî.
2 I. e., that you are a dog.
3 According to the law, bathing is required after jîmad, and ikhtidâm.
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 Mullá Mubárik, a worthy disciple of Shaíkh Abúl Fazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963). The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the Ničábuqqu'dásh. * Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Musálmas 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 Tárikh-i Hidá, or 'Divine Era.' On copper coins and gold mubars, 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 ض, س, ح, ع, ث, and ل, were avoided. Thus for عبید اللہ 'Abdulláh, people wrote عبید اللہ Abdulláh; and for عمداً Akadí, they wrote عمداً Akadí. 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 Muslims to go to the Moeques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammedans disapprove of our 'Sunday dresses' and pewage.
* Fide p. 41, note 2.

* The text has an unintelligible sentence.
* That is, the word علف (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with علف on it (sido Mareden, p. 590) were struck about 991.
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 Sulţān 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—went 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 Nágor 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 (Qurán); 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 Nácir i Khusraw was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdí 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 Túrikh was found in the words Ihdás i bid’at, the innovation of heresy (990).

During those days also the public prayers and the azám, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the statehall, were abolished. Names like Ahmad, Muhammad, Muṣṭafá, &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 Yūr Muhammad, Muhammad Khán, 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!"
lations, or from both. Badáoni clearly states that for some translations, as as the At'bar hán, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahabharát, there may have been Hindí 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 Áin. 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 Farwardin; 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 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 jamá'át (public prayer), His Majesty used the term jiná' (copulation), and for hayya' àla, he said yátalá yátalá.

The cemetery 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 Khaír purákh, and the other Dharm purákh. 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-Qalák' [the wayf form of Qalíd], 'Come quick to the prayer,' is a phrase which occurs in the Azág. Yátalá yátalá 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 pensiveness; their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul. His Majesty even learned alchemy, and shewed in public some of the gold made by him. Once a year also during a night called Serdt, 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 Saturn1 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 Lāmaha, or Mongolian devotees, and recluse, and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason, His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lāmaha, 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 opening2 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 Iḍātí, or ‘Divine Monotheism.’

1 Zakat, in Persian Kāsidn, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Nizāmī says sawdūd et raθrāk bākisahna esrāwet, ‘He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing.’ Ameor Sakāhī, in praise of some physician, Zakat shidgird 之日起 dar nukhtahānā, ‘Saturn in wisdom is his pupil.’ Hence the famous astronomer Abūlqasim has the łaqab (title) of Ghulām-i Zakat. 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 Ḥāfiz, who says, In chih shorst kih dar daur i qamar mātīnim, ‘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 Chela h (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 1001 names of the ‘Greater Luminary’, and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1001 names of ‘His Majesty the Sun,’ and told the emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rām, Kishn, and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honor Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the emperor, who believed every word of it.

In this year also, in the state hall of Fathpūr, the ten cubit square of the Hanafis and the Qullatāin1 of the Shāfī’s and Shi’ahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Hanafis was greater than that of the others.

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shi’ahs, when the Hindustānis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shi’ah side.”

[p. 336.]

“During this year [992], Mullā Thāhād of Amrohān and Mullā Sherī attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to Cadrships in the Duāb of the Panjāb. Mullā Sherī presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled Ḥamūr Shud’, or ‘The Thousand Rays,’ which contained 1,000 qita’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 Qullatāin, two large jars containing 1,200 ṭalī i ‘irāqī (Irāqi pounds) of water. According to the Shi’ahs and the Shāfī’s sect, water does not become noiṣ, or soiled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 ṭalī, or the cube of 3½ spans. Hanafīs fixed (10 gōrā), 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 Hanafi 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,\(^1\) 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 ‘Ummiyyah\(^2\) was totally disapproved of.\(^3\) 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\(^4\) 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 everlasting dammed, 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 ‘Abi Ja’far.* Yes, ‘If the king is bad,

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\(^1\) Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of discipleship, as, Ahmad, disciple of ‘Ali, disciple of Mu’in, disciple of Bayzael, &c., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (shajara) is given.

\(^2\) ‘Ummiyyah is the title of ‘Aishah, the daughter of Abu Bakr. ‘She was six years old, when she was engaged to Muhammad, who was then fifty years old. The actual marriage took place, when she was nine years old. ‘I sat,’ she relates, ‘with other girls in a swing, when my mother called me. I went to her, not knowing what she wanted. She took my hand, and led me to the door of the house. I now guessed what she wished to do with me: my heart throbbed, but I soon got again composed. I washed my face and my head, and was taken inside, where several women were assembled, who congratulated me, and dressed me up. When they had done, they handed me over to the prophet.’ As she was so young, she took her toys to the house of the prophet. The prophet loved her so much, that even in the mosque, at the time of the service, he put his head under her veil, and caressed her, and played with her hair (Tha’labi Tafsir 2, 180); and he told the faithful that she would be his wife in Paradise.” From Sprenger’s Life of Muhammad III. p. 62.

\(^3\) David counts as a prophet. The book revealed to him is the sabur, or the Psalms.

\(^4\) Properly father of ignorance. Badawi means Abulfazl, which name signifies father of wisdom. Besides, Abulfazl had the title (takhallus) ‘Allami, the most learned.
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 bázars, 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.'

[p. 340.]

"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 Cifár (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yúsufzais. Badáoní 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 Hasan Khán,¹ and Khwájah 'Arab, paymaster (colonel) of Khán Jahán, and Mullá Sherí, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words as Khwájah 'Arab haif"²

¹ Vide List of grandees, Text edition of the Ain, p. 227, No. 220, where for Husain read Hasan. In the MSS. of the Ain he is called بني بنی بنی بنی بنی بنی. My MS. of the Tabaqát reads بنتی بنتی بنتی بنتی بنتی بنتی, and calls him a Hazári. The edition of Badáoní has wrong نی. His biography is not given in the Madsir uttárard.
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 Rabī‘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 Bīr 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 consoled himself with the thought, that Bīr 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 Jalluhaul.' 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 Bikramājīt. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmaṇs to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujrat 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 Brahmains, and not by Musalmān Qāzīs. 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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* The text was not against the ideas of the Hindus (7).
* The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Maulawi Aeqb 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. 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 Tarikh of this order is Fasād i fazl (993)."*

On the 10th day of Muharram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khán Kháánán, and Mán Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahár, Hájipúr 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 Islam, I know of no other religion." The emperor then gave up urging him.

During the month of Çafar 996, Mirzá Fūlád Beg Barlás managed to get one night Mullá Ahmad of Tāthah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed him, because the Mullá openly reviled [as Shī'ahs do] the companions of the prophet. The Tarikh of this event is expressed by the words Zīhe khanjar i Fūlád, 'Hail, steel of Fūlád,' or by Khák i saghīri, '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; 2 and others too witnessed it—O God! we take refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mirzá Fūlád tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Láhor; for when Hukim Abulfath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mirzá, whether he had stabbed at the Mullá 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 Mullá." The Hukim 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 Mullá 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 (māz'āh) happens very often to Shī'ahs, because they revile the Çahībâh. Fażī, according to Ba-dón, 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 māz'āh, i.e., no Shī'ah can commit the Qurān to memory.

* Either Akbar, or Abulfazl.
the Mirzâ 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 _sufz_, 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 Lâhor, one night, took the hideous corpse of the Mulla 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 _kotwâls_ to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the Aín, Aín 5. The following are new:

If any of the _darsaniyyah_\(^2\) 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 Musalmans, 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

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\(^1\) This was done to clean the intestines of feaces, 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 Kháñ returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharifs,¹ and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the sijdah and following all other rules of discipleship; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from the Reverend Master Abulfazl, and got Gházípur and Hájípur as jāgîr."

[p. 404.]

"During the Muharram of 1004, Çadr Jahán, muftí of the empire, who had been promoted to a commanderyship of Ono Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the Sháft² of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his Hazáríship. 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 Shushtar³ joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Sháhmánah into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase jallat 'azmatuhu wa 'azza sháhnuh,' wherever the word Sun occurs. Among others that joined were Shaikhzádah Gosláh Kháñ of Banáras; Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád;⁴ and Çúfi 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 Ono Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words mútarásh i chand, or 'several shavers,' express the târikh of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan,⁵ 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 Çúfi,' 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

¹ This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
² Sháft, which has been explained on p. 166, also means a fish hook.
³ Vide List of Grandees, Second Book, No. 382.
⁴ Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
⁵ Vide p. 106, note 1.
⁶ 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 Bir Bar, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badáoni’s remarks, the number of those that took the Shaqt, must have been much larger.

1. Abulfazl.
2. Faizi, his brother, Akbar’s court-poet.
3. Shaikh Mubárík, of Nágor, their father.
4. Ja’far Beg Aqaf Khán, of Qazwín, a historian and poet.
5. Qásim i Káhi, a poet.
6. ’Abduççamad, Akbar’s court-painter; also a poet.
7. A’zam Khán Kokah, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullá Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád, a historian.
9. Qúfi Ahmad.

10 to 12. Qadr Jahán, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
14. Sultán Khwájah, a çadr.
15. Mirzá Jání, chief of T’hat’hah.
16. Taqi of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaikhzádah Gosálah of Banáras.
18. Bir Bar.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the Kín; 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 Islám to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pársís. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Kín, 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 Troyer’s English Translation of the Dabistán, III, p. 49.
"Khwájah Mas'úd, son of Khwájah Mahmúd, son of Khwájah Murshid-ulhaq, who was a gifted Çáhib i hál,\(^1\) 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\(^1\) Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jaláluddin Akbar, the august son of Humáyún Pádisháh and Hamídah Bánú 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.\(^2\) The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Áin.

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-kurái (p. 169), a preface to the translation of the Mahábhárát (vde p. 105) of two juz.

P. 413. "When Sultán 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 Islám, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; but so should also a Musalmán woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism.\(^*\)

P. 414. "I heard from Mullá Tarson of Budákshán, who was a Hanafi

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\(^1\) 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 Islám 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.  
\(^2\) Regarding this Ardaher, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal for 1868, p. 14. Akbar's fire temple was in the Harem.  
\(^*\) Vide above, p. 204.  
\(^*\) The words in Italic 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 nágip ul'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 muḥáhid (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline, and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jáláluddin 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 Nasáb Abúl Hasan, called Lashkár 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, Túrání, &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 'Abbás, son of Sultán Khudábandāh i Čafawn, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gúrjís (Georgians). Akbar paid likewise no regard to hereditary power, or genealogy and fame, but favoured those whom he thought to excel in knowledge and manners."

The passages in the Őán which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following: — p. III; 11; 48; 49; 54; 57; 58, l. 4 from below; Őán 26, p. 61; p. 90, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Bádsáni, vide above p. 180, l. 18; p. 91, note 3; p. 103, note 3; 104, 105, 106; p. 108 l. 22, because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islámm, as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Őán 72, p. 153; 159; Őán 77, p. 162; Őán 81, p. 216. In the Second Book, Őáns 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25; in the IIIrd book, end of Őán 1 (Tárikh Iláhí); Őáns 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 Őán had

* Vide the notes to Őán 30 of the Second Book.
been completed. Bālānī’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 Jahāngīr 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 Pārsī-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahāngīr’s Memoirs which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musalmān, 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, as Sharīf of Amul took 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 Rikḥī (vide above p. 184), and passed an order, not to force Hindus to join the Islām (Tuzuk, p. 100).

1 The story of Akbar’s ‘conversion’ is also repeated in Elphinstone’s History, Second edition, p. 531. The Mullah whom Akbar, according to Price’s Memoirs, is said to have called, is Čadr Jahān who, as remarked above on p. 209 was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Tuzuk i Jahāngīr, as published by Nayyīd Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqabānūn, a poor production (though written in beautiful Irānī Persian), or Khāfi Khān, allude to the conversion, which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Khāfi Khān especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Bālānī, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (vide Khāfī Khān, I. p. 186). The silence of the author of the Dalistān is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullā 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 Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls Ḥurūratu Nayyir-i Āzam; he also continued the sijṭah, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar’s Solar Era, though it involved
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 Dabistan collected his notes on Akbar’s religion.

ATN 78.

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The Khāṣāh 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 Halqah elephants are mustered according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitkichi, 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 (dahāl), 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 khāṣah; its promotion in the halqah; the time when

dalukhra, or the 10th Abān, i.e., 8 days after Akbar’s death.

Muhammad Ḥādī, in his preface to the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, says that Akbar died on the Shab-i-Chahārshahib, 13th Jumādāal-šukra; and Sayyid Ahmad’s Edition of the Tuzuk refers the Julūs to Thursday the eighth Jumādāal-šukra; but the word ḥāṣah is often confounded in MSS. with ḥāṣah.

Again the Mir-dīr, and Sharīf i Irānī in his ḤaḍRNahamah, mention the Julūs as having taken place on Thursday, the eleventh Jumādāal-ulakhra. Lastly, the prefaces of the Fawāqir-i-Jahangiri refer the Julūs to the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of Jumādāal-awwal [a mistake for ḥulukhra], corresponding to the re: i dhukr, or the eleventh, of Abān.

1 Fide Tuzuk, p. 22.

2 Only one of Akbar’s innovations, the Siyāh, was formally abolished by Shāhjahān. “During the reigns of ‘Arshad-ud-din [Akbar], and Jannat Makdūm [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 Islām.*** When His Majesty [Shāhjahān] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to the re-introduction of the customs of the Islām, 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. Mahābat Khān, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, &c. His Majesty would not even allow the zamindars, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Tsālim [Akbar had fixed three, vide p. 158, l. 5].” Pādshah-ndmah I, 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 tahvilli (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 Tahvilli 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 kháçah 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 halqah, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the kháçah 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 ḫḍaṣḥ courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten muhur horses have been inspected, they bring the Ǧūṭa, Qirdqa, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the Ǧirda 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 bázár-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 caash-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 ʿIrḍq, ʿMijannas (vide p. 140, note 2), and Arab, imported from Kábul and Persia; two and a half Rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahár; and two for Kábul horses, and Indian Arab breed.
A1N 80.

THE MUSTERS OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five qatārs are daily inspected. Those puṇḍis (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dārogah has the permission to parade before His Majesty a qatār of excellent Bughdis and Jammāzahs. Then come the Bughdis, and after them the Jammāzahs, 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.

A1N 81.

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 Diwālī—an old festival of this country, on which the Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shown to cows as worship—several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty. People are very fond of this custom.

A1N 82.

THE MUSTERS OF MULES.

The musters of this beast of burden commence on Thursdays, when six qatārs 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.
ATN 83.
THE PAGOSHT REGULATION.

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. **

* 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 Dárogahas (store-keepers) entered into their róznmáchah, 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 Abúfaxl does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, &c. were then divided into several fractions in the case of elephants, the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees. Págosht means a quarter of flesh, and evidently expresses that the food a only produced $\frac{1}{4} A$, instead of $\frac{3}{4} A$. 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 shows how determined Akbar was to fathom the dishonesty of his Dárogahas. 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'Aláuddin Khilji and Sher Sháh, in fixing the perquisites, in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, &c.

* 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 punctuation.
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 Faujdārs, to mark, at the time of the musters of the hālqahs, one hālqah 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 hālqah. 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 hālqah. 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.

ATN 84.

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

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 kāyāh; each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer.

¹ To join Akbar's Divine Faith.
*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 *khâçah*. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 dâma. *Secondly*, with those belonging to the princes. Five *khâçah* pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two *khâçah* pair from His Majesty’s hunting-ground; then five other *khâçah* pair. At the same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty’s hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five *khâçah* deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen *khâçah* 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 *khâçah* 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,*¹ a water-buffalo, a cow, a *quchqâr* (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 *khâçah* 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 *Aţkal*; and four, if an *Anîn*. As deer have not equal strength and impetuosity 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 *Anîn*. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called *Aţkal*. In case of *Mâls*, 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 *khâçah* deer; and with one of his own rank,² 3½ muhurs, if the bet is on an *Aţkal*; and three on an *Anîn*; and so also in the same

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¹ *Mal,* according to *Kîn* 6 of the Second Book, is the name for a Gujrat wrestler. 
² Or perhaps with his opponent in the set (*mîst*).
proportion on. *Male*, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows, fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a *khâçah* deer 50 Rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30½ *R.* on an *Atkal*, and 25 *R.* on an *Aîn*; on a *Mal* 3½ mulums; 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 18 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his rank, 30 *R.* on an *Atkal*; and 21 *R.* on an *Aîn*; 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 14 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank on an *Atkal* 2½ *R.*; on an *Aîn* 22 *R.*; on a *Mal* 3 *M.*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank, 25 *R.* on an *Atkal*; 20 *R.* on an *Aîn*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 *M.* [36 *R.*] on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 2½ *M.* on an *Atkal*, and 2 *M.* on a *Aîn*; on other animals, as the preceding. A Commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 21½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 17 *R.* on an *Aîn*; 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 *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank, 18½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 15 *R.* on an *Aîn*; 2½ *M.* on a *Mal*; on other animals as the preceding. A Commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 15 *R.* on an *Atkal*, 12 *R.* on an *Aîn*, and on other animals as before. A Commander of One Hundred may bet 2 *M.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 1½ *M.* on an *Atkal*; 1 *M.* on an *Aîn*; and on other animals as before. A Commander of Eighty may bet 16 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 10 *R.* on an *Atkal*; 8 *R.* on an *Aîn*; 17 *R.* on a *Mal*; 1½ *M.* on a water-buffalo and a cock; on other animals as before. A Commander of Forty may bet 12 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of his own rank 7½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 6 *R.* on an *Aîn*; on other animals as before. A Commander of Twenty may bet 10 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; 6½ *R.* with one of his own rank on an *Atkal*; 5 *R.* on an *Aîn*; on other animals as before. People who hold no *manzabi*, bet 4 *R.* on a *khâçah* deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 2 *R.* on an *Aîn*; 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 *Aîn*. 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 Bitikhi of this department appoints half the number of deer as Anins, 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 Anis. 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 khdçah 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: Khdçah 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 khdçah, 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 khdçah. 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, Mançabãrs, 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 two months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ½ s. of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter ser 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 21. s.
From the fifth to the eighth month, they get 4 d. for grass, after which period they get 3/4 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 Pathpūr Sikrī, His Majesty’s residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture book of Mānī [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red sandstone (saṅg i guli‘ulah), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the p’hart, 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.

Brick[s] are of three kinds: burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three vers, 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. Sisaw, unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 Ilāhi gas long, and 8 Ṭassījes broad and high, costs 15 d. 6 j. But if the height be only 5 or 6 Ṭ., 11 d.-10½ j. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. Nashū, called in Hindi Jīg.¹ A beam, 10 Ṭ. broad and high, costs per gas 5 d. 13½ j.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 Ṭ. broad and high, costs per gas 5 d. 3½ j.

3. Dacug (?), called in Hindi Kār; a beam 3 Ṭ. broad, and 4 gas long, costs 5 d. 17½ j. 4. Ber,¹ 1 Ṭ. broad and high, 4 gas long, 5 d. 17½ j.; so also Tūt, or Mulbery. 5. Mukhīlān (Babūl), of the same cubic content as No. 4., 5 d. 2 j. 6. Sira, size as before, 10 d. 4 j. 7. Dayāl, same size, first quality 8 d. 22½ j.; second quality, 8 d. 6½ j. 8. Bakāyin, same size, 5 d. 2 j.

Gaj i Shīrin, or sweet limestone. There is a quarry near Bahīrah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 R. per three mans; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 d. Sangīn gal‘i, per man 5 d. 5 j. Čadast 5 d. Chūnah, 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 Tūrān, tinned; large ones, 8 d. per pair; small ones, 4 d. Indian do., tinned, 5½ d.; plain ones, 4 d. 12 j.

Gul Makh (large nails with broad heads), 12. d. per ser. Dinārinātis, 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 Chīdā in Ain 90. No. 59.
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." Baljou’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 velle; enamelled, 30 d. for ten.

Qulbah, or spouts, to lead off water. Three for 2 d.

Bâns, 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 Ashrafis [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 gaz; second quality, 1 d. Sometimes they sell patal at 2 d. for pieces 2 gaz long, and 1½ g. broad. Sirkî 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 girih's 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.

Kâh i chappar (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindi pûlah, per ser from 100 to 10 d.

Bhus, or wheat straw, used for mixing with mortar, 3 d. per man.

Kâh i Dûbh, straw, &c., which is put on roofs, 4 d. for a load of 2 mans.

Mûnj, 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.

Gunm, of an inferior quantity, is mixed with quicklime, 70 d. per man.

Sîrîsh i kâht, 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’t. Price, 1 R. per man.

Simgil (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 gerû, 40 d. per man. There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwâliâr.

Glass is used for windows; price, 1 R. for 1½ s., or one pane for 4 d.
ATN 87.

ON THE WAGES OF LABOURERS.

Gilkārs (workers in lime), first class workmen, 7 d.; second class, 6 d.; third class, 5 d.

Sangtardūsh (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 d. for each gas; 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 gas; second class do., 1 d. 6 j.; third class do., 21 j.

Pinjarah šša (Lattice work and wicker work). First, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 d. for every square gas; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 d.; when hexagonal, 18 d.; when ja'farī [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical the other horizontal], 16 d.; when šatranjī [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 d. for every square gas.

Secondly, when the work is ghair waṣli (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skillfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 d. per square gas; for second class do., 40 d.

Arrakhāsh (one who saws beams). For job-work, per square gas 2½ d., if šinna wood; if naṣik wood, 2 d. A labourer employed for the day, 2 d.

There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Builders (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 gas; for laying foundations, 2½ d.; for all other walls, 2 d. For digging ditches, ½ d. per gas.

The gas of a labourer contains 32 ḫaṣṣūjas.

Chāh-kan, or well diggers, first class work men, 2 d. per gas; second class do., 1½ d.; third class do., 1¼ d.

Ghauṣah khor, 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 gas.

Khist tardūsh, or tile makers, for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 d.

Surkhīkob (pounders of old bricks), 1½ d. for a heap of 8 mans.

Glass-cutters, 100 d. per gas.

Bamboo-cutters, 2 d. per diem.

Chapparband, or thatchers, 3 d. per diem; if done by the job, 24 d. for 100 gas.

Patalband (vide p. 224), 1 d. for 4 gaz.

Lakhirah. They varnish reeds, &c., with lac. Wages, 2 d. per diem.
Abkhash, 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.

Stonebuildings. For 12 gaz, one p'ha (vide above Ain 86) is required; also 75 manu chünah; but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 manu chünah are required per gaz.

Brickbuildings. For every gaz, there are required 250 bricks of three ser each, 8 manu chünah, and 2 m. 27 s. pounded brick (surkhi).

Claybuildings. 300 bricks are required for the same; each brick-mould contains 1 s. of earth and % s. of water.

Astrakâri work. For every gaz, 1 manu chünah, 10 s. qal'i, 14 s. surkhi, and % s. san (vide p. 224) are required.

Chundalakhâri work. For every gaz, 7 s. of qal'i, and 3 s. surkhi are required.

Safidkâri work. 10 s. of qal'i are required per gaz.

Gajkâri 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 vermillion; if yellow, 4 s. of lac, 1 s. of zarikh (auripigment). If green, % s. of indigo is mixed with the lac, and zarikh 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 tassijes
1 tassij = 24 tawanesah
1 tawanesah = 24 khams
1 khám = 24 zarraks.

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at

1 I am not sure whether this Ain has been correctly translated.
one-eighth (?). In Sisam wood, per tassij, 26½ sars, 15 tânks; Babul wood 23½ s. 5 d.; Sira wood, 21½ s. 15 tânks; Naüh wood, 20 s.; Ber wood, 18½ s.; Dayal wood, 17 s. 20 tânks.

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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 gas 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 Safidár the lightest wood. I shall mention 72 kinds of wood.

The weight of one cubic gas of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Muns.</th>
<th>Sars</th>
<th>Tánks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Khanjak</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ambli (Tamarindus Indica)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8½</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Zaitún (Gyrocopus Avintanus)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Balú (Oak)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. K'her (Acacia catechu)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. K'hirni (Mimusops)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Parsiddh</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Abnás (Ebony)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11½</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sain (Acacia Suma)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Baqqam (Cecalyptus sappan)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20½</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. K'harhar</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4½</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mahwá (Bassia latifolia)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Chandani</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Phuláhi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Red Sandal, in Hindi Rakt Chandan, (Pterocarpus Santalinus)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4½</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Chamri</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Chamar Mamri</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16½</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 'Unnáb (Zeyphus sativus)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Sisam Patang (vide No. 40),</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Sándan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Shamshád (Buxus Sempervirens)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his Hortus Bengalesis says, the wood of Zaitún, or Gyrocopus, is very light, and is used for boats. Abulfazl puts Zaitún among the heaviest woods.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tree Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
<th>Value 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>D'hau (Grisea tomentosa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Anulah (Hind. Aqulah, Emblica officinalis)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 1/4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Karil (Sterculia foetida)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sandal wood</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sīl (Shorea robusta)</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 4/2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree Shah Alū; but in</td>
<td>Kābul and Persian it is called Alū Bulū (Cherry)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36 1/4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kailās (Cherry tree)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 35 1/4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Niğb (Azadirakhta Indica)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 32 1/4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dārhard (Berberis aristata)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32 1/4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Main,</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 22 1/4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Babūl (Acacia Arabica)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sāguan,</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Bijaisār,</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 28 1/4</td>
<td>15 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Pilū,</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mulberry,</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>D'hāman,</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 38 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Bān Barās,</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 34 1/4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sirs (Acacia odoratiissima)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sisauñ (Dalbergia sisso ; vide No. 19,)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17 2/2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Finduq,</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Chhaukar,</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Dudd'hī,</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Halāf,</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kaim (Nauclea paviflora)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 9 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Jāman (Jambosa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Farās,</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Bar (Ficus Indica)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 19 2/2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>K'handā,</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 10 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Chanār,</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Chārmaghz (Walnut tree)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Champā (Michelia champaca)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Bor (Ziziphus jujuba)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Amb (Mango, Mangifera Indica)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Pāpari (Ulmus)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Diyar (Cedrus deodar)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bed (Willow)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kunbir (Gumthir (?), Gmelina arborea)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 19 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Chiğh (Pinus longifolia)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Pipal. The Brahmins worship this tree (Ficus religiosa).</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Species</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Kat’hal (Jacktree, <em>Artocarpus integrifolia</em>)</td>
<td>10 7½ 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Gurdaiq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Kherá (Terminalia bellerica)</td>
<td>10 7 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Palás (Butea frondosa)</td>
<td>9 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Surkh Bed</td>
<td>8 25 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ak (Calotropis gigantea)</td>
<td>8 19½ 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Senbal (Cotton tree)</td>
<td>8 13 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Bakáyn (Melia angustifolia)</td>
<td>8 9 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Lhasorá (Cordia miza)</td>
<td>8 9 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Padvákh (Cerasus caproniana)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>And</td>
<td>7 7 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Safidár</td>
<td>6 7 22¼</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In the above weights, the ser has been taken at 28 dáma.*

\[
\frac{1}{4} \text{ dám} = 1 \text{ é} \\
\frac{1}{16} \text{ dám} = \frac{1}{4} (\text{as}) \\
1 \text{ é} = 8 \frac{1}{2} \text{ é} \\
\text{End of the First Book.}
\]

\[
\frac{1}{7} \text{ mar.} = 1 \frac{1}{4} \text{ é}
\]
BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

ATN 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 Zamindârs 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. Turânis and Persians get 25 Rupees; and Hindústánis, 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 (mançâbdâr) of Ten Thousand, other mançâbdârs as high as Hasdrus (Commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Eight Thousand, Mançâbdârs up to Hashtçâdis (Commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Seven Thousand, Mançâbdârs up to Haftçâdis (Commanders of Seven
Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a Commander of Five Thousand, other Mançabdârs as high Pançadi (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a Pançadi, Mançabdârs as high as Çadis (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Mançabdârs of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Mançabdârs.

Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called Kumakis.

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 tattoo 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 Xiv 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 looked 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 honesty 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 1]. 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 Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabua, Tute, and Janglah horses.

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 dâms 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'hî, 2 d. for sugar, and 3 d. for grass. Also, for a jul, artak, yâpolosk, girth (His Majesty does not call it tang, but farâkhi), gaddi, nakhtehband, qaisah (which the vulgar pronounces qaisah), magaerd, curry-comb, katîkhi (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, pâiband, nails, &c., [vide p. 136], 70 d. per mensem, which outlay is called kharîj i yardq i asp (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 d. for the saddle, and an apchî (?) 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 Rupees was increased from 35 to 40 dâms, 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 Janglah, 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 yardq, 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 Turki, 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'hî; 3 d. less for the groom; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 d.; second, 50 d.; third, 40 d.

The fourth class are horses imported from Tûrân; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 d. Of this, 258 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 d. less than for Mu'jannas horses, viz., 30 d. less for sugar, 30 d. less for grass; 10 d. less for the yarâq; 4 d. less for the saddle, bridle, &c. 2 d. less for shoeing; 2 d. less for g'hî. But the daily allowance of grain was increased by 2 sers (which amounts to 18 d. per mensem), as the sugar had been left out. First increase 52 d.; second, 30 d.; third 80 d.

The fifth class (Yâbû horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Turki 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'hî; 15 d. less for the groom; 10 d. less for the yarâq; 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 Tûzî; middling ones, Jânglahs; inferior ones, Têtîs.

Good mares are reckoned as Tûzîs; if not, they are counted as Jânglahs.

1. Tûzîs. Monthly cost, 320 d., of which 188 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 51 d. less than for the Yâbû, viz., 18 d. less for grain, as they only get 6 sers per diem; 15 d. less for grass; 10 d. less for g'hî and sugar; 8 d. less for yarâq. First increase, 22 d.; second, 30 d.; third, 80 d.

2. Jânglahs. Monthly cost, 240 d., of which 145 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ d. less than for Tûzîs. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at 5 sers. Hence there are 15 d. less for grass; 9 d. less for grain; 6 d. less for g'hî and molasses; 4½ d. less for the yarâq; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ d.; second 25 d.; third, 40 d.

Formerly, mules were reckoned as Têtîs horses; but now-a-days, as Jânglahs.

For Têtîs the monthly expenditure is 160 d.; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abulfazl’s items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badakshân, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindustân was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwals responsible for it; vide Bad, II, p. 390, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a Manşabdar, brought horses
with them, for which the Manṣabdār received from the Treasury an allowance according to the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I. Arabic</th>
<th>II. Persian Horse</th>
<th>III. Mughal Horse</th>
<th>IV. Turk. Horse</th>
<th>V. Yīṭā</th>
<th>VI. Tikī</th>
<th>VII. Janghāba</th>
<th>VIII. Tikī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G'hi</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>Not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yārdq</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
<td>71 d. specified.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle, &amp;c.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td>68 d.</td>
<td>68 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original Allowance:**

|        | 479 d. | 458 d. | 358 d. | 298 d. | 239 d. | 188 d. | 145 d. |

**1st Increase:**

|        | 81 d.  | 67 d.  | 72 d.  | 52 d.  | 41 d.  | 22 d.  | 29 d.  |
|        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |

**2nd Ditto:**

|        | 80 d.  | 75 d.  | 80 d.  | 50 d.  | 40 d.  | 30 d.  | 25 d.  |
|        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |

**3rd Ditto:**

|        | 80 d.  | 80 d.  | 80 d.  | 80 d.  | 80 d.  | 80 d.  | 80 d.  |
|        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |

**Total monthly cost in dāmas:**

|        | 720 d. | 680 d. | 560 d. | 480 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. 185.

2. *Elephants.* The branded elephants of the army are divided into seven classes: *Mast,* *Shergir,* *Sādah,* *Manjholah,* *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 dāmas [33 Rupees].

Daily allowance of grain, 2½ mans. No elephant has more than three servants, a *Mahāwat,* a *Bhot,* 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.

*Shergir* Elephants. Monthly cost, 1100 d., which is 220 d. less than the former. Grain, 2 m. *per diem,* which makes 180 d. *less per mensum*; also 15 d. less for the Mahāwat and the Bhot. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 d.

*Sādah* 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 Bhoí. 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 Bhoí is allowed. The additional grant is 60 d.

Phandurkiryä 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 wagon, 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.¹

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

¹ The Arabians say mančib; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced mančáb. It means a post, an office, hence mančáb- (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. 1 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 Mançabdárs, from the Dukkaní (Commander often) to the Tah Haldrí (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; 2 they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Mançabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of Allah, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

1 "When the collector of the Diwán 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 (tagazzuz), 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 Mustafa (Muhammad), because Mustafa, 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 with the exception of the Imam A'zam (Abú Hanifah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the Jazýd from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, 'Either death or the Islam.' Tarih i Firiz Şahî, p. 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the sultan.

2 Jaldah. This curious word is, according to Bahár i 'Ajám, an abbreviation of the phrase Jalal jaldahu, 'May His glory shine forth.' It is then used in the sense of God; thus the dual jaldah-tain, saying Allah! Allah!; and khatm i jaldah saying the word Allah 125,000 times. Similarly here; the 66 mançabs correspond to the value of the letters of Jaldah, i.e. 44 = 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66. Abulfazl makes much of the coincidence; for Akbar's name was Jald al wddûn, and Akbar was a divinity, Perhaps I should not say coincidence, because of the sixty-six mançabs only one half existed.
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 Mançabdârs 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.

Yâzbâshis (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 Dâkhilî 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 Dîbîsîts, the fixed number of Turki and Janglah horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned, generally Muqannas, rarely Yâbis; and Dakhbâshis are excused the Turki 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 Mançabdârs, 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 Shâh Jahân's time (Pâdishâhnâmah, 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. Badáuíf says, Akbar learnt the art from the Jogús.
Abulfazl specifies below the names of all of Akbar’s Commanders up to the Mançabdârs 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 (Yûsbâdish)</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

in all, 1388 Commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Mançabdârs 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 Mançabs 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 Shâhjahân’s grandees in the Pádisháhnámah, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the Pádisháhnámah are:—Four commands of the princes (Dárá Shikoh, 20,000; Sháh Shujá, 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 Pádisháhnámah up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar’s time, Mançabs under 200, and at Shâhjahân’s time, Mançabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of Amîr. To judge from Nisám’s Tabaqát and the Maásir i Rahimi, Mançabdârs from the Hazâri (Commander of 1000) were, at Akbar’s time, styled umarâ-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 tâfi’il i asâmi’i har yak rá qâfisîndâb Shaikh Abulfazl dar kitâb i Akbarnâmah marqûm i qalam i baddi’ragam gardâvidah.
kibr, or umarā-i-'izām, great Amirs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amir is not restricted to Manṣabdārs from the Hazāris upwards. Nizām does restrict his phrases ba martabah i imārat rasih, or dur jargah (or silk, or umarāh) i umarā muntazim gosht, to commanders from Hazāris.

The title Amir ul Umarā (the Amir of the Amirs, principal Amir), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Nizām gives this title to Adilam Khán, Khizr Khwājah Khán, Mīr Muhammad Khán Atkah, Muzaffār Khán, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khán, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bairam Khán, Mun'im Khán, and Mírzá 'Abdurrahim, the three latter being styled Khán Khánān,\(^1\) or Khán Khánān o Sipahsālār.

In the Pādishāhzmānah, however, the title of Amirul Umarā is restricted to the first living grandee (Ali Mardān Khán).

It is noticeable that Nizām only mentions commanders of 5000, 4000, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, and 1000—for lower Manṣābds he does not specify names. Abulfazl gives three intermediate Manṣābds of 4500, 3500, and 1250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks, we may conclude that these Manṣābds 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 Ain 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 Pādishāhzmānah gives fourteen steps between the commanders of 7000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a Command of 7000 at one kror of dáns per annum, or 250000 Rs., stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled Ghiās ul-ḥaqā, states that the salary of a commander of 5000 is 1 kror, or 250,000 Rs., and that the salary of a Panṣād, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. per annum, the 12\(\frac{1}{4}\)th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Manṣābds, as given by Abulfazl in the following table, are somewhat higher than those given in the Pādishāhzmānah and the Ghiās, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be

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\(^1\) For Khán i Khánān, the Khán of the Kháns. In such titles the Persian | Izāfāt 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 Āın 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.

1000 (ditto 8200 R.) to 3015½ R.
100 (ditto 700 R.) to 313 R.

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 Khán, 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 Majid Aṣaf Khán, a commander of 3000 (vide Āın 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 āis zát after the titles of Mançabdárs; as panj házári i zát sihaszár suvár, "a Commander of 5000, personally (zát, 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 Khán panjhzári, panj hazár suvár i duaspah sihaspah, "Sháístah Khán, a Commander of 5000, contingent 5000 cavalry, with two horses, with three horses." A trooper is called duaspah, if he has two horses, and sihaspah, if three, in order to change horses during elghárs or forced marches. But keeping duaspah sihaspah troopers was a distinction, as in the Pádisháhnámah only the senior Mançabdárs of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhzárics; 1 Chahárizári; 2 Siházári; 2 Duházári; 2 Hazár o pançadí; 1 Hazári; and 1 Haftcadí.

The higher Mançabdárs were mostly governors of Cúbahs. The governors were at first called sipahmálárs; towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hákims, and afterwards, Gáhib Cúbah or
Çubahdárs, and still later merely Çubahs. The other Mançabdárs held Jágirs, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mançabdárs are also called ta’ínátiyan (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called tábunát (followers); hence tábínáshí, the Mançabdár himself, or his Bakhshí (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Mançabdárs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general, or the local treasuries; vide Nis 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 Shahbáz Khán (vide pp. 140, 188) was appointed Mír Bakhshí. The following passage from Badáoní (II, p. 190) is interesting:

"The whole country, with the exception of the Kháliçah lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as jágir; 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. Shahbáz Khán, the Mír Bakhshí, introduced the custom and rule of the dágh o mahállá, which had been the rule of A’láuddin Khiljí, and afterwards the law under Sher Khán. It was settled that every Amir should commence as a commander of twenty (bstedt), 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 Çádi, or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Mançabs, 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 Hazárí, Dughárá, and even Panjahzárá, which is the highest Mançáb; 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

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1 Tezirin, pl. Tezirin, from ta’ín, the Indian pronunciation of ta’ín, to appoint. tábín, Tábín, to follow; then as an adj., one who follows. This corrects the erroneous meanings of tábin on p. 62 of the Journal A. S. of Bengal for 1868.
2 The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For kib read Kambú; for báni dahanidákh, we have perhaps to read yád dahanidákh, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for tábínán, read tábínán; for panákh Khudá, read panákh ba Khudá; for án ham, read án hamah.
* The Tárikh i Firdúsh Khán says but little regarding it. The words dágh o mahállá occur very often together.
* Qidr o mañjár (?). For idr, a Turkish word, vide Vullers.
attendants into soldiers' clothes (شيخ i sipâhi), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their jägirs, 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 Mançábâr 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 green-grocers, Hindu and Musalmân, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Mançáb, or were made Khorsâ (vide p. 13, l. 5 from below), or Ahâdis, or Dâkhilis 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 khâç, 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 Ahâdis into duaâspah, yakaâspah (having one horse), and ainsâspah (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.¹

Weigh well these facts, but put no question!

These were things of daily occurrence, . . . . . . ² 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 Amârs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants." ³

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 Ain; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (p. 217, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (kasral), in order to understand the whole (wahdat)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success.⁴

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 *Pádisháhnámah* regarding the strength of Sháhjáhán’s army; vide *Pádisháhná* 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 Mançábárs.
7000 mounted Ahadís and mounted *Barqandázes*.
185,000 Cavalry, consisting of the contingents (*tábínán*) of the Princes, the Chief grandees, and the other Mançábárs.

“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 *čúbahs* 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 (Sháhjáhán). If a Mançábár holds a jágír in the same čúbah, in which he holds his mançáb, he has to muster one-third of the force indicated by his rank.* Accordingly a *Síh Hazelári i zát sibházár sweár* (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 čúbah, he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly, a *Chahár Hazelári chahár hazár sweár* (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 Samarcand [1055], His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Mançábár should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a *Panjházár panj hazár sweár* (a commander of 5000; contingent, 5000) mustered only 1000, *viz.*, 300 Sihaspah troopers, 600 Duaspah troopers, 100 yakaspaḥ troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men with 2200 horses], provided the income (háčil) of his jágír was fixed at 12 months; or 250 Sihaspah troopers, 500 duaspah troopers, and 250 yakaspaḥ troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men with 2000 horses], provided the income of his jágír was fixed at 11 months; or 800 duaspah troopers, and 200 yakaspaḥ troopers [*i. e.*, 1000 men and 1800 horses], if the income of his jágír was fixed at 10 months; or 600 duaspah troopers and 400 yakaspaḥ, if at 9 months; or 450 duaspah and 550 yakaspaḥ troopers, if at 8 months;”

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* The edition of the *Pádisháhnámah* has wrongly 3000.

* Literally, he has to bring his follow-*
or 250 duaspah and 750 yaksapah troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 duaspah and 900 yaksapah troopers, if at 6 months; or 1000 yaksapah, if at 5 months.

But if the troopers to a mańçab had all been fixed as siaspah duaspah [in other words, if the Commander was not a Panj hazārī, panj hazār swâdīr, but a Panj hazārī panj hazār swâdīr i duaspah siaspah] he musters, as his proportion of duaspah and siaspah troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mańçab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a Panj hazārī panj hazār tamām duaspah siaspah (a Commander of 5000; contingent, only duaspah and siaspah), 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 jāgīr 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 Mańçabdâr, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shâhjahân. Thus if a Commander of 1000 troopers had the title of Hazârī hazār swâdīr, the strength of his contingent was \( \frac{1000}{4} = 250 \) men with 650 horses, viz. 75 siaspah, 150 duaspah, and 25 yaksapah; and if his title was Hazârī hazâr swâdīr i duaspah siaspah, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1300 horses, viz. 150 siaspah, 300 duaspah, and 50 yaksapah, if the income of his jāgīr was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of siaspah, and duaspah, and yaksapah troopers was for all mańçabs as 300: 600 : 100, or as 3 : 6 : 1.

As the author of the Padishâhnâmâh does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Mańçabdârs 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 jāgīrs.

From an incidental remark (Padishâhnâmâh, I. p. 113), we see that the pay of a Commander of sibaspah duaspah troopers was double the pay allowed to a Commander of yaksapahs. 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 A'in 30, Abulfazl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the A'in

250 Commanders of 100 (Yúzbáshísl)

204  60
260  40
250  20
224  10

As these numbers are very uniform, the regular army could not have been larger than 250 x 100, or 25,000 men (troopers, musketeers, and artillery). The Imperial stables contained 12,000 horses (vide p. 132, l. 6 from below), which were under the immediate charge of Mírzá Abdurrahím Khán Khánán, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In A'in 6, Abulfazl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Ahadís, of which Sháhjáhnán 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. Badáání mentions an Ahadi of the name of Khwájá Ibráhím Husain as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Mançábbárs, which under Sháhjáhnán amounted to 8000, was also much less. Of the 415 Mançábbárs, whose names are given in A'in 30, about 150 were dead, when Abulfazl wrote it,1 so that there would be about 250 higher Mançábbárs, to which we have to add 1388 lower Mançábbárs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1600 Mançábbárs.

But Akbar's Mançábbárs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mançábbárs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (zár) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Mançábbárs had even to furnish men with four horses (chaháraspah). A Dáháshí, or Commander

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1 The list of grandees in A'in 30 is quoted in Nizám's Tabaqát which do not go beyond A.H. 1002, as the author died in October 1034; but it may be still older, as Nizám assigns to several Mançábbárs 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 (Bad. II, p. 343) were appointed Commanders of 12000, 9000, and 7000 respectively, whilst in Abulfazl's List, Prince Salim (Jahángír) is still put down as a Commander of 10000, Muríd as Commander of 9000, and Dáyád as of 7000.
of Ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (vide Aín 5) the Chaháraspáhs were discontinued, and a Dabháshi furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar’s Hazárís would have had to bring 1800 horses, whilst a Hazárí at the time of Shahjahán only furnished 650.

Of Non-Commissioned officers a Mirdahah is mentioned; vide note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mirdahah 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 (Aín 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.

Badáini, in the above extract, p. 243, speaks of a tibás 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, Aín i Gharyál).
Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Mauzulhára.

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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First. 2nd. 3rd.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.      Rs.      Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>136     136     136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>108     108     108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
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1 For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 185.
## AIN 4.

### THE AHADIS.

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 calls such persons *Ahadis* (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 *Yadddsht*, the *Tu'lliqah*, the descriptive roll, and accounts [*vide Aïn 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-quarters, or even to more than six-sevenths. ¹ Many Ahadis have indeed more than 500 Rupees per menem.² He then gets the number nine as his brand [vide Aını 7]. In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Ahadis mustered eight horses; but now, the limit is five. On his sakhat [vide Aını 11] each receives a farmânchah (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 Bakhshi, which is called now-a-days Ta’khînah,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 Sâqatnîmah,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 Sâqatnîmah 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 irmâs 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.

AİN 5.

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Mançabdârs 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 Yûzbishship, as the next step. Vide p. 20, note 1.
³ The Ta’khînah corresponds therefore to a ‘life certificate.’ Arabic infinitives II. take in modern Persian a final ی; thus tâliyâh [vide below Aını 10], takh-
⁴ Sâqatnîmah [vide p. 96, note 1], &c.
⁵ From sâqat he fell.
⁶ Or armâz money. The word is, may be Inf. IV., or plural of raam, a grave. Bad’ooni evidently reads irmâs, because in II. p. 202, he explains irmâs by sawâdi i dushman the burying, or destruction, of the foes, ‘which word the grandees used instead of talah i ajâz, requesting stores, &c.’ Hence irmâs, 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 Iráqi, he gets 30 R. per mensem; if mujammás, 25 R.; if Turkí, 20 R.; if a Yábé, 18 R.; if a Tásá, 15 R.; if a Janglah, 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 Dabáší had to muster 2 chahdraspah, 3 sháspah, 3 duaspah, and 2 yákaspaíh troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Mançábdáíras in the same proportion. But now a Dabáší’s contingent consists of 3 síháspah, 4 duaspah, and 3 yákaspaíh troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses].

AIN 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...¹ is the Abdrahmánis. 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 dáms; the second 400 d.; the third, 300 d.; the fourth, 240 d.

The Bandúqchis or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced Bítíkhi, an honest treasurer, and an active Dárogah. A few Bandúqchis 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.

¹ The text has a word which does not suit.
Common Bandiaqchis 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 Darbãns, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the Mirdahãhs is fivefold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 d. Common Darbãns have from 100 to 120 d.

The Khidmatiyyahs.

The Khidmatiyyahs also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. Panjáhis to Bistís have 200 d.; and a Dabháshi 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 Mâvis. Their chief has received the title of Khidmat Ráí. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khidmatiyyahs.¹

The Mewrahs.²

They are natives of Mewát, 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 Shamsherbáz, 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 Lakráit. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called yak-háth. 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 Jâhângîrî Payádeadkâ i Khidmatiyyah. The name of their chief under Jâhângîr was Ráí Mîn. He once picked up the young Shâh Shâhâjâ, who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. Tuzuk i Jâhângîrî, p. 303.
² "Among the innovations made by Akbar are the Dák-Mewrahs, of whom some were stationed at every place." Khâtî Khân I, p. 243. Hence the Mewrahs were chiefly postmen.
Another class goes by the name of Phardîtes. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a gas broad.

Some again are called Bankûlîs. 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 Bankûlîs 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 Ċâdi (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ahâdi, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 d.

The Pahlûcâns, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Turâni wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindûstân, clever Malik from Gujât, 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—Mîrzâ Khân of Gilân; Muhammad Quli of Tabriz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of Sher hamlah, or Lion-attacker; Čâdiq of Bukhârâ; 'Ali of Tabriz; Murâd of Turkistân; Muhammad 'Ali of Turân; Fûlât of Tabriz; Qâsim of Tabriz; Mîrzâ Kuhnahsuwâr of Tabriz; Shâh Quli of Kurdistân; Hilâl of Abyssinia; Sadhû Dayâl; 'Ali; Sri Râm; Kanhyâ; Mangol; Ganesh; Anbâ; Nânkâ; Balbhadr; Bajrnâth.

The Chelâhs, 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 Chelâhs, which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple. Through His Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.

1 The word Chelâh is the same as the Arab. murîd, a disciple who places implicit belief in his murshid or pîr, the head of the sect. "And many of His Majesty's special disciples, in 991, called themselves chelâhs in imitation of the use of this term among Jogis." Badđonî II, p. 325.

The author of the pretty Tazkirah, entitled Kalimutushshuwarâd, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called Chelâh. His real name is Mîrzâ Muhammad Afsal; as a poet he is known as Sarkhushe.

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 Chelhas 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 Palkí 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 palkís, singhásans, chaudás, and dálás, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting. There are many in this country; but the best came from the Dak’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.

Dákhlí troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Mançabdárs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as nimah suwárán, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dákhlí 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.

1 Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his pír.
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 Bitikdhs 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 Darogah 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 Tullagh [vide Atin 10].

Dokhili troops are admitted on the signature of the Manzabdars.

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 Darogah. He takes them in the manner described above [vide Atin 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 Wdgiah Nawis (Atin 10), the Mfr 1 Arz, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Darogah of the ddgh (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter s'ah [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
figure 9 like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which 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 Mançablárs, 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 (vide 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.

ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK.

The servants (Mançablárs) 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 Mançálar delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jagir (aqtdā)n 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

1 Properly ʻiqtdā, Inf. IV. of qatā'a; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as aqtdā. The king is therefore called muqti, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. muqti the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Moghul Historians accuse Sher Sháh. Vide end of Ain 10, Third Book. Muqta, past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the Šáhí ʻIfríz Sháhí. From the times of Akbar the words aqtdā and jagír are used as synonyms; before his time we only find aqtdā used; but jagír, or jágír, occurs in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word aqtdā 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 jagirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jagirs 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 Mançabdar has been promoted to a higher Mançab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (विश्र) 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.

ATN 9.

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 Mançabdar. 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 (vide 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.

ATN 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WAQF AHNAWIS.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;³ 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 mânâbs; contingents of troops; salaries; jâgirs; Irânîs money (vide above, p. 250, note 5); sayârghâls (rentfree land); the increase or decrease of taxes; contracts; sales; money transfers; peshkashes (tribute receipts); despatch; the issue of orders; the

¹ From wâqî‘ah an event, and nawîs a writer. Instead of wâqî‘ah nawîs we also find majlis nawîs.
² Hence the arrangement must have been as follows—first day, first and second writers; second day, second 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 betting on them; the dying of horses; capital punishments; pardons granted by His Majesty; the proceedings of the general assemblies; marriages, births; chaugán games (vide Aín 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 Parwánâhî, by the Mîr 'Arz, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called yâddâshî, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the yâddâshî when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the yâddâshî, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the Wâqi‘âhâwâlis, and the Rîsâlalâddâr, the Mîr 'Arz, and the Dârâgah. The abridgment, thus completed, is called Ta‘lîyâh, and the writer is called Ta‘lîqâhâwâlis.

The Ta‘lîyâh 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 service servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check.

AÍN 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‘în i muddat, the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. beta‘înî ‘âmâdan to come at times not appointed before hand, unexpectedly.

2 The text has rîsâlâh, which stands for rîsâlalâddâr, as, in later times, Gâbah for Gâbahâddâr.

For Mîr ‘Arz we find in the early Historians ‘âriz.
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 Abcadibulmath, 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 Arbab uattaburil.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 Tanjih.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 sabtis.

Farmán i sabtis are issued for three purposes:—

1. For appointments to a Manṣab; to the Vakilship; to the post of Sipahsādār (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief); to the tutorship of the princes; to the rank of Amiralunmarā (vide p. 240); to a Nābiati, 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 ἱστορία, a tanned hide, parchment. Çahlib i daftar, Minister of Finance, the same

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 Arbab, it is probable that abvāb is the more usual expression.

³ Or, the giving of wajih (pay) to the army; hence tanjih military accounts. For tanjih, some MSS. read tanjihak.
districtship; to the post of Vasîr, or Finance Minister; to the Bakhshi-
ship, (Pay master and Adjutant General); to the post of a Cadr, or a judge.
2. For appointments to jâgir, without military service; for taking
charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes....
3. For conferring Sayyiredals (vide Kin 19); for grants on account of daily
subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the Ta’liqah has been made out, the Diwân i Jâgîr (who
keeps the Jâgîr accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jâgîr is
given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster,
the grant is once more sent to the Bakhshis for inspection, when the following
words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—khâyâh, o
mandum bardyczard numdâyand; kârgân i iš shuqî chihrahnâwîsî 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 BakhshigeneraL 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 Bakhshi grants instead of the Ta’liqah, is called
Sarkhat.

The Sarkhats are entered in the daftars of all Sub-Bakhshis, and are
distinguished by particular marks. The Diwân then keeps the Sarkhat
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 jâgîr on the person specified in the Sarkhat, the following words
are entered on the top of the report: Ta’liqah i tan qalami numdâyand (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 Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it
the words sabî numdâyand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar,
and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi, and the Accountant the Diwân, 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 Diwân.

The Çâhib i Tuyij, or Military accountant, keeps the former Ta’liqah
with himself, writes its details on the Formân, and seals and signs it. It is

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1 Jâgîr, to which no military service
attaches, appear to be called bedâgh o
mahalî. i.e., the holder had nothing to
do with the army and the musters, at
which the Mançabdars drew the salaries
of their contingents, nor with the collec-
tion of the taxes of the several Mahalls
or Parpanahs. Thus Fahdullah of Shirkâz
(vide p. 199) received Basâwar as his jâgîr

Badonî also had a jâgîr of 1000 Big’has,
at which he often grumbles, calling
himself by way of joke Hazdri, or
Commander of One Thousand.

2 The text has jde (sometimes ?) bu
’unwâna i murk (milk ?) dddan—which I
do not understand.
then inspected by the Mustaʿfi, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nāžir and the Bakhshis do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwān, his Accountant, and the Vakīl of the State.

If His Majesty’s order specifies a cash payment, the farmān is made out in the same manner, but is generally called barāṭ (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the Nāžir, the Diwān i Buγātāt signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshis and the Diwān, it is sealed and signed by the Khān Sāmān. 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 barāṭs. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two barāṭs, one for the six months from Fār ʿer ʿād (February—March) to Shahrīvar, and the other from Mīh (September) to Isfandīyāvar. 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 Diwān i Buγātāt inspects them, passes the order for payment, enquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin az ikhāl i fiyānā hūrāt nawīsand, ‘Let a barāṭ be made out shewing the amount to be deposited with such and such a Mushrīf.’ The Mushrīf 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 samāl is given for this amount. The Diwān i Buγātāt then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrīf does so, signs and seals the barāṭ and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the Military Accountant, the Nāžir, the Diwān i Buγātāt, the Diwān i Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrīf of the Diwān, and the Vakīl, who sign and seal 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 Mushrīf writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several doṣṭars. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz. one-fourth is to be paid in gold (ashrāf’s); one-half in silver (riḥs) and one part in copper (dāms), according to the fixed values of the coins.

The farmāns in favor of Manṣūbārs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of Suyūqyāhals (cide Kān 19), the farmāns, after having been signed by the Mustaʿfi, are entered in the doṣṭars of the Diwān i Saʿddāt (cide Kān 19); they are then signed and sealed by the Qadr, and the Diwān i Kul.
Farmáns are sometimes written in Ťuğhré character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmán is called a Pàrvànchah.

Pàrvànchahs are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the Diván i Sa’ádat (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 Búrgir horses (vide p. 139, Aín 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new sånad, 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 Diván for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustauff, the Náźir i Búyútát, the Diván i Kul, the Khán-Sámán, the Mushrif of the Diván. In the Pàrvànchahs given to Ahadís, the signature, seal, and orders of the Aháddishí, or Commander of the Ahadís, are required after those of the Mustauff, the Diván, and the Bakhshí, because His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Pàrvànchahs need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign sárkháts, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, 'àrzúndchahs (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains) qárár nánahs (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the muqásr (statements of account which Tahúllúlár take from the Mustauff, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

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AÍN 12.
THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmáns, Pàrvànchahs, 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 Vákíl puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Diván 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 Çadr. But when Shaikh 'Abdunnabí and Súltán Khwájah were çádzs (vide note to Aín 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vákíl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vákíl, as Atká Khán did at the time of Mun'ím Khrán, and Adham Khán. The Mír Mál, the Khán Sámán, the Pàrvànchí, &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 Diván, and the Bakhshí do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diván i juz, the Bakhshí i juz, and the Diván i Búyútát put their seals on the third
fold. The Mustaufi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhâb-i Taujih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughrâ lines on the top of the Farnân, where the princes also put their seals in Tu'liqahs.

ATN 13.

THE FARMÂN I BAYAZI.

Some matters connected with the Government do not admit of delay, or must not to be known to every one. Such an order receives only the Imperial seal, and is called a Farmân-i Bayâzi. 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 Bar, 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 farmáns are carried by Mançubârs, 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 Bayâzi, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

ATN 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 dâms each. Half of the remainder is paid in muhurs 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 (Tahabashi) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

[Page 265]

ATN 15.

MUSAT’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 Mr '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.

ATN 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;
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 Bakhshis 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.

**A†N 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.¹

There is a treasurer always in waiting² at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief.

**A†N 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, ruh i tātiyā, 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,³ against eight articles, viz., silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables.

¹ Vide p. 200, l. 5 from below.  
² Vide p. 16, l. 1.  
³ 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 Sālqirāh (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 Jahāngīrī (p. 39), and Padishāhānāmah (1, 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 wazm i skemāt, or solar weighing, and a wazm i gāzārt, or lunar weighing. There was, of course, a raζab, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers, on the same day, were promoted to higher Manpabs, or presented their peshkash. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (vide Padishahānāmah, 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. Jahāngīr, 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 Zamānī, the Mary of the age, as Akbar’s mother had been styled Maryam Makdāmī (vide p. 46, note 1). The solar wazm was even retained by Aurangzeb; vide Alamgirnāmah, p. 229.

The birth of 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 sālqirāh (or salqirāh, 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 Salām i Chishti in Fathpur Sikrī, in whose house Jahāngīr was born, is even now—a-days visited by Hindu and Mussalman women, who tie bits of string to the marble tāphericals 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 Jahāngīr. 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 Jahāngīr 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. 183), Jahāngīr was found to weigh 6514 tolahs. Taking the tolah at 186 grains (Prime’s useful Tables, by E. Thomas, p. 111), Jahāngīr, 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 Brahmins. “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 Nizāmābād, 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 Brahmins of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems.” Badhōnī, II, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahāngīr had once his Court doctor Růhullāh weighed in silver (Tuzuk, p. 288), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as ṣayqirī.
ATN 19.

ON SAYURGHALS.

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 Milk, or Malad i ma'dsh. 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 Qadr. 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 Qadrs had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaikh 'Abdollah to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afgans and Chaudris, were taken away, and became domain lands (khalsah), 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 khuliqah lands or

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* Vide the note at the end of this Ain.
* This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian khuliqah.
near the jāgirs of Mançabdār, 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 [‘Abdunnabī] 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 farmāns 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 farmāns, should be reduced to two-fifths of it, three-fifths of the excess being annexed to the domain lands. Irānī and Tūrānī 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 Qāzīs 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 Qāzīs], 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 Qāzīs, except those who had been appointed during the Čadrship of Sultan Khwājah. The Irānī and Tūrānī 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 Shīrāz] the following order was given:—If any one held a Sayūrghāl together with a partner, and the farmān 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 laping 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 Sayáurgáhí 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'háhs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Čádr Jahán should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Čádr with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed is this, that all Sayáurgáhí 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'háh 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 Čádrels of districts and Čádrl of the realm.

Note by the Translator on the Čádrels of Akbar's reign.

In this Axín—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chagátái word sayúrgáhí is translated by the Arabic madad ‘ul ma‘ásh, in Persian madad i ma‘ásh, for which we often find in MSS. madad o ma‘ásh. The latter term signifies 'assistance of livelihood,' and, like its equivalent milk, or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes, as specified by Abulfazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from jágir or tuyúl lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançábdrás in lieu of salaries.

This Axín proves that Akbar considerably interfered with Sayáurgáhí lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or khálíqah,1 lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghán) family. He also completely broke the power of the Čádr, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the Čádr, or as he was then generally styled, Čádr i Jahán, whose edict legalized the jilús, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (vide end of Axín 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-tamghá and Madad i ma‘ásh holders, vide Elliot's Glossary, under Al-tamghá 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 Cadrship, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (vide p. 177, l. 4 from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms ʾidrarat, wasāif, milk, inʾām i dekhā, inʾām i zamānhā, &c., occur for the word sayārghāl (or siyārgāl, or suhayrghāl, as some dictionaries spell it.)

Among the former kings, ʿAlāuddin 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 maʿāsh tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Cadr by appointing his keybearer to this high office (Tārikh i Firāzshāhi, p. 353). Qutbuddin Mubārīkhshāh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom ʿAlāuddin had deprived (T. F., p. 382). Firāz 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 Ćubāh had a Cadr i jus, or Provincial Cadr, who was under the orders of the Chief Cadr (Cadr i Jahān, or Cadr i Kūl, or Cadr i Cudār).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the Cadrs. 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 Qādis and provincial Cadrs. 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 ʿUlamā, 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 Gombroon. After the fall of 'Abdunnabi—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 Badáoni to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar's Çadrs:—

1. Shaikh Gadáí, a Shi'ah, appointed at the recommendation of Bairám Khán, till 968.
2. Khwájah Muhammad Çálih, 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 Badáoni.

Page 29. Shaikh Gadáí cancelled the Madad-i ma'ásh lands, and took away the legacies¹ of the Khánzádahs (Afghánis), and gave a Sayárghád 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 'Alambakhsh (one who gives away a world).

Page 52. After Shaikh Gadáí, Khájági Muhammad Çálih was, in 968, appointed Çadr; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as madad-i ma'ásh, because he was dependent on the Díváns.

Page 71. In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaikh 'Abdunmábí was made Çadr. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muzáffar Khán, at that time Vázír and Vákíl. 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 Āimaís of the whole empire should not be let off by the kórís of each Pergañáh, 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 Augát. The text of Badáoni has wrongly augát. For bár 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 'Abdurasul, the Shaikh's head man, or make presents to his farráshes, darbáns (porters), syees (grooms), and mehters (sweepers), 'in order to get their blanket out of the mire.' Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the Aimahs, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his masnád (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 Hadáyah (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 Čadr, for so long a time, exercised more tyrannical powers.

The fate of Abdunnabí 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 Čadr was Sultán Khwájah. Matters relating to Sayúrgháls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Isláam, and the new Čadr, who had just returned from Makkah, became 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 Badaóní, who had managed to get 1000

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1 Badaóní says that even in the State kall, 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 batafsíl in the text (p. 206), one M.S. of Badaóní reads zamín i sbidáatu batafsisul az khud midád.

3 The same happened afterwards to Mírzá 'Azís 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-shaiján fí-tharamain, 'The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madínah.'
big’luhs, at first to the great disgust of 'Abdunabi, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fathullah of Shiráz (vide p. 38) was appointed Çadr. As the Suyúrghál 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, Bud. p. 343.

"His Shirázi servant Kamál officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Aimahdárs,' 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’luhs: 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 Aimahdárs, 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 Aimahdar was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Pargana of Basíwar [which was his jágir], and said, "My collectors have this much collected from the Aimahdárs as a kifíyat (i. e. because the collectors thought the Suyúrghál 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, Badáání continues calling him Muftí i manálik i mahrúsah, the Mufti 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 Jahángír.

A great portion of the Suyúrghál lands is specified by Abulfazl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

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1 *Muftí nálarázi*, a pun reminding of *muqta'* (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and *muqáf* (part. act. IV) one who confers lands. Observe that Badáání uses the word *aimah* not only in the plural sense of *aimahdárs*, but as an equivalent of *those who hold a Suyúrghál.*

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.
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'hah 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 bazar. 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 Darogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

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1 This was, according to Nizam's Tahsaft, an invention of Fathullah of Shiraz (vide p. 38, note). Nizam 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 Abulfazl to Akbar; vide Book I. Ain 38, p. 115.

* Regarding English carriages (rat'h i angrez) brought to India under Jahangir, vide Tuzuk pp. 167, 168.

* Vide pp. 200 and 201.
ATN 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 Jamshids, and the festivals of the Parsi 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 Parsis, 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 Urdibhisht; 6th Khurdat; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdad; 4th Shahriwar; 16th Mihr; 10th Abán; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd, Dai; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandaruzmuz. 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 naqqârâhs (vide p. 51, l. 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).

ATN 23.

THE KHUSHIROZ 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 Bahaduni generally calls this day Nauruz i Jalali; vide p. 183, note 2.
2 Thus Abán 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 Khushrus, 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

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 Badaní’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 dowries; for as they are rarely ever paid, they are mere sham; but he admits that the fixing of high dowries 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 Tübégı, 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 shew their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mançabdars 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 dam. ¹ 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 Hindústán, 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. ² 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

¹ “The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwál, and were stared at by the kotwál’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 kotwál, and the khánís i kalál (?), and their other low assistants outside.” Bad. II, p. 391. Vide also Third Book, Ain 6.

² Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copy slips (qif’ah).
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 taḥīr, riḍār, and ʿulāh, sciences,¹ and history; all of
which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayakharan, 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.

AYN 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 T'hath'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

¹ This is the three-fold division of
sciences. ʿIlāhī, or divine, sciences comprise
everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a know-
ledge of God. Riḍār sciences treat of
quantity, and comprise mathematics,
astronomy, music, mechanics. Taḥī
sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of
sciences taḥār, instead of taḥī.
the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of Judia, 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 Ilakhbas and Lahor, 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 tides, the depths of the ocean, 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 Malibär (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 Nakhudd, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of Nákhuddá. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The Mu'allim, 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 danger. 3. The Tandil, or chief of the khaláči, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen’s language, are called khaláči or khárewah. 4. The Nákhuddá-khashab. 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'allim. 6. The Bhandári has the charge of the stores. 7. The Karróni is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The Nakkàngir, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the Mu'allim. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The Panjár 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 Gunáti belongs to the class of khaláči. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The Topandás, or gunner, is required in naval fights; their number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The Khárewah, 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 kúah, as seamen call it. In the harbour of Sutgáwe (Ilaghlı) a Nákhuddá gets 400 Ṣ.; besides

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2 This word is now-a-days pronounced Kirdi, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.
he is allowed four nalikh, 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 nalikh. The Mu'llim gets 200 R. and two nalikhs; the Tundil, 120 R.; the Karrant, 50 R. and one nalikh; the Nakhudd khashab, 30 R.; the Sarhang, 25 R.; the Sukhängir, Pänjari and Bhandari, each 15 R.; each Kharwah, or common sailor, 40 R., and his daily food in addition; the Degandah, or gunner, 12 R.

In Kambhyat (Cambay), a Nakhudd gets 800 R., and the other men in the same proportion.

In Lakhari, a Nakhudd gets 300 R., and the rest in proportion.

In Achin 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 Dannahari, 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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ATN 27.

OF HUNTING.

Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance stride 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 incognito, and examines into matters referring to taxation, or to Suyûrgâhî 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 shews 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 Qarâwals [men employed by the Mir Shikûr, 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 Tazak stands ready for service, and about a kos and one-half behind them stand some of the Khûdmatiyyâh (p. 225) and other servants of His Majesty. The Khûdmatiyyâh 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 Bári. His Majesty got on the elephant **Náhir Khá**, 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 qamarghak 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, despised 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. Shuja’at Khan (vide Ain 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* 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 Hindustani, 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.*

Elephant-hunts.

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. Khedah.* 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 Khedah. 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. Gād. 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 Qamarghak is a chase for which drivers are employed.
2 This is one of Akbar’s miracles.
3 These two verses are taken from Fazl’s sawar Daman; vide p. 106, note 4.
4 Hence our elephant khedah.
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. Bés. 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 shewn above.¹

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

¹ "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 Jânavgâz caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gûjîrât] 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." Lâbihindmah, p. 113.
the trunk. Round about the tree, they deposit their excrements, which
are called in Hindi ḍhakār.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass.
These pits were called ṣādī. 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 gaj 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. Accidental-
ly 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, es-
pecially in the districts of Bāri, Simāwali, Alāpūr, Sunnām, Bhāṭindāh,
Bhāṭānīr, Paṭan in the Panjāb, Fathpur, Jhinjhanā, Nāgor, Mīrṭha, Jodhpūr,
Jaisalmīr, Amṛsārṇāyin; 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
captured, 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 khāqaḥ leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

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ATN 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, 3½ s.; sixth class, 3½ s.; seventh class, 3 s.; eighth class, 2½ s. The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed,² 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 annum; 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 Goshkānī 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 Mid or Tāraf (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. 206, l. 9.
This should perhaps be گوشکانی, Goshkán, (in Arabic یشکان), 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 khāṭah; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (mīḥaffah) 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 ḍinik; he is carried on a Chaudol, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants, fully equipped, run at his side; the nagyārah (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. Upargḥaṭ. 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. Riggāni. 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. Mukāri. 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 [Jahāngīr's] reign, I must mention that a leopard in captivity covered a female leopard, which gave birth to three cubs. The late emperor [Akbar], 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." *Igbāndinmah*, 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 chari-mandal. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place, as if it was a qamargah 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 shewn 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 khāṣṣāh leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his Dervish gets five rupees from his equals. The Grandee in charge of the khāṣṣāh leopards, Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha, gets one mohur 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 Ashrafi from each of his equals. So also do the Ṭāraṣfīḍār and Qardwals' bet; in fact every

1 The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.
2 He was a Dukasār; vide Akh. 50, 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 Agra to Ajjāfr. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (dargāh) of Mu‘īn al-Chishti at Ajjāfr; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every kos a tower (mandrak), 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 mil i shak contain the Tārikh (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and sardas for travellers instead." Baddi, II, p. 173. Vide also Elliot's Index, p. 243, note.
5 Ṭāraṣfīḍār, the men in charge of a taraf, which word Abul Fazl above used in the same sense as misi, or set. Ṭāraṣfīḍār means also a Zamindar. A Qardwai is a driver.
one shows 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 hint 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.¹

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 Kabul, especially from the Hazarajat district [north of Rawal 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. Khaçaḥ dogs get daily 2 s. of meat; others get 1½ s. There is one keeper for every two Tiṣi (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 d. per mensem.

¹ "It was at this time, [1027 A. H. or A. D. 1618] that Shāhzādah Shuja', son of Shāhjahān, 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 quench as usual. The servants of the Harun 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 Jahangiri, p. 249.

Jahangir’s self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahangir was fifty years of age!

* Or black ear, the Persian translation of the Turkish gara-golar, whence our Felis caracal.

* This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered uncivilized animals by Muhammadans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Now-a-days we hear occasionally names, as kallū, baschā; or English names as fent (Fanny), buldog (bull dog), &c.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahangir 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, see 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 Fíruz Khiljí 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 Ilahábád, 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 (?)

G'hantaherah 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.

T'hangi. 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 ambush and kill it.

Bunârah. 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.

Dâdâwan. 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.

Ajârah. 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'hangi. The hunter....¹ walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with pás juice, and the man himself acts as if he

* The text has dar khanah i zin, in the hollow of a saddle (?)
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, sháhín, shunqár, and burkát 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 moultin is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the kháčah 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 sháhín, the khalás, the chappak básahs, the bahrís, the young bahrís, the shikaras, the chappak shikaras, the turmatís, the reks, the beráhs, the dhotés, the chargús, the chargilás, the lagars, and the jhágs (which His Majesty calls the chappak kind of the lagár). The Molekins also are inspected—the molekin 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. *Odhpapar*

This bird has a bluish (*subz*) 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 Mançabadárs, Ahadís, 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, 6½ R.; second, 6½ R.; third, 5½ R. Third class, first grade, 5½ R.; second, 5 R.; third, 4½ R. First class of the latter (Hindústání), first grade, 5 R.; second 4½ R.; third, 4½ 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*, *láchín*, and *kheláh*, 5 d.; the *báshah*, 3 d.; the *chappak báshah*, *shikarah*, *chappak shikarah*, *besrah*, *khotí*, &c., 2 d. Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the *bás*, *jurráh*, and *bahri*, get each seven; the *láchín*, five; the *báshah*, three; others, two. *Charygh* and *lagars* get at the same time meat. *Shungárás*, *shábbázárs*, 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, *kánah kurí* birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, *choz* birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, *Táriník* birds; they have moulted before they were

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[1] The name of this bird is doubtful. Kashmirí birds given in the *Jáb'duldún-mah*, p. 159.
captured. First class, a superior bāz costs 12 muburs; 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.

Bahrīs, 2, 1 4, 1 M. Young Bahrīs a little less.

K'helehah, 1 4, 1, 4 M.

Charhah, 2 4 R., 2, 1 4 R.

Chappak bāshah, 1 R.; 4, 4 R.

Shikarahs, 1 4 R., 1, 4 R.

Beerahs, 2 R., 1 4, 1 R.

Chappak shikarahs, lagars, jhagars, turmatis, rekis, 1 R., 4, 4 R.

Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the Mir Shikurs (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 peskhash (tribute), the Quashbegi (Superintendent of the Aviary) gets for every bāz 1 4 R., and the accountant, 4 R. For jurrahs, the Quashbegi gets 1 R.; the accountant, 4 R.; for bāshahs, the former receives 4 R.; the latter, 4 R.; for every lāchīn, chargh, charghilah, Khelehah, bahrī bachehah, the former gets 4 R., the latter 4 9 R.; for every chhappak, bāshah, dhōti, &c., the former receives 4 9 R., the other 4 9 R. (sukh).

The minimum number of bāzs and shāhín falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of jurrahs, thirty; of bāshahs, one hundred; of bahrīs, charghahs, twenty; of lagars, and shikarahs, 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 bāzs 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.

Durraj 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.

Bodnaha. 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 bodnaha, 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 chargsa; in body they are as large jurraha. They hang nets (about the body of a trained lagar), and put birds' 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.

Ghангhауи. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a ghангhаўи, 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 gh郞g郞h郯ѕ 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.

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 frogs 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.
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 maidán (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 háli. 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 Tibet. In the East of India, the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey-players. Vide Vigni's Travels in Cashmere, II. p. 289.
² Sayyid 'Abdullāh Kháñ, son of Mīr Khwándah, was Akbar's chaugán begi, or Superintendent of the game of chaugán; vide Bad. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, after 970, G'harvait, which lies a farsang from Ağrah, was the favorite spot for chaugán playing. Bad. II. p. 70.
³ The pillars which mark the end of the playground.
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 ġal, they beat the nahqarah, 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 ġal wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (mil), the game is looked upon as būrd (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.1 For this purpose, palis 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.

'Īahghāzī (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon flying 'īahghāzī (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 ecstasy 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 Irān and Tūrān; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

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1 "In the beginning of 974 (July 1566), the emperor returned (from Jaunpur) to Agra, and passed his time in amusements. He went to Nagarchin, a new town which he had built near Agra, 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 Azam 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 Āshkí (the weeper), Farád (the fairy), Āhnás (the diamond), and Shíh ‘ádi (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá (father of Bábár), Sultán Husain Mírzá (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 Mírmáh (September—October), and separate in Farwáríd (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 fášak, 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 hávás (air), i.e. forty flights. At this period, the trainers pay no regard to what is called chárkh and básí
(ride 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 (khābānidān). 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 bāzī 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. Bāzī is the same as mu'allaq zadān (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. Kāla). 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 bāzī and charkh, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called gulālah, 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 khā içah pigeon cots will perform fifteen charkhes and seventy bāzīs, 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 (khubār). 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 khā içah. 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, ¼ R.; ninth and tenth classes, ⅛ 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 siriki pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hāji 'Ali, of Samarqand, which coupled with an 'Udī 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 Khājah Pigeons.

Magasi (fly-bitten); siriki (steelblue); amiri (؟); zamiri (a colour between siriki and amiri; His Majesty invented this name); chini (porcelain blue); nafti (grey like naphtla); shafoqi (violet); 'udī (aloewood coloured); surmai (dark grey, like powder of antimony); kishmishi (dark brown, like currants); halwā (light-brown like Halwā sweetmeat); candali (light-brown, like sandelwood); ājgarī (brown); nabāti (greyish white); ṣāği (bluish-white, like sour milk); ṣuḥk (of the same colour as the gum called ṣuḥkh); jiši (chilim ?); ṭحار (brown, like a new earthen pot?); nilyāfari (bluish-white); ṣaφq (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); ṣṭaş (black brown); shafti (peach coloured); gul i gas (coloured ?); yellow; kāghzī (yellowish, like native paper); zāgh (grey like a crow); āgrī (a colour between white and brown); muharrāqī (a dirty black); khirī (a colour between greenish and 'udī); ābi (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 gulvar (whose head resembles a flower); sumghāzah (stump-tail); yavrang (of one colour); halqīnafṣīd (white throat); parafṣīd (white wing); kallah (big head); ghanbāsh (wild chick); māgh (name of an aquatic bird); bābāri (؟); ālpar (red wing ٪); kallah par (short wing); māhām (moontail); ṣawqār (ring-bearer); marwārīṣār (pearl head); māsh'alāhām (torcheat); &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 bughr (٪), garapīl (with black eyelids); abhārī; palangnīgārī; rekhītah 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 Bugahah, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning, to wake up people. 3. The Lajqin, which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The Latun. 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 Khermi. 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 Raf’h pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The Nishkahari 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 Parpa (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 skir-si, skustari, kishami, jogiya, 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 i nakhud (gram), mung dîl, millet, karar, lahddah, juscîr, (vide p. 63). Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and show much skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence, as Qul ’Ali of Buhkârâ, Masti of Samarqand, Mullázádah, Pûr i Mullá Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khán Chelah, Khwájah Qandal Chelah, Mumín of Harât, ’Abdullaštîf of Buhkârâ, Háji Qásim of Balkh, Habib of Shahrâbâz, Sikandar Chelah, Máltû, Maqṣûd of Samarqand, Khwájah P[hul], Chelah Hiránand.
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 annum.

The game of Chawpar.

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...¹. 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 ḍāim, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are pukhtah, 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 mulhur 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 Chanpar, 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 

¹ The MSS. have az khánah i hashtum pdyán shawad; hangám i khám shudan | ámádağ gárdad, 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 vis-a-vis, 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 pukkadah, 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, Aśwaṇapati, 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 Orīsah. 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 Bijāpūr. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the vazir sits on a foot stool (şandali), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, Gadhpati. The card shews a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazir sits on a şandali over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5th, Dhanpati, the lord of treasuries. The first card of this suit shews a man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazir sits upon a şandali, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards shew jaṛas full of gold and silver, from one to ten. 6th, Dulpati, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shews a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors in coats of mail. The vazir sits on a şandali, and wears a jaibah (breast armour); the ten other cards shew individuals clad in armour. 7th, Naṁpati, the lord of the fleet. The card shews a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazir sits, as usual, on a şandali, 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 shews a woman as vazir on a şandali, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. 9th, Surapatī, the king of the divinities (deotah), also called Indar, on a throne. The vazir sits on a şandali, and the other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10th, Aarpati, the lord of genii (deo). The card represents Sulaimán, son of Dáuí, on the throne. The vazir sits on a şandali, and the other ten cards have genii. 11th, Banpati, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (šer) with some other animals. The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (palang) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12th, Akhipati, the king of snakes. The first card shews a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazir is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards shew serpents, from one to ten.
The first six of these twelve suits are called bishbar (powerful), and the six last, kambar (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 şandal, 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 (muṣallas-eṣāx), the weighman, the coiner, the mukhur counter, the bitikahi (writer) of dhan pieces (vide p. 30, No. 17), the bitikahi of man piesces (vide p. 30, No. 20), the dealer, the qurggar (vide p. 23, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects farmāns, grants, and the leaves of the daftar (vide p. 260); the vazir sits on a şandal with the daftar before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the musar maker (vide p. 52, Note 5), the clerk who makes the entries in the Daftar, the illuminator (muṣanevar), the naqqāsh (who ornaments the pages), the jaddwalkash (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the farmān writer, the mujallid (bookbinder), the rangreṣ (who stains the paper with different colours).

The Pādīshāh a qimāsh also, or king of manufactures, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Tibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs. The vazir sits near him on a şandal, enquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the Pādīshāh 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 Pādīshāh i zar i safīd, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazir sits on a şandal, 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 Pādīshāh i shamer, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazir sits upon a şandal, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, &c. After him comes the Pādīshāh i Țāj, or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the şandal 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 Pādīshāh i Ghulāmān, 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 Hindūstān corruption of the Persian rangreṣ.
2 Țāj is often translated by a crown; but tāj is a cap worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word diadem does not express the meaning of țāj 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
deed which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their quali-
ties, 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.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.

1. Shahzâdah Sulta'n Sali'm, eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.

2. Sha'hzâdah Sulta'n Mura'd, second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.

3. Sha'hzâdah Sulta'n Da'nya'l, third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had five sons—

1. Hasan (twins, born 3rd Rabî' 1, 972. They only lived one month.
2. Husain
3. Sultan Salim [Jahangir],
4. Sultan Murad.
5. Sultan Danyal.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(a.) Shâhzâdah Khanum, born three
months after Salim, in 977. (b.) Shukrunnisa Begum, who in 1001 was married to

1 From the fact that Abulfazl mentions
in his list of Grandees Prince Khusrau,
(vide No. 4) who was born in 993, but
not Prince Parwiz, who was born in 997,
we might conclude that the table was com-
piled prior to 997. But from my note to
p. 245, it would appear that the beginning
of the list refers to a time prior to 993,
and Abulfazl may have afterward added
Khusrau’s name, though it is difficult
to say why he did not add the names of
Parwiz and Shâhjahân, both of whom
were born before the Ain was completed.

Again, Mirzâ Shâhrukh (No. 7) and
Mirzâ Muzaffir Husain (No. 8) are men-
tioned 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 illus-
trious grandees are chiefly taken from a
MS. copy of the Mâdir al 'Umârâ (No. 77
of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the
Tuzuk i Jahangîrî, the Tabaqat âlkârî,
Badînî, and the Akbarnâmâh. 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 De-
scendants, published by me in the Pro-
cedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
for August, 1869.
309

Mírzá Sháhrukh (No. 7, below, p. 312); and (c.) Arám Bántí Begum; both born after Sultán Dáyál. Regarding the death of the last Begum, vide Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar’s wives the following are mentioned:—1. Sultán Raqiyyah Begum (a daughter of Mírzá Hindál), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumáda I, 1035, (Tuzuk, p. 401). She was Akbar’s first wife (sañ i kaláñ), but had no child by him. She tended Shábjahán. Núr Jahán (Jahángîr’s wife) also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkán. 2. Sultán Salimah Begum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (†) Begum* (a daughter of Bábar) and Mírzá Núrúddín Muhammad. Humáyún had destined her for Bárám Khán, who married her in the beginning of Akbar’s reign. After the death of Bárám, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zí Qa’dah, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name Makhñí (concealed), and must not be confounded with Zebunnízé* (a daughter of Aurangzeb’s), who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Rájah Bihárái Maí and sister of Rájah Bhagawán Dás. Akbar married her in 968, at Sáhnbar. 4. The beautiful wife of ‘Abdulwási’, married in 970, (vide Bad. II, 61). 5. Jodh Bái, or Princess of Jodhpúr, the mother of Jahángîr. Her name is not mentioned by any Muhammadan historian. As Akbar’s mother had the title of Maryam Makáini, so was Jodh Bái called Maryam uz zamání. She died in the month of Rajáb 1032, A. H. (Tuzuk, p. 361). The Tuzuk expresses a hope ‘that God will receive her in His mercy; for Jahángîr’s mother, though a Hindú, could not well ‘be sent to hell.’ 6. Bábí Danlat Shád, mother of (b.) and (c.); vide Tuzuk, p. 16. 7. A daughter of ‘Abdullah Khán Mughul (964). 8. A daughter of Mírán Mu’árákh Sháh of Khánbes; vide p. 13, note.

Sultán Salim. Title as Emperor, Jahángîr. Title after death, Jannatmakáni. Born at Fathpur Sikrí, on Wednesday, 17th Rabí’ I, 977, or 18th Shahrívar of the 14th year of Akbar’s Era. He was called Salim, because he was born in the house of Shaikh Salim i Chishti. Akbar used to call him Shaikká Bábá (vide Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, vide below, No. 4. Jahángîr died on the 28th Çafar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Bárjor on the Kashmír frontier. Vide my article on Jahángîr in the Calcutta Review for October, 1889.

Sultán Murád, Akbar’s fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006, at Jahánpur in Bárár (Tuzuk, p. 16; Akbar-námah II, p. 443; Kháfi Khán, p. 218). He was nicknamed Pahári (Bad. II, 378). He was sabrangi (of a livid complexion), thin, and tall (Tuzuk). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parwís, Jahángîr’s son (Tuzuk), p. 38.)

Sultán Dáyál was born at Ajmír, on the 10th Jumáda I, 979, and died of delirium tremens, A. H. 1013. Kháfi Khán, I. p. 292, says, the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dáyál in remembrance of Shaikh Dáyál, a follower of Mu’in i Chishti, to whose tomb at Ajmír Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dáyál married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Qulí Khán (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jáán Begum, a daughter of Mírzá ’Abdurráhím Khán Khánán (Kháfi Khán, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibráhím ‘Adilsháh of Bijápúr; but he died before the

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* Her charming Dwán was litho-graphed at Lucknow, A. H. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb and was born in 1048, A. H.
marriage was consummated. He had three sons: 1. Ţahmūras, who was married to Sultān Bāhār Begum, a daughter of Jahāngīr. 2. Bāyasanghar (بیاسانگار). 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, Bulqī Begum, was married to Mīrzā Wālī (Tuzuk, p. 272). Ţahmūras and Hoshang were killed by Açaf 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 Hindustani poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. Sulta'ūn Khusrū, eldest son of Prince Salim [Jahāngīr].

Jahāngīr's wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rājah Bhagwān Dāsh, married in 993, gave birth in 994, to Sultānunnisā Begum [Khāṭī Khān, Sultān Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrū. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrū and her younger brother Mādhūr Singh, in 1011 (Khāṭī Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rājīī Singh, son of Rājīī Kalyān Mal of Bīkānīr, married 19th Rajab 994. Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahāngīr's wives. 3. A daughter of Oḍīī Singh, [Mot'h Rājāh], son of Rājāh Mālde, married in 994. The Tuzuk (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosāyīnī. She is the mother of Shāhjahān, and died in 1028, (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwājah Hasan, the uncle of Zain Khān Khokh. She is the mother of Prince Parwiz. She died 15th Tīr, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rājah Keshhū Dās of Rā'īrhor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīvar 998). 6. and 7. The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār. 8. A daughter of 'All Rāj, ruler of little Thibet (Bad. II, 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rājāh Mān Singh (Tuzuk, p. 68). 10. Mīhrunnisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afsān. On her marriage with Jahāngīr she received the title of Nūr Mahall, and was later called Nūr Jahān. (Tuzuk. p. 166). Jahāngīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahān.

Jahāngīr's children. 1. Sultān Khusrū. 2. Sultān Parwiz. 3. Sultān Khurrum (Shāhjahān). 4. Sultān Jahāndār. 5. Sultān Shahryār. Two daughters are mentioned:—(a.) Sultān Nīsār Begum; (b.) Sultān Bāhār Bānū Begum. There were 'several children' after Parwiz; but the Tuzuk (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sultān Khusrū was born on the 24th Amurdād 995, (Tuzuk, Preface); but Khāṭī Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of A'zam Khān Kokh. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, Tuzuk, p. 73. 2. Dāwar Bakhsh, (also called Bulāqī)* whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshap.

Khusrū died on the 18th Isfandiyārīmuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusrū Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Açaf Khān after

* The MSS. spell this name براتی and بلاتی.
the death of Jahángír; but at the order of Sháhjáhán, he was killed, together with his brother Ghansáhp, by Açaf Khán.

Sultán Parviz, born 19th Abán, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mírzá Bostám i Čáwí (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (Tuz. p. 282). A daughter of Parviz was married to Dárá Shikoh. Parviz died of delirium tremens in 1036.

Sultán Khurram [Sháhjáhán] was born at Láhor on the 30th Rabí' 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 Jahángír, to Mihrunnísá, the daughter of Núr Jahán by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzáni Begum (Tuzuk, p. 370). The Iqbal-azimí (p. 306) calls her لارزی بیکم. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname Nabuddání (fit for nothing). Khusrú, Parviz, 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 Jahángír. He was killed either at the order of Dáwr Bakhsh or of Açaf Khán; vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal for August 1869, p. 218.

5. Mírza Súlaimán, son of Khán Mírzá, son of Sultán Mahmúd, son of Abú Sa'id.

6. Mírza Ibrahím, son of Mírza Súlaimán (No. 5.)

Mírzá Súlaimán was born in 920, and died at Láhor in 997. He is generally called Wádí' i Badakhshán. As grandson of Abú Sa'id Mírzá, he is the sixth descendant from Timúr. Abú Sa'id 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 Mahmúd, who had three sons, Bâyásaanghar Mírzá, 'Alí Mírzá, Khán Mírzá. When Mahmúd died, Amir Khusrú Khán, one of his nobles, blinded Bâyásaanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bákár in 910. When Bákár took Qandahár, in 912, from Sháh Beg Arghún, he sent Khán Mírzá as governor to Badakhshán. Mírzá Súlaimán is the son of this Khán Mírzá.*

After the death of Khán Mírzá, Badakhshán was governed for Bákár by Prince Humáyún, Sultán Uwaís (Mírzá Súlaimán's father-in-law), Prince Hindál, and lastly, by Mírzá Súlaimán, who held Badakhshán till 17 Jumáda II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mírzá Ibráhím, to Prince Kárámán. They were released by Humáyún in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshán. When Humáyún had taken Kábúl, he made war upon and defeated Mírzá Súlaimán who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kámrán from Sind obliged Humáyún to go to Kábúl, he reinstated the Mírzá, who held Badakhshán till 963. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Bakh, but had to return. His son, Mírzá Ibráhím, was killed in battle.*

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* The Madsir ut Umará calls the second son, Mírzá Mas'úd.

* The Madsir says, Khán Mírzá died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mírzá Súlaimán was born in 920, the Túrúkh of his birth being the word ۲۳.
In the eighth year when Mirzá Muhammad Hakím’s (Akbar’s brother) mother had been killed by Sháh Abú Ma’úní, Mirzá S. went to Kábul, and had Abú Ma’úní hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Hakím, and appointed Umed ‘Alí, a Badakhshán noble, M. M. Hakím’s Vakíl (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 Jaláláábád, 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 Khurrám Begum, of the Qibcháék tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enby was Muhtárim Khánim, the widow of Prince Kámrán. M. Sulaimán wanted to marry her; but Khurrám 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 Balkh, Khurrám Begum wanted to send the Khánim to her father, Sháh Muhammad of Káshghar; 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. Khurrám 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 Índia (983). Khán Jahán, governor of the Paújáb, received orders to invade Badakhshán, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Mun’im 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’íl II. of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Muzaffár Hussain Mirzá (No. 8) at Quandahár, 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, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between Túrá and the Hindú Kush. Soon after Muhtárim Khánim died. Being again pressed by Sháhrukh, M. Sulaimán applied for help to ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbak, king of Túrán, who had long wished to annex Badakhshán. He invaded and took the country in 992; Sháhrukh fled to Hindústán, and M. Sulaimán to Kábul. As he could not recover Badakhshán, and rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Hakím, he followed the example of his grandson, and repaired to the court of Akbar who made him a Commander of six thousand.

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 Múlwhah, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dák’hin. Towards the end of Akbar’s reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his Manşáb by Jahángír.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Káltúl Begum, was a daughter of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. She wanted to take his body to Mándínah, but was robbed by the Badawís; and after handing over the body to some ‘soudrels,’ she went to Bégrab, and then to Shíráz. In 1022, Sháh ’Abbás married her to Mirzá Sultán ’Alí, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.
Sháhrukh's Children. 1. Hasan and Hussain, twins. Hasan fled with Khurram and was imprisoned by Jahangir. 2. Badúuzzamán (or Mirzâ Fathpúrî), 'a bundle of wicked bones,' murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrát). 3. Mirzâ Shujá' rose to honours under Sháhjahán, who called him Najábát Khán. 4. Mirzâ Muhammad Zamán. He held a town in Badakhshán, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mirzâ Sultán, a favorite of Jahangir. He had many wives, and Jahangir 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 Gházípúr, where he died. 6. Mirzâ Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The Tuzuk (p. 66) says that after the death of Sháhrukh, Jahangir took charge of four of his sons, and three of his daughters, 'whom Akbar had not known.' 'Sháhrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindí.'

8. Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son of Bahram Mirzâ, son of Sháh Ismá'îl i Ḥulafí.

In 966, Sháh Tahmásp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahár, which was given, together with Dáwar and Garmsár as far as the river Hirmand, to Sultán Husain Mirzâ, his nephew. Sultán Husain M. died in 984, when Sháh Ismá'îl II (984 to 988) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husain Mirzâ, Muzaffar Husain Mirzâ, Rustam Mirzâ, Abú Sa'id Mirzâ, and Sanjar Mirzâ. The first was killed by Sháh Ismá'îl in Irán. The other four in Qandahár had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Sháh saved their lives. The new Sháh, Khudábandah, gave Qandahár to Muzaffar Husain Mirzâ, and Dáwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mirzâ, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakil being Hamzah Beg Zul Qadr, or Kor Hanzah, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Muzaffar Husain Mirzâ to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muzaffar had the Vakil murdered. This led to fights between Muzaffar and Mirzâ Rustam who, however, returned to Dáwar.

Not long after, the invasion of Khurásán by the Uzbaks under Din Muhammad Sultán and Baqí Sultán (a sister's son of 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán) took place, and the Qandahár territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most Qizilbash grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Sháh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mirzâ Rustam who had gone to Hindústán, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Láhor, and kept Qandahár in anxiety; and Muzaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahár to Akbar, though 'Abdullah Khán of Túrán advised him not to join the Chagátái kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qarâ Beg (an old servant of Muzaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Favvad Begí by Akbar) returned to Qandahár, and prevailed upon Muzaffar's mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahár to India.

Akbar sent Beg Khán Arghún, Governor of Bangish, to take prompt possession of Qandahár, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muzaffar wavered the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khán, in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of Farzand (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jágir, "which is more worth than all Qandahár."
But the ryots of his jagir 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 jagir, and paid him a salary in cash (100£). 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 1608.

His daughter, called Qandahâr Mahall, was in 1018 married to Shâhjahân, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawâb Parhez Bânû Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bahram Mîrzâ, Haidar Mîrzâ, (who rose to dignity under Shâhjahân, and died in 1041), and Ismâ‘îl Mîrzâ. The Mâdersâ mentions two other sons, Aqâsî Mîrzâ and Tâhmâsî Mîrzâ.

Muzaffar's younger brothers, Mîrzâ Abû Sa‘îd, and Mîrzâ Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Vide Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mirâzâ Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dâwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Mahmûd, ruler of Sistán. Muzaffar Husain assisted him at first, but having married Malik Mahmûd's daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lallâh (guardian) Hamzâh Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahâr, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbeks into Khursân, he conquered the town of Farâh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Mahmûd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him, and killed him, when Jalâluddîn, Mahmûd's son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dâwar, he quickly took the town of Qalât. 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 Mîrzâ, and his own four sons Murâd, Shâhrukh, Hasan, and Ibâhîm, he went in 1011 to India. Akbar made him a Panj-hazârî, and gave him Multân as jagîr, "which is more than Qandahâr." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1008, wished to give him Chitor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pathân as tuyâl, and sent him, together with Aqâf Khân against Rajah Bâsû. But as both did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rajah Mûn Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Râisân as jagîr. He then served under Prince Dânyâl in the Dak'hin. In 1021, Jahânghîr appointed him Governor of That'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghâns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwiz, Jahânghîr made him Skaâh-hazârî, and appointed him Governor of Allâhábâd. He held the fort against Abdûllah Khân whom Shâhjahân, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihâr, had sent against Allâhábâd, and forced Abdûllah to retire to Jhosî. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihâr, but was pensioned off as too old by Shâhjahân at 120000 Rs. per annum, and retired to Agra. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dârâ Shikoh. He died, in 1061, at Agra, 72 years old.
As a poet he is known under the takhallus of Fiddil. 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 Murad got from Jahangir the title of Iltefti Khân. He was married to a daughter of 'Abdurrahim Khan Khânân. Murad’s son, Mirzâ Mukram Khân, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son Mirzâ Hasan i Çašfawi, a Hazdr o pasâdî under Jahangir, was Governor of Kâch; died 1069. Hasan’s son, Mirzâ Çašhikan, was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Çašhikan’s son, Sai fuddin i Çašfawi, accepted the title of Khân under Aurangzeb.


Bahârli is the name of a principal clan of the Qarahulli Turks. During the time of their ascendancy, under Qarah Yûsuf, and his sons Qarah Sikandar and Mirzâ Jahân Shâh, rulers of Trâq i ‘Arab and Azarbâijân, ‘Ali Shukr Beg held Dainûr, Hamadân, and Kurdâstân, “which tracts are still called the territory of ‘Ali Shukr.” His son Pir ‘Ali Beg stayed some time with Sultan Mahmûd Mirzâ, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shîráz, but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amirs of Sultan Hassan Mirzâ. Pir Ali Beg’s son, in the reign of Shâh Ismâ’îl i Çašfawi, left Trâq, settled in Badakhshân, and entered the service of Amîr Khusrâu Shâh (vide p. 311, i. 26) at Qanduz. He then joined, with his son Sai ‘Ali Beg, Bâbar’s army as Amîr Khusrâu had been deposed. Sai ‘Ali Beg is Bâiram’s father.

Bâiram Khân was born at Badakhshân. After the death of his father he went to Balkh to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humâyûn’s army, fought in the battle of Qasnuj (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Bajah of Lak’hnor (Sambhal). Sher Shâh met Bâiram in Mâlwâh, and tried to win him over. But Bâiram fled from Bahrâmpûr with Abûl Qâsim, governor of Gwâliâr, to Gujrát. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Shâh who just returned from Gujrát. Abûl Qâsim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bâiram, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, “I am Bâiram.” “No,” said Abûl Qâsim, “he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off.” Abûl Qâsim was then killed, and Bâiram escaped to Sultan Mahmûd of Gujrát. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bâiram embarked at Sûrat for Sindh. He joined Humâyûn on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Râjah Mâldeo, was pressed by the Arghûns at Jum. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khân. On Humâyûn’s return, Bâiram was sent on a mission to Prince Kamrân. When Humâyûn marched to Kâbul, he took Qandahâr by force and treachery from the Qizilbash, and making Bâiram governor of the district, he informed the Shâh that he had done so as Bâiram was ‘a faithful servant of both.’ Subsequently rumours regarding Bâiram’s duplicity reached Humâyûn; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahâr, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bâiram. He gained the battle of Mâchhiwârah, and received Sambhal as jâfîr. In 963, he was appointed atâlîq (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjâb against Sikandar Khân. On Akbar’s accession (2nd Rabî ’I, 963) at Kalânûr, he was appointed Wâkîl and
Khān Khānān, and received the title of Khān Bābū. On the second of Shawwāl, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mānkot, when Akbar returned to Lāhūr, an imperial elephant ran against Bairām's tent, and Bairām blamed Atgah Khān (No. 18), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Lāhūr, went with his whole family to Bairām, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qurān. * In 965, Bairām married Salimah Sultān Begüm (p. 309, note.) and soon after, the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Badāunī (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bairām to the illtreatment of Pir Muhammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khān, and his mother Māhum Anagah (Akbar’s nurse), Čīddiq Muhammad Khān, Shāhābuddin Ahmad, &c., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jagirs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bairām Khān’s friends lived in affluence. The Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī says that no less than twenty-five of Bairām’s friends reached the dignity of Pānjihāzārīs—rather a proof of Bairām’s gift of selecting proper men. Bairām’s fall is known from the Histories. “Akbar’s trick resembles exactly that which Sultān Abū Sa‘īd i Mughal adopted towards his minister Amir Chuchabūn.” (Bad.) On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bairām left Āgra, 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 Mewāt and Nāgor, from where he returned his insignia, which reached Akbar at Jhūhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Pānji, which Bairām, as it was said, wished to invade. The insignia were conferred on Pir Muhammad Khān, Bairām’s old protégé; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bairām felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gajūrī occupied by Rājah Māldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bīkānīr to his friend Kalyān Mal (No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son Abdurrahīm (No. 29) to Sher Muhammad Dīwānah, his adopted son and jagīr holder of Tabārīndah, and broke out in

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1 So Bad. II, 19. The story in Elphinstone (Fifth edition), p. 407, does not agree with the source. The Akbarnāmah says, Bairām was on board a ship on the Jamnab, when one of Akbar’s elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abulfazl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the Sawānīh i Akbarī has a few critical note on Abulfazl’s account. I would remark here that as long we have no translation of all the sources, a history of Akbar’s reign, European Historians should make the Sawānīh i Akbarī the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Haidar of Belgrām from the Akbarnāmah, the Tabāqāt, Badāunī, Firāshtah, the Akbarnāmah by Shaikh Ḥādbād of Sārāhnd (poetically called Faizi), vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and Abulfazl’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. Belgrām was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the letter of the town vide the Tazkīrah by Ghalam ‘Ali Asūd, entitled Sara i Aṣād. The author of the Sawānīh i Akbarī states that Abulfazl does not shew much friendship to Bairām, whilst Enkine (Elphinstone, p. 405, note) represents Abulfazl as “Bairām’s warm panegyrist.”
open rebellion. At Dtpálpdr, on his way to the Panjáb, he heard that Dívánah had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Mwsñáfr ‘Áll (whom Bairám had despatched to Dívánah to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bairám resolved to take Jálindhr. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bairám had been defeated1 by Āgíst Khánm (No. 15). Bairám fled to Fort Tiwárásh on the banks of the Bayáb, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sultán Husín Jálí is was killed; and when his head was brought to Bairám,2 he was so sorry, that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bairám, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar’s tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Muním Khánm, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (chándgík). Hájí Muhammad of Sístán (No. 55) accompanied Bairám over Nágar to Patán (Nahrwáláh) in Gujrát, where he was hospitably received by Mús S Khánm Fúlsáf, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumáda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sáhánpa Láng Tank, Bairám was stabbed by a Lohni Afghán of the name of Mubárík, whose father had been killed in the battle of Máchhiwáráh. “With an Alláhu Akbar on his lips, he died.” The motive of Mubárík Khánm is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmírí wife of Salín Sháh with her daughter had attached herself to Bairám’s suite, in order to go to Hijáz, and it had been settled that Bairám’s son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afgháns. Some beggars lifted up Bairám’s body, and took it to the tomb of Shaikh Husámuddín. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mshd. Akbar took charge of ‘Abdurrahím, Bairám’s son (vide No. 29), and married soon after Salmáh Sultán Begum, Bairám’s widow.

For يبرام Bairám, we often find the spelling برام Bairam. Firíshtah generally calls him Bairám Khánm Turkmán. Bairám was a Shí‘áh, and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Bádshóni III, p. 190).

11. Muním Khámn, son of Bairám3 Beg.

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Muním Khánm was a grandee of Humáyún’s Court, as also his brother Fázíl Beg. When Humáyún, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mírzá Sháh Husain of Tȟat’áh, 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 Qandhár, which was given to Bairám Khánm. In 961, he was appointed atlíq of Prince Akbar; and when Humáyún invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kábul in charge of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother, then about

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1 Near كراتو (or كراتو) in the Panaghan, دکدرار Madair; دکدرار Dávíní) near Jálindhr. For كراتو, Bad. (II, 40) has کراتو. Firíshtah says (Lucknow edit., p. 249) the fight took place outside of Máchhiwáráh.

2 The Madair mentions this fact without giving the source.

3 Some MSS. read Mírám; but Bairam is the preferable reading.
a year old. In Kábul M. remained till Bairám fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar. in Zi Haajjah, 967, at Lúdhianáh, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bairám. M. was then appointed Khán Khánán and Yaklī.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khán (No. 19) killed Atgah Khán (No. 16), Mun'im who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkár of Qanaui) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyíd Muhámmad Khán of Báraha (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. Máb Jújak Begum, Prince M. Muhammaad Hákim's mother, advised by Fazl Beg and his son 'Abdul-fath, who hated Ghaní Khán, closed the doors of Kábul, when Ghaní Khán was once temporarily absent at Fálír. Ghaní Khán, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Máb Jújak Begum then appointed Fazl Beg as Vakír and 'Abdul Fath as Núb; 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 Jalálábád by Máb Jújak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Sháh Wáli and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Háidar Qásim Koh-báhar, whom she had made Yákúb) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghák-bárs, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Agra.

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khán Zamán (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jígíras in Jaunpur (Bad. II. 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaimán Karrañá of Bengál, who promised to read the Khwájah and strike coins in Akbar's name.

In 982, Akbar, at M.'s request, went with a flotilla from Agra to Bihár, and took Hárjípur and Patna from Dáid, Sulaimán's son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihár, and was ordered to follow Dáid into Bengál. M. moved to Tándá (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Qulí Khán Bárúsh (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Todar Mall, left Tándá, and followed up Dáid, who after his defeat at گریک, submitted at Katak. In Čafar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengál, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpúr was built by Mun'im Khán in 981. Its tāríkh is مراتب معمولی M.'s son, Ghaní Khán, went to 'Adilsháh of Bijnípur, where he died.

12. Tárdí Beg Khán, of Turkistán.

A noble of Humáyún's Court. After the conquest of Gujrát, he was made Governor of Champánír (Páwangarh). On Mírzá 'Askari's defeat by Suláhtán Bahkádar, 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 faithful companions. When passing through the territory of Rájah Máideo, he even refused Humáyún a horse, and at Amarkót, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of

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1 Elphinstone, p. 452 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 Báí 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 Qandahár, Tádí Beg left the emperor and joined Mírzá Ḍaskar. But Mírzá Ḍaskar put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tádí Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humáyún’s return from Irán, Tádí Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 965, after the death of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, son of Mírzá Sultán, to Dávar. During the conquest of India, T. distingushed himself and received Mewát at Jágír. In 963, when Humáyún died (7th Rabi’ I), T. read the Khutba in Akbar’s name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abú Qásim, son of Prince Kámrán, to Akbar in the Panjáb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand and appointed him governor of Díhlí. T. drove away Háji Khán, an officer of Sher Sháh, from Narnaul. On Hemú’s approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Díhlí, and joined Akbar at Sarhind-Bairám Khán, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar “a sort of permission” (Bad. II, 14) had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bairám’s hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chagátái nobles looked upon him. Tádí Beg was a Sunní.

13. Khán Zamán i Shaiba’íni’

His father Háidar Sultán Úzbak i Shaiba’í had been made an Amír in the Jám war with the Qızılbašes. When Humáyún returned from Persia, Háidar joined him, together with his two sons ‘Alí Qul Khán [Khán Zamán] and Bahádúr Khán (No. 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahár. On the march to Kábúl, an epidemic broke out in Humáyún’s camp, during which Háidar Sultán died.

‘Alí Qul 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 Afgáns. At the time of Akbar’s accession ‘Alí Qul Khán fought with Shádi Khán, an Afgán noble; but when he heard that Hemú had gone to Díhlí, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before ‘Alí Qul arrived at Díhlí, Tádí Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and T. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. ‘Alí Qul was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemú near Páuípat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bairám were near, they took no part in this battle. ‘Alí Qul received the title of Khán Zamán. Next to Bairám, 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 Lakhnau of the Afgáns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpúr as Qáím maqám for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mánkoč. 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 tayyáf, which led him to rebel. Bairám from generosity did not interfere; but when Pir Muhammad, Khán Zamán’s enemy, had been appointed Vakíl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his makhalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afgáns who threatened the Jaunpúr District. Pir Muhammad had also Buq ‘Ali thrown from the walls of Fírúzábád, 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 Jaunpúr, and drove away the Afgáns. Upon the fall of Bairán, they appeared again under Sher Sháh, son of 'Adl, with a large army and 500 elephants. Khán Zamán, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpúr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zí Qu’da’s of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Kaḥí (on the Ganges,) Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpúr. Soon after, he defeated the Afgáns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khán Zamán rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyúldárs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Gházípúr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpúr sent Mu’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 Uzbak, (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 jágirs, and Akbar returned to Agra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumáda I, 974, marched against M. Muhammad Hakín Khán Zamán rebelled again, read the Khút bah at Jaunpúr in M. Muhammad Hakín’s name, and marched against Shergarh (Qanauj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Punjáb, 12th Ramazán 974, and Agra on the 20th Shawwáli. At Sáki, 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 Qull Khán Barlaás and Todar Mall to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khán Uzbak, and marched over Ráí Barelí 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 Kára. Next morning, 1st Zí Hajiájah, 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 Sommát, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a mulur for every Mughul’s head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place dar ‘argah i Sákrawát [in Báláoní, Mungarwát] “which place has since been called Fathpúr.
The Trig. S. maps show a small village Fathpúr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Kára, 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 Sultán (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society, September 1868.) Zamáníyá (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbak, Khán Zamán, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shi’áh. Khán Zamán must not be confounded with No. 124.


A noble of Humáyún’s Court. After the defeat of Hemu, he received the title of
Shujā'at Khān, got Kālpī as tayyāl, and served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Gujrat. When Bāz Bahādur, after the death of Pir Muhammad, had taken possession of Mālwah, 'Abdullah was made a Panjhaudrā, and was sent to Mālwah 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. 49). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khān, an officer of Sultan 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 Mālwah, and was hotly pursued by Shihābuddīn Ahmad Khān (No. 26), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

15. Shamsuddīn Muhammad Aṭgah 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. Shamsuddin entered Prince Kāmirān's service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qaṇaṣ (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 Shamsuddin. Humāyūn attached himself to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anagah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anagah. Shamsuddīn remained with the young prince, whilst Humāyūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor's restoration the title of Aṭgah (foster father) Khān. Humāyūn sent him to Hīdār, which Sirkār had been set aside for Prince Akbar's maintenance.

After Akbar's accession, Aṭgah Khān was despatched to Kābul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankot to Lāhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under Bairdām Khān, p. 316. He held Khushāb in the Panjāb as jagir, and received, after Bairdām's fall, the sanjāna of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bairdām Khān near Jáindhar, 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 Vakil either in supercession of Mun'im Khān, or by usurpation, at which Akbar connived. Mun'im Khān and Shihāb Khān (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (vide No. 19) to kill Aṭgah Khān,² 12th Ramazān, 968.

For Aṭgah Khān's brothers vide Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories Aṭgah Khail, 'the foster father battalion.'

¹ He stabbed at the Aṭgah, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. Baddoni (p. 52) and Elphinston (p. 502, l. 1), say that Adham himself killed Aṭgah.
16. Kha'īn i Kala'īn, Mir Muhammad, elder brother of Atgah Khán.

He served under Kámrán and Humâyûn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjáb, where most of the Atgahs (Atgah Kháil) had jágrís, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sultán Adam, and in keeping down Kamál Khán. In the ninth year he assisted Mirzá Muhammad Hakín against Mirzá Sulaimán (No. 6), restored him to the throne of Kábul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under his brother Q’étuddín (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter Atálliq of the Prince. But Khán i Kalán did not get on well with M. M. Hakín, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrunnisá Begum (a daughter of Humâyûn by Jújak Begum, and widow of Mir Sháh 'Abdul Mu'állí) to Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khán i Kalán left one night Kábul and returned to Láhòr.

In the 13th year (976), the Atgah Kháil was removed from the Panjáb, and ordered to repair to Ágrah. Khán i Kalán received Sambhal as Jágir, whilst Husain Qul Khán (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjáb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrát (Bd. II, 165). On the march, near Sarohí (Ajmir), he was wounded by a Rájpúrt, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwálah). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the takhallús of 'Ghaznawi,' in allusion to his birthplace. Badáóní (III. 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fázil Khán (No. 156) was a Hazárd, and was killed when Mirzá 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) was shut up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khán (No. 232) was a Panjád. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mírza' Shahrauddín Husai'n, son of Khwájah Mu'ín.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khwájah Mu'ín was the son of Kháwid Mahmód, second son of Khwájah Khálán (known as Khwájahgán Khwájah), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwájah Náqiruddin 'Ubaidullah Ahrár. Hence Mirzá Shahrauddín Husain is generally called Ahrár.

His grandfather, Khwájah Mahmód went to India, was honorably received by Humâyûn, and died at Kábul.

His father, Khwájah Mu'ín, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land, called 'Rúdkhánah i Nasheb,' and served under 'Abdullah Khán, ruler of Káshgar. He was married to Kújak Begum, daughter of Mír 'Aláulmulk of Tírmíz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahán Begum, daughter of Sultán Abú Sa'id Mírzá. 'Hence the blood of Timúr also flowed in the veins of Mirzá Shahrauddín 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 Khán, her son (No. 19), Mirzá Sharaf was appointed Panjáhazárd. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshí Bân Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmír and Nágor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmír, Mirzá Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mírha, which was defended by Jágmal and Devdás, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mirzá Sharaf's father came to Ágrah and was received with great honors by Akbar. In the same year, Mirzá Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from
Akrah over the frontier, pursued by Husain Qulî Khân (No. 24) and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son’s behaviour, left for Hijâz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which his body was, foundered. Mîrzâ Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khân, a Gujrât noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mîrzâs. When Gujrât was conquered, he fled to the Dak’hin, and passing through Baglânâ, was captured by the Zemindâr of the place, who after the conquest of Sûrât 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 Muzaffar Khân, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jâgîr, should he find that the Mîrzâ showed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mîr Ma’qûm-i Kâbul rebelled in Bhâr. Joined by Bâhâ Khân Qâqâhâl, the rebels besieged Muzaffar Khân in Tândânâ and overpowered him. Mîrzâ Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muzaffar. But subsequently he became Ma’qûm’s enemy. One was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Ma’qûm at last bribed a boy of the name of Mahmûd, whom Mîrzâ Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mîrzâ Sharaf’s death took place in 988. He is wrongly called Sigfuddees in Stewart’s History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yu’suf Muhammad Khân, eldest son of Atgah Khân (No. 15).

He was Akbar’s foster brother (koksh or kûkal’tâsh). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bairâm (p. 317, l. 5) and was made Khân. When his father had been killed by Abdam Khân (No. 19), Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, ‘Azîz Kokah (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khân Zamân (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. Bud. II, p. 84.

19. Abdam Khân, son of Mâhum Anagah.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard. His mother Mâhum was one of Akbar’s nurses (amaghâ), 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 Muna’im Khân (No. 11), who after Bairâm’s fall had been appointed Vâkhân, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bairâm’s fall; Bud. II, p. 36.

Abdam Khân was a Panjakârdâ, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mânkoût. Bairâm Khân, in the third year, gave him Hatkânt’h, South-East of Akrah, as jâgîr, to

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1 Generally called in European histories Adam Khân; but his name is رضا, not رضا.

2 This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chagatai Dictionary. Missed by the printed editions of Badkhânî, Piriahtab, Khâﬁ Khân, &c., I put on p. 223 of my Text edition of the Alm, Mâhum Akrah, as if it was the name of a man. Vide Khâﬁ Khân 1, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

* The Maedir gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbar-nâmah.

* Hatkânt’h was held by Bajpûta of the Bhadauriah clan. Vide Beames’s edition of Elliot’s Glossary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word لاكرو is doubt-ful, though it is certainly not Lahore for the old spelling ‘Luhâwar, for ‘lahor,’ had ceased when the author of the Makhzan-i Afghân wrote. Besides, a place in Gwâlâr is meant, not far from the Sindh river. For جلا the two edi-
check the rebels of the Bhadauriyah clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bairám of partiality in bestowing bad jāgis upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyyahs. After Bairám’s fall, he was sent, in 988, together with Pir Muhammad Khán, to Málwah, defeated Báz Bahádur near Súrangpūr, and took possession of Bahádur’s treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Agrah, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Máhum 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 Máhum’s orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Agrah, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pir Muhammad governor of Málwah.

At Court, Adham met again Atgah Khán, whom both he and Mun’im Khán envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazán 969, when Mun’im Khán, Atgah Khán, and several other grandees, had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Agrah, Adham Khán with some followers, suddenly entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atgah 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 (aiwán) near the harem. “Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?” (bachah i liddah), 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 Khán, “bind this man.” This was done, and at Akbar’s orders Adham Khán was twice thrown down from the dais (guffah) of the Aiwán to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atgah were then sent to Díhil.

Máhum Anagah heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Díhil to Agrah. On seeing her, Akbar said, “He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life.” “Your Majesty has done well,” replied Máhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Díhil in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham’s brother, vide No. 60.

20. Pir Muhammad Khán of Shirwán.1

Nothing is known of his father. Pir Muhammad was a Mullá, and attached himself to Bairám in Qandahár. Through Bairám’s influence he was raised to the

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1 In my Text edition, p. 223, No. 30, dele ِ. Shirwán is also the birth-place of Khaqán. The spelling Shārwind given in the Mu’jam, does not appear to be usual.
dignity of Amír on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemú, and received subsequently the title of Naṣirulmulk. His pride offended the Chagátái nobles and, at last, Bairám himself, to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bairám subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaikh Gádí (vide p. 272) to the Fort of Biyánah, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujrát, Pír Muhammad received letters from Adham Khán (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantambhúr; but being pursued by Bairám's men, he continued his journey to Gujrát. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bairám's fall. Whilst in Gujrát, P. M. heard of Bairám's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khán. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khán to conquer Málwah, of which he was made sole governor after Adham's recall. In 969, he defeated Báz Bahádur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bijágarh from Í’úmad Khán, Báz Bahádur's general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mrázu Muhammad Sháh, sacked the capital Burhánpúr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Báz Bahádur and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Narbaddah, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.


His mother was Ji Ji 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 ‘Azíz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.”

On the removal of the Atgah Khail (p. 321, l. l.) from the Panjáb, he retained Dípálpúr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Farid i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pák Patan, or Patan i Panjáb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmadábád, Mrázu ‘Azíz was appointed governor of Gujrát as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Súrat. Muhammad Husain Mrízã and Sháh Mrízã, joined by Sher Khán Fúláli, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mrízã ‘Azíz and Qúthuddín. ‘Azíz then returned to Ahmadábád. When Akbar, on the 2nd Çafar 981, returned to Faithúr Sifrá, Ikhtiyárulmulk, a Gujrátí noble, occupied Ídar, and then moved against ‘Azíz in Ahmadábád. Muhammad Husain Mrízã also came from the Dák’hin, and after attacking Kambháýit (Cambay), they besieged Ahmadábád. ‘Azíz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels near Patan. During the fight Muhammad Husain Mrízã and Ikhtiyárulmulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. ‘Azíz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyárulmulk.

1 Akbar left Agrah on the 4th Bahá’ L., and attacked the Mrízãs 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 *Dágh* (Kín 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amírs. Mirzā 'Azíz especially shewed himself so disobedient, that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. 'Azíz remained unemployed till the 25th year, when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihár (*vide* Muzaffar Khán, No. 37). 'Azíz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of A'zam Khán, and was despatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihár. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kábul to Fatkhúr Síkri. During 'Azíz's absence from Bihár, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hájípúr, opposite Patna; and 'Azíz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihár, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyúldárs of Iláhábád, Audh, and Bihár, he occupied Garhf, the 'key' of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Ma'qúm i Kábul, and Majnán Khán Qásháh, 'Azíz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Ma'qúm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qatlú, a Lohání Afghan, who during these disturbances had occupied Orissa and a portion of Bengal. 'Azíz, however, took ill, and handing over the command to Sháháb Khán i Kambú, returned to his lands in Bihár. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Iláhábád, and was transferred to Garha and Ráisin (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. 'Azíz was appointed to the Dák'hiin; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shihábuddin Ahmad (No. 26) and other grandees, 'Azíz withdrew, plundered Ilíc'húpúr in Barár, and then retreated to Gujrat, where the Khán Khánán was (Briggs, II, 257).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murád married a daughter of M. 'Azíz. Towards the end of the 34th year, 'Azíz was appointed Governor of Gujrat in succession to the Khán Khánán. In the 36th year, he moved against Sultán Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jám and other zamindárs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnát and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Júnágárh also, the capital of the ruler of Súrat, submitted to him (5th Zí Qú'ðah 999), and Miýán Khán and Táj Khán, sons of Daulat Khán ibn i Amín Khán i Ghorí, joined the Mughuls. ‘Azíz gave both of them jágrírs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultán Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamíndár of Dwárká. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, followed by 'Azíz. There also the Zamíndárs submitted, and soon after delivered Sultán Muzaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought to the Mirzá 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. ‘Azíz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mirzá 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 Hijáz at Baláwal, a harbour town near Somnát,

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1 M. ‘Azíz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the 'Divine Faith.' He used to call Paizí and Abúlází "Usmán and 'Alí. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahángír, as related below.
accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, 'Abdullah, 'Abdullaśíf Murasz, 'Abdulghaffür), 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 Mirzá (M. Shamsul and M. Shádúmán).

M. 'Azís spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so 'fleececd,' that his attachment to Islám was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Baláwal, 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 Bihár, was made Vak'il in 1004, and received Múlún as Jágir.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Azfá. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzá, Bahádúr Khán, ruler of Khandes, ceded Azfá to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusrão married one of 'Azís's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mánu Singh and M. 'Azís were anxious to proclaim Khusrão successor; but the attempt failed, as Sháikh Farid ul Bukhári and others had proclaimed Jahángír before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mánu Singh left the Fort of Agra with Khusrão, in order to go to Bengál. 'Azís wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rajáh, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusrão's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salimah Sulúh Begum and other princesses of Akbar's Harem. Not long after, Khwájah Abul Hasan laid before Jahángír a letter written some years ago by 'Azís to Rajáh 'Alí Khán of Khandes, in which 'Azís had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahángír gave 'Azís 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. Jahángír deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahángír's reign (1017), M. 'Azís was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrát, his eldest son, Jahángír Qulí Khán, being his aśíb. In the 5th year, when matters did not go well in the Dák'hus, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahángír went to Ajmir, and appointed, at the request of 'Azís, Shábjahán to the command of the Dák'hus forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shábjahán did not like M. 'Azís on account of his partiality for Khusrão, and Mahábat Khán was despatched from Court to accompany 'Azís from Udaipúr to Agra. In the 9th year, 'Azís was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Qasíf Khán in the Fort of Gwáliár (Tuzuk, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed Atádúj to Prince Dáwar Bakhsh, who had been made Governor of Gujrát. M. 'Azís died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmadábád.

'Azís 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 Khusráwí woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Mawaránahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three'. Vide Iqbalnámah, p. 230.
Kokah means 'foster brother,' and is the same as the Turkish Kükaldah or Kükaltah.

Mîrzâ 'Azîz's sons. 1. Mîrzâ Shamsî (No. 103). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahângîr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahângîr Qâlî Khân.
3. Mîrzâ Khurrum (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jûnâghâhî Gujûrat, received the title of Kânil Khân under Jahângîr, and accompanied Prince Khurrum (Shâlûjâhân) to the Dâk'âhin.
4. Mîrzâ 'Abdullâh (No. 257) received under Jahângîr the title of Sardâr Khân. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwâlîâr.
5. Mîrzâ Anewar (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zain Khân Kokah (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commandships of Five and Two Thousand. Azîz's other sons have been mentioned above.

A sister of M. 'Azîz, Mûh Bûnû, was married to 'Abdurrahîm Khan Khânânâ. (No. 29.)

22. Baha'dur Khân'î n Shaiba'nî', (younger) brother of Khân Zamân. (No. 13.)

His real name is Muhammad Sa'id. 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 Qândahâr, 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 Qizilbashesh attacked Bahûdar, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mânkoût, Bahâdur, at the request of Bâirâm Khân, was pardoned, and received Multân as Jagîr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Mâlwa. After Bâirâm's fall, through the influence of Mâhum Anagah (vide p. 323), he was made Tukît, and was soon after appointed to Ijâwah (Sirkâr of Agra).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (vide p. 320). After his capture, Shâhûz Khân i Kambû (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad. III, 239).

23. Ra'jah Bihârî' Mall, son of Prit'hîrâj Kachhwâhâh.

In some historical MSS. he is called Bihârî Mall. There were two kinds of Kachhwâhas, Râjâwât and Saikhâwât, to the former of which Bihârî Mall belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Cûbah of Ajmûr. Though not so extensive as Mârwâr, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihârî Mall was the first Râjput that joined Akbar's Court. The flight of Humâyûn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Hájî Khân, a servant of Sher

1 The 'flight' of Humâyûn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul Historians. Authors generally use euphemisms, as da wadgîkah i ndiyûzîr, 'that unavoidable event,' or râhlât (departure); or âmadân i Sher Khân, the coming of Sher Khân (not Sher Shâh), &c.
Khán, had attacked Námaul, the jágir of Majnuín Khán Qásábál (No. 50), who happened
to be a friend of the Rájah’s. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement;
and Majnuín 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 (sáhar) 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 Chishtí at Ajmír, and at Kaláli, Chaghtá Khán reported to the Emperor, that
the Rájah had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafulddín Husain (No. 17), Governor
of Máwah, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojá, son of Púran
Mall, elder brother of the Rájah. Sharafulddín had also got hold of Jagnáth (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 Deosáh, 40 miles
cast of Jaipúr, Jaimáll, son of Rúpáí (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 Rúpáí. At Sankánír, at last, Bihári Mall with his whole family,
together 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 Bhagawant Dáí, and his grand-
son Kuywar 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 (Tabaqát).

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. Púran
Mall; 2. Rúpáí (No. 118); 3. Askaran (vide No. 174); 4. Jagmáll (No. 134). Bihári
Mall is said to have been younger than Púran Mall, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihári Mall were in Akbar’s service—1. Bhagwán Dáí (No. 27);
2. Jagmáll (No. 69); and 3. Sálhádí (No. 267).

24. Khán Jahan Husain Qulí Khán,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 jíská (Jálihndhar,
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 be cut off, which was sent all over Hindúsán. When it was brought to Itáwah,
Bhádúr Khán (No. 28) killed the foot soldiers (lawadchá) that carried it. Khán
Jahan had brought Bairám’s insignia from Mewáí to Akbar, and as he was a near

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1 The present Mahárájáh of Jaipúr is the 34th descendant; vide Selections
Government of India, No. LXV, 1869.

Amber was deserted in 1728, when Jai
Singh II. founded the modern Jaipúr.

2 Husain Qulí Beg. Madír.
relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Açaf Khán 'Abdulmajid, 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 Sharafuddín Husain (No. 17). Ajmír and Nágor were given him as tuyúl. He took the Fort of Jallúbír from Chandar Sen, son of Ráí Íádédeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Údái Singh during the siege of Chitór.

In the 13th year (976), he was transferred to the Panjáb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantánbúr.

In the 17th year, he was ordered to take Nagárkot, which had belonged to Rájáh Jai Chand. Badhání says (II, p. 161), that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Baj with a jágir. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budi Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khán Jahán, on his way, conquered Fort Kotláh, reached Nagárkot 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 Íbráhím Husain Mírzá and Mas'úd Mírzá had invaded the Panjáb. Khán Jahán therefore accepted a payment of five mans of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Maqád in front of Jai Chand’s palace in the Fort, and to have read the Khúfábah in Akbar’s name (Friday, middle of Shawwádl 980).

Accompanied by Ismáníl Qulí Khán and Mírzá Yúsuf Khán i Rizáwí (No. 35), Khán Jahán marched against the Mírzás, surprised them in the Pargahan of Talbanáh, 40 kos from Múltán, and defeated them. Íbráhím Husain Mírzá escaped to Múltán, but Mas'úd Husain and several other Mírzás of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981), when Akbar returned to Agrah after the conquest of Gujrát, he invited his Amir 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 India, 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'im 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 Bhágálpur, Khán Jahán was met by the Amírs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtáí nobles, he had, as Qizilbash, to contend with the same difficulties as Bairám Khán had had. He repulsed the Afgánás who had come up as far as Gárhi and Támád; 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 Afgánás. Khán Jahán complained of the wilful neglect of his Amírs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwájáh 'Abdulláh Naqshbandí, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muzaffár Khán, Governor of Bihár (No. 37) to collect his Jágírdár and join Khán Jahán (984). The fights near Ak Mahall were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junaid i Karráji.
Dádú's cousin,¹ which led to a general battle (15th Rabi‘ II, 984). The right wing of the Afgháns, commanded by Kálá Pahár, gave way, when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dádú was defeated by Khán Jahan. Dádú himself was captured and brought to Khán Jahan, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khán Jahan despatched Todar Mall to court, and moved to Sástgáw (Hágíl), where Dádú's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dádú's adherents under Jamábed and Mítí, and reannexed Sástgáw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghákhádanah,² to the Mughul empire. Dádú's mother came to Khán Jahan as a suppliant.

Soon after Malik Sáin, Rájah of Kách Bihár sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khán Jahan despatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dádú, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhátí,³ where the Afgháns had collected under Karím Dád, Ibáhirám, and the rich Zamíndár Ták (Iñ-Áx). With great difficulties Khán Jahan occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afgháns who had joined him together with Dádú's mother at Góa; and returned to Cihhatpur, a town which he had founded near Tándah. Soon after, he took ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwál 986).⁴

Abulází remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khán Jahan in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khán Jahan's son, Rizá Quí (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, Rahím Quí, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty, (No. 333). For Khán Jahan's brother vide No. 46.

25. Saíd Khá'n, son of Ya'qúb Beg, son of Ibáhirám Jábúq.

He is also called Saíd Khá'n i Chaghtáí. His family had long been serving under the Timúrides. His grandfather Ibáhirám Beg Jábúq was an Amir of Humáyún's and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His, son Yúsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpur by Jalál Khá'n (i. e., Salím Sháh), and killed. His other son also, Ya'qúb, Saíd's father, distinguished himself under Humáyún. According to the Táháqát, he was the son of the brother of Jahanír Quí Beg, governor of Bengal under Humáyún.

Saíd rose to the highest honors under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multán, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, atáíq of Prince Dányál. Some time after, he was made Cihhádár of the Panjáb, in supercession to Sháh Quí Muhírim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjáb had successfully complained. Saíd again was succeeded in the governorship by Rájah Bhagwán Dáa (No. 27), and received Sambhal as tayyí. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, and was made a

¹ The Ed. Bibl. I ndica of Baddáoni (II, 238) has by mistake cousin. Baddáoni says that the battle took place near Colóng (K'halgáw). ² This nickname of Sástgáw is evidently old. Even the word bulghákh (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the Túirkh i Firdús Sháhí, is scarcely ever met with in Historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.
³ For Bhátí, vide below under No. 32
commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Hājīpur (Patna) as successor to Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokhā (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Saʿīd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of Panjhaazārī. 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 Ghalz̨i rebelled in Tḥāth̨ah after the death of his father Mīrzā Jānī Bēg (No. 47), Saʿīd was appointed to Multān and Bhakhkār, 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. (Tusuk, 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 Chērz Ḵhōj. Saʿīd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1200. One of these Khwāja-SAARĀS, Hīlāl, joined afterwards Jahāngīr’s service; he built Hilālabād, six kos N. W. from Ṭāgrah, near Rānkaṭṭah, regarding which the Madāʾīr tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Iḵkiṭīyūr Khān was his Vakīl, and another, Ṭībār Khān, the Faujdar of his jāgīr. For Saʿīd’s brother, vide No. 70.

26. Shihāb Khān, a Suyyīd of Nishāpūr.

His full name is Shihābuddūn 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 Dīhlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhūm, turned from Sīkandrābād to Dīhlī to see his sick mother, Shihāb 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 Chaghātāi nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bairām’s disgrace.

As remarked on p. 321, Shihāb served in Máluh against ’Abdullah Khān.

In the 12th year (975), he was appointed Governor of Máluh, 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 Máluh; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrāt, as Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Ḥīmād 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 Gujrāt rebellion are known from the histories.

When Mīrzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihāb was attached to Qulī Khān

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1 If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Sīhšāt were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book, Cūbah of Bengal, and Tusuk i Jakāngīrī, pp. 72, 328.

2 Sīkandrābād (or Bīhīštābād), where Akbar’s tomb is, lies half way between Aḥraḥ and Rānkaṭṭah.
(Máliwah Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahroch (992), and received that district as tayl. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Máliwah, in succession to M. 'Azís Kokah (No. 21).

Shiháb died in Máliwah (Ujain, Tabaqat) in 999. His wife, Bábú Aghá was related to Akbar’s mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shiháb was Governor of Dihlí, he repaired the canal which Fírúz Sháh had cut from the Parganah of Khizrábd to Safídún; and called it Naẖr i Shihád. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Sháhjáhán, by the renowned Makramat Khán, and called Fais Naẖr, (20th year of Sháhjáhán). During the reign of Aurangzéb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (Avárupandád.)

27. Rajáh Bhagwa’n Dá’s, son of Rajáh Bihári Mall.

In the Histories we find the spellings Bhagwant, Bhagwán, and Bhagwed. He joined Akbar’s service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibrahim Husain Mirzá near Sarmál (Briggs, Sartál), he saved Akbar’s life. He also distinguished himself against the Ráná of Idar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwáhás had their taylás transferred to the Panjáb, Rajáh Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.’s daughter was married to Prince Salím, of which marriage Prince Khursáu 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 Yáusufzás. 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 Rajáh and his family were transferred to Biháí, Mán Singh taking the command of the province.

Rajáh Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Láhor, a short time after Rajáh Tódar Málí (No. 39). People say that on returning from Tódar Málí’s funeral, he had an attack of strangury, of which he died. He had the title of Ámír ul Umárd.

The Jámí ‘Masjid of Láhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, vide Nos. 30, 104, 336.


As he belonged to the Atgah Khail (vide p. 321), his tayl was in the Panjáb.

He founded several mosques, &c., at Láhor.

In the 9th year (973), Akbar sent him to Káfúl. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznín, his birth place. On the transfer of the ‘Atgah Khail’ from the Panjáb, Q. was appointed to Máliwah. After the conquest of Gújrát, he received as jágír the Sírkh of Bahroch (Broach), “which lies south of Ahmadábád, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddá near its mouth.” Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajááb, 987), he was appointed atálíq to Prince Salím, received a dáúp, and the title of Beglar Begl. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salím on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to

A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Timúrids.
Bahrain 'as far as Nazrbâr.' In the 28th year (991), Muzaffar of Gujrat tried to make himself independent. He 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 Zamindâr, Muzaffar went to Bahrain, occupied the Fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 kroes of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muzaffar had Q. murdered.

His son Naurang Khán served under Mîrzâ Khán Khánán (No. 29) in Gujrat (992), received a jagir in Malwah and subsequently in Gujrat. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the Tabaqât, which I consulted, contain the remark that Naurang Khán was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jûnâghâr.

His second son, Gujâr Khán, was a Haftzadi (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. 'Azam Khân Kokah (No. 21). He also had a tuyûl in Gujrat.

29. Khân Khánán' Mîrzâ Abdurrahîm, son of Bairâm Khán.

His mother was a daughter of Jamâl Khân of Mewât.¹ In 961, when Humâyûn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamindârs of the country, and after marrying the elder daughter of Jamâl Khán, he asked Bairâm Khán to marry the younger one.

M.'Abdurrahîm was born at Lâhor, 14th Çafar 964. When Bairâm Khán was murdered at Patan in Gujrat (p. 317), his camp was plundered by some Afghanis; but Muhammad Aûnî Diwânah and Bâbâ Zambûr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder, and bring them to Ahmadábâd, fighting on the road with the Afghan robbers. From Ahmadábâd, M.'Abdurrahîm was taken to Akbar (969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious couriers took charge of him. He gave him the title of Mîrzâ Khán, and married him subsequently to Mah Bânû, sister of M.'Azîz Kokah (No. 21).

In 981, M.'Abdurrahîm accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 325). In 984, M.'A. was appointed to Gujrat, Vazîr Khán having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made Mir 'Arz, and three years later, atâ'îq to Prince Salim. Soon after, he was sent against Sultân Muzaffar of Gujrat. Muzaffar, during the first Gujrat war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was committed to the charge of Mun'im Khán (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Sháh Manşûr the Diwân (No. 122). But Muzaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kâ'this of Jûnâghâr, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when I'timâd Khán was sent to Gujrat to relieve Shihábuddîn (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muzaffar, and the Gujrat rebellion commenced. Muzaffar took Ahmadábâd, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (vide Quibuddîn, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mîrzâ 'Abdurrahîm had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulî Khán and the Malwah

¹ He was the nephew of Hasan Khán of Mewât. (Bad. I, p. 361). In the fourth book of the Ain, Abulfazl says that the Khánzâds of Mewât were chiefly converted Jântâhâ Bâjípâta.
contingent, Dest Khán Lodí, M.'A.'s Mir Shamsáker, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khán Khánánship. M.'A. then attacked Muzafr and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkij, three kos from Ahmadábád. On the arrival of the Málwah contingent, M.'A. defeated Muzafr a second time near Nádot. Muzafr concealed himself in Rájáppolah.

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 Mirzá 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, Qulí 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 Bábar’s Chaghtái Memoirs (Wáqi‘át i Bábár).  

Towards the end of the same year he was appointed Váqíl, and received Jaunpúr as jagir; but in 999 his jagir was transferred to Multán, and he received orders to take Thát’ah (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwán, he took the Fort of Lak'hí, “which was considered the key of the country, just as Gañá is in Bengal and Bárámfálah in Kashmír.” After a great deal of fighting, Mirzá Jání Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thát’ah, 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 Mirzá Irích, 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 Thát’ah, and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jání Beg submitted and accompanied M.'A. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sultán Murád assembled, at Bahrooch (Broach), his troops for the conquest of the Dak'hín, Akbar despatched M.'A. to his assistance, giving him Bhilá as jagir. After delaying there for some time, M.'A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M.'A. wrote him that Rájah ‘Alí Khán of Khándes 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’tamiduddaulah Suhail Khán (Briggs, II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murád, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M.'A., Rájah ‘Alí Khán, and M. Sháhrúkh, therefore took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumáda II, 1005 from Sháhpúr, M.'A. met Suhail near the town of Ashtá, 12 kos from Pathrí. The fight was unusually severe. Rájah ‘Alí Khán with five of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs

1 Vide p. 105, last line.
2 Also called Siwísán, on the right bank of the Indus. Lak'hí (Lukkee) lies a little south of Sahwán.
3 The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Mańnawi by Mullá Shikhéh, whom Abúfázl mentions below among the poets of Akbar’s age.
4 Kháff Khán calls him Edjí ‘Alí Khán.
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 Sūpā, Firishtah) to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Daulat Khān who commanded M.'A.'s avant-garde, said to him, "It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds." "Do you forget Dihli?" asked M.'A. "If we keep up," replied Daulat Khān, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihlis; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qāsim of Bārha and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M.'A.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindustānis, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khān Khānān what he means to do." Daulat Khān 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 Bānū, M.'A.'s wife died.

In the 44th year, Prince Dānyāl 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 Bahādur ibn i Ibrāhīm, who had been set up as Nizām Shāh. Dānyāl was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dāndes,† and married to Jānā Begum, M.'A.'s daughter. The Khān Khānān was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shāh 'Alī, uncle of Murtaza, Nizām Shāh.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dak'hin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahangir (1017), M.'A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years, if he received a sufficient number of troops. Shāhāzādah Parviz, under the Aṭṭiqship of Aqāf Khān, Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodī, and others, were appointed to assist M.'A. He took the Prince in the rains from Burhnāpūr to Bālgāhāt; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Āmirs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M.'A. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonorable for Jahangir, who appointed Khān Jahān Lodī as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M.'A.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M.'A. received Kālpī and Qanaj as tasyūl, 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.

* The Sayyids of Bārha considered it their privilege to fight in the Hardawal, or vana. Vide No. 75.
† Abufazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishtah call the enemuh who murdered Chānd Bihār Dāndes or Dāndes. Briggs has Hamid Khān. For Nihang Khān, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnamah and the Maāsir have Abhang Khān. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishtah has Ahang Khān. The differences, moreover, between Abufazl and Firishtah in details are very remarkable.
* A combination of the words Dāndel and Khāndes.
In the 11th year (1025) Jahángir, at last, despatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Sháh. Jahángir himself fixed his residence at Mándú in Málwah, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Sháh Khurram selected Burhánpúr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shahnawáz Khán, M. 'A.'s son. 'A’díl Sháh and Qubulmulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahángir bestowed upon ‘A’díl Sháh the title of Farzand (son); and ‘Ambar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganahs of Báláq’hát which he had conquered. Sháh Khurram then appointed M. 'A. Çübahdár of Khándes, Barár, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shahnawáz Khán was appointed to Báláq’hát. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dák’hin, Sháh Khurram joined his father at Mándú, where new honors awaited him.

In the 15th year, Malik ‘Ambar ‘broke’ the treaty, and fell upon the Thánahdárás of the Mughuls. Dáráb Khán, M. ‘A.’s second son, retreated from Báláq’hát to Báláq’hát; and driven from there, he went to Burhánpúr, where he and his father were besieged. On Sháhjáhán’s approach, the besiegers dispersed. In the 17th year, (1031), Sháh ‘Abbás of Persia attacked Qandahár, and Sháhjáhán and ‘Abdurrahzm were called to Court, to take the command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwiz, through Núr Jahán’s influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahábat Khán had been raised to the dignity of Khán Khánán. Sháhjáhán rebelled, returned with M.‘A. to Mándú, and then moved to Burhánpúr. On the march thither, Sháhjáhán intercepted a letter which M.‘A. had secretly written to Mahábat Khán, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dáráb Khán, and sent him to Fort Asfr, but released them soon after on parole. Parwiz and Mahábat Khán had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbaddah to capture Sháhjáhán. Bairám Beg, an officer of Sháhjáhán’s, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperial forces from crossing. At M.‘A.’s advice, Sháhjáhán proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M.‘A. swear upon the Qurán not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwiz. Mahábat 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 Parwiz, and did not return to Sháhjáhán, who now fled from Burhánpúr, marching through Talingánah to Orissa and Bengal. Mahábat and M.‘A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptí. M.‘A. wrote to Rájáh Bhím, a principal courtier of the Daulatsháhi party, to tell Sháhjáhán, that he (M.‘A.) would do everything in his rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (as act wa izfah, i. e. his former contingent plus an increase in troops). He was also allowed a Qandah (vide p. 306), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Timúr. Jahángir 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 Fatehpúr Sikri), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Sháhjáhán’s head, distributing the whole (as nüdr) among the Audhrs.

1 “Since the time of Timúr no Prince had received this title.” Madisir. Sháh Khurram received subsequently the title of Sháhjáhán, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of Çübahdár (Qirda i Sánt) and Alá Haerat (الحالات). The last title had also been used by Sulaimán i Karará, King of Bengal. Aurangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of Alá Khánán. 2 He received the title of Sháhjáhán and was made Sháhjádár, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet)
power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rájah Bhím 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. Sháhjáhán then moved into Bengál and Bihár, of which he made Dáráb Kháñ, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahábat Kháñ had in the mean time returned to Ilhámábád to oppose Sháhjáhán, and had placed M.'A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahángír ordered Mahábat Kháñ to send M. 'A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jágr at Lábor, when Mahábat Kháñ followed him and sent him back to Dihlí. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahángír's person, and the return of the monarch from Kábul, Mahábat Kháñ had to fly. Núr Jahán now appointed M.'A. to follow up Mahábat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M.'A. took ill at Lábor, and on his arrival in Dihlí, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahángír's 21st year (1036). The words Kháñ Sipáhsáuládr ká (where is the Kháñ Commander) are the táríkh of his death.

M. 'A.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrát and Sind and the defeat of Suhail Kháñ of Bijnúr. During Jahángír'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 Abúlázíl, on one occasion, gave his fated that M.'A. was a rebel. Under Jahángír, he was the open friend of Malik 'Ambar, and Muhammad Ma'qúm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 'Ambar's correspondence in the possession of 'Abdurráhím of Lak'hnau (No. 107), who was much attached to M.'A. Mahábat Kháñ was appointed to enquire into this; but 'Abdurráhím of Lak'hnau 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 reports 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 Madsir i Rahim1 is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shews that he was the Mecenas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mír 'Alí Shér (vide p. 101, note 4.) M.'A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindí with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of Rahim.

Though his father had been a Shí'ah, M.'A. was a Sunní; but people said, he was a Shí'ah, but practised taqiyyah.2

M.'A.'s most faithful servant was Miyán Fahím. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rájút. He grew up with M.'A.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Firúz Kháñ

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2 Wherever Shí'ahs are in the minority, they practise, if necessary, taqiyyah (ذیک, pr. fear, caution), i. e., they do as if they were Sunnís. A Shí'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.
and 40 attendants in the fight with Mahábat Khán, who had imprisoned his master. M.'A. built him a tomb in Dihl, which is now called Nilah Burj, near Humáyrún’s tomb. (Aedraçanadd.)

M. 'A. outlived his four sons.

1. Mírzá Iríc (or Iríc, Shahnawáz Khán Bahádur (No. 255). When young he used to be called Khán Khánsá i jásán. 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 Jahángir 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. 370).

Two of his sons are mentioned in the Pádisíhánámah. 1. Mírzá Khán. He was Faujdar of Kángrah, and retired ‘foolishly’ from public life in Rabi’ II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (Pádisíhánámah II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkarshikán Khán. He got in 1047, a present of 4000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawáz Khán generally Shahnawáz Khán i Jahángirí, to distinguish him from Shahnawáz Khán i Chafawi, a grandee of Sháhjáhán.

3. Mírzá 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 (yarghámmát). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dák’hin, he wrote to Dáráb-Khán to move to Gáshí (N. W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dáráb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamíndárs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parvíz and Mahábat Khán, and as Jahángir had ‘no objections’, Mahábat 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, 'Abdulláh Khán had killed Dáráb’s son and a son of Shahnawáz Khán.

3. Mírzá Rahmán Dád. His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkot. Though very dissolute, he was most liked by his father. He died, at Báláspír, 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 saint Hazrat 'Ishá of Sindh. to M.'A. on a visit of condolence.

4. Mírzá Amrułázá. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. Ra'jah Ma'n Singh, son of Bhagwán Dás

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Ra'jah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27). European Historians say that he was the adopted son of Ra'jah 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 Mírzá Rájáh, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Farsand (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihári Mall (p. 329). In 984, he was appointed against Ráná Kiká, and gained, in 985, the great battle near Gognadah.² Ra'jah Rámsáh of

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² The best account of this battle is to be found in Radjóoni, who was an eye-witness. Bad. II. 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.
Gwáliar was killed with his sons, whilst the Ráná himself in the mêlée was wounded by Mún Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and recalled him.

When Bhágwán Días was appointed governor of the Panjáb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muhammad Hákím died, and M. S. was sent to Kábul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muhammad Hákím’s sons (M. Afráyáb and M. Kaígubád); 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 Rájáh Bîr Bâr, in the war with the Yusufzáis, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kábul, in supercession of Zain Khán Kokah (No. 34) and Hákím Abul Fath. He was also put in charge of Zábulistán, as Bhágwán Días 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 Bâjpúts and M. S.’s indifference to the Kábulís, and was appointed Governor of Bihár, to which province the tughúls of the Kachchhwáhs had been transferred.

After the death of Bhágwán Días in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of Khawar, received from Akbar the title of Rájáh and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihár he punished several refractory Zamindárs, as Púrán Mall and Bâjah Sing Rám, and received their tribute.

The principal events of Mún Singh’s life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart’s History of Bengal, (pp. 114 to 121). In the 35th year, M. S. invaded Orissa by way of Jhârkund (Chuttia Nâg-púr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Púrí. In the 37th year, when the Afgánás under Khwájah Sulaimán and Khwájah ‘Usmán attacked Púrí, M. S. again invaded Orissa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihli empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bháti (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnágar, or Rájmahall, at a place which Sher Shaikh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Sulmíngar, the Fort of Sherpúr Mureháh (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 Laçmí Narán, 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’horág’háht, when the Afgánás attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M. S.’s sons, into the Sundarban. In the 42nd year, M. S. had to send a detachment under Hijáz Khán into Kúch Bihár for the protection of Laçmí Narán. In the 44th year, M. S., at Akbar’s request, joined the Dák’hní war. Thinking that the Afgánás, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich Túlá of G’horág’háht, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmúr. 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 ‘Sáyid’ Khán (ميد خان) which occurs several times in Stewart, i.e., should be corrected to Saïd Khán (سيد خان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 331).

2 Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Orissa should make use of the Akbarnámah, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart.

3 He died in 1005.
Usmán used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperial near Bhadrak in Orissa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtás, and defeated the Afgánás near Sherpúr 'Atáf, a town of the Sîrkâr of Sharîfábâd, which extended from Bardwán to Path Singh, S. of Murshidábâd. 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. Shahrukh (vide p. 312) and M. ‘Aţîz 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. Jahângîr thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Râjah had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rahtás (Bihâr), after which he joined the emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahângîr’s reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. ‘Abdurrahmân (No. 29) in the Dakhîn war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J. ’s reign whilst in the Dakhîn. Sixty of his fifteen hundred widows burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bhâo Singh, regarding whose succession to the title vide Tuzuk i Jahângirî, p. 130.

The ground on which the Tâj at Agra stands, belongs to Mán Singh.

31. Muhammad Qui’ Khan Barla’s, a descendant of the Barmaqas(2).

He served under Humâyûn, and held Multân as jâgîr. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, he conveyed, together with Shamsuddin Atgah (No. 15) the princesses from Kâbul to India. His tuyûl was subsequently transferred to Nâgor. For a short time he was also Governor of Mâlwah.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Işkandar Khán Uzbâk (vide No. 48) in Audh. After the death of Khán Zamán, Işkandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muhammad Qui Khan as jâgîr.

He subsequently served under Mun’im Khán in Bihâr and Bengal. In the 19th year, when Dâûd had withdrawn to Sâtgânw (Hûglî), Mun’im Khán despatched M. Q. Kh. to follow up the Afgánás, whilst he remained with Râjah Todar Mall in Tândah to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khán arrived at Sâtgânw, Dâûd withdrew to Orissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khán nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sâtgânw, M. Q. Khán invaded the district of Jesar (Jesore), altogether impossible. The MSS. of the Madsir have Barantaq. In the beginning of the Akbarnâmah, Abulfazl says that this 8th ancestor of Timûr was the first that held the title of barla’s, which means the same as shujâ’, brave. Another Barla’s had been mentioned above on p. 206. An Amir Châktû Barla’s served with distinction under Timûr.
where Sarmad, a friend of Daiulī's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sittānw. Mumʾim Khān at last ordered Todar Mal to join M. Q. Khān, and subsequently, both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier, M. Q. Khān died at Mednāpūr (Midnapore), Ramnāzān, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his enuchs of foul play.

His son, Mīrzā Faridān Barlās (No. 227). He served under M. 'Abdurrahīm (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jánlī Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahāngīr, he was rapidly promoted, and, held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rānā Aurr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mīhr 'Ali Barlās was made by Jahāngīr a commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson Khān, sister’s son of Shāh Muhammad Saiful Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muhammad Khān. Saiful Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharkistān (a part of Khurāsān); but he had to submit to Tāhamsup (A. H. 940.)

Tarson Khān was in the service of Bairam Khān (No. 10), and joined Akbar, when Bairam fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him together with Háji Muhammad Sistānī (No. 55) to see Bairam, 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 Rājpūtānā, vide No. 44. In the 23rd year, he was made Faujūdar of Jaunpur, at the same time that Mulla Muhammad Yazdī (vide p. 180) was appointed Qāzilquzāt and Qadr of that Sirkāt. When the Jaunpur Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amirs moved to Bihār against Bahādur Khān and 'Arab Khān, who were joined by Mā'qūm Khān Farankhūdā (No. 167). In the 27th year, he served under M. 'Azīz Kōkah in Bihār. When the Qāshāls (No. 50) left Ma'qūm Khān and joined the Imperialists, M. 'Azīs sent T. Kh. to Ghorāgūlāt, where most of the Qāshāls had jāfīrs. T. Kh. stayed at Tājpūr (Dinagepore), settling matters, when Ma'qūm Khān came with a large army from Bhāṭī (Bhāṭī), and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tāndāh; 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 Abulfazl gives this spelling in the Akbarnamāh, and says it means lowland, (from the Hindūstānī पहाड़ी down the river), and extends nearly 400 kos from East to West, and 300 kos from N. S., from Thibet to the Ocean. It would thus include the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the 5th Report, p. 206, note, defines Bhāṭī as comprising the Sunderban and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hījīf, overflowed by the tide.

Tāk's father, according to Abulfazl, was a Rājpūt of the Bais clan; if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Saifīm Khān and Tāj Khān of Bengal, was killed, and his two sons, Tāk and Ismā'il were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Quībuddān Khān, Tāk's uncle, to Tūrān, and brought back. Tāk soon became the chief of Bhāṭī, and had twelve great zamindārs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abulfazl Mārzān i Bhāṭī, ruler of Bhāṭī. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with Tāk, the Vakil of Qutbūd Khān of Orijā, who ceded Pūrī to Mān Singh.
from Upper Bengal. Ma'qüm fled again to Bháti, and Shahbáz and T. Kh. planned an expedition against 'Tsá, who had afforded Ma'qüm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrpuër, which stands on the frontier of Bháti, took Sunbaránw, plundered Baktarápúr (?), where 'Tsá used to live, and nearly caught Ma'qüm. At this juncture, 'Tsá returned from an expedition to Kúch Bihár, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhówál (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'qüm Khán and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught, and killed by Ma'qüm (992). For a relation of his, vide No. 400.

33. Qiyá's Kha'ân Gung.

Qiyá is a Turkish word and means zub, ornament. Gung, if it is the Persian word, means 'dumb.' He served under Humáyûn, and held Kol Jaláli. On the approach of Humá, he joined Tárdi Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, and retreated with him. After Humá's defeat, Qiyá was sent to Agráh, and was raised to the dignity of a commander of Five Thousand. Several parganahs in Gwálíár having been given to him as tuyád, Qiyá Khán, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwálíár, which was held by Bhíl Khán, a general of Salmí Sháh, during whose reign Gwálíár had been the capital of the empire. Bhíl Khán, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished to hand it over for a consideration to Rájah Rámsáh, whose ancestors had held Gwálíár, when Qiyá Khán arrived, and after defeating the Rájah, prepared himself to besiege Bhíl Khán. When Akbar, in 966, came to Agráh, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyá, and Bhíl Khán submitted.

He was a friend of Bairám, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyá Khán joined Khán Zamá'n's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Mum'ín Khán.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Oriâsa, to settle matters. He remained in Oriâsa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Quíl Khán seized upon Oriâsa, and besieged Qiyá Khán in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989).1

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1 So the Madsir. The Sawádísíh says that Rájah Rámsáh had a large force of Rájpúts had come to besiege Gwálíár. Firsháh instead of Bhíl Khán (Akbar-nâmah, Sawádísíh, Badshóní) has Suháil Khán (?), and Iqbal Khán (?) for Qiyá Kha'n, vide Briggs, II, p. 194. The change from سهیل to بیل is not remarkable; but the alteration of چیتا to قیتا is more violent, as we have an additional ی and ی. How untrustworthy our printed editions are, may be seen from Kháfi Khán's List of Commanders of Five Thousand under Akbar (Ed. Bibl. Indica I, p. 237), where the native editors have given three wrong names among twelve, viz.,

F. 237, last line, for Amin Khán Kókk, read Zain Khán Kokkáh (No. 34). F. 238, l. 1, for Shujá' Khán, read Shujá'at Khán (No. 14).

F. 238, l. 2, for Râsûl Khán, read Tarson Khán (No. 32).

Moreover Kháfi Khán's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjha'ánas given in the Tabagát.

2 Several copies of the Tábagát which I have consulted, say that Qiyá Khán died in 984 (7).
Tardi Khan (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Danyal to the Dakhin, 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 Kha’n,1 son of Khwajah Maqqud of Harat.

His father, Khwajah Maqqud ‘Ali, was a servant of Akbar’s mother. The name of his mother was Pichah Ján Anagah; she was one of Akbar’s nurses. On Humayun’s flight to Persia, Maqqud was always near the hawdah of Akbar’s mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwajah Hasan (Zain Khan’s uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salim. She is the mother of Prince Parviz.

In 993, Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim, Akbar’s brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zabulistán. Zain Khan was at that time a commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yúsufzaís. This tribe, says Abulfazl, had formerly been in Qarábagh and Qandahár, and had invaded Kábul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghánat, and subsequently at Ishtaghár. For the last one hundred years, they had held the territory of Wajír, and were notorious robbers. In Wajír, there was also a tribe of the name of Sultání, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sultan Sikandar. The Yúsufzaís deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sultánídes, however, remained in Wajír from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muhammad Hakim, the chiefs of the Yúsufzaís submitted, and one of them, Kálí, went with Akbar to Agra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsuddín Kháji (No. 159) near Aţák, and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zain Khan moved into the District of Wajír (north of Pusháwar), and punished the Yúsufzaís. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jákdarah, 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 Rájáh Bîr Bâr and Hakim Abul Faith with some troops. Zain Khan asked them to attack the Afghanis, whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies, and they should hold the district. But Bîr Bâr and Hakim Abul Fath, who were no friends of Zain Khan, proposed that they should attack the Yúsufzaís 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 Karak). 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 Afghanis saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewah2 Balandrí (گریوئه بلندری), 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 Khan | Kokah.
2 Girewah means a hill.
chandwad), 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 Afgáns seeking death, when Jánish Bahádur (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 Afgáns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afgáns. The enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day they were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bhr Bar with 500 officers fell (vide p. 294).

In the 31st year (964), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghoris near Pasháwar, who under their chief Jaláluddín Raushání had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zábulístán vice Mán Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzais. 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 Bajigorah (بیجوره), where their district commences. During the festival of the 'Id i Qurbání (Bhr. Td in Zí Hajjah), he surprised the Afgáns, and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers. (Vide No. 46.)

In the 35th year, he was sent to punish several rebellious zamándárs in the Himályas. Most of them, as Rájah Budí (Badhl) Chand of Nagarkot (vide p. 330), Bái Pertáb of Mánkot, Rájah Parísrán of Mount Jamú, Rájah Bási of Mau, Bái Bálshadr of Lák'hinpúr, &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 'alaem and a naqqárak (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 Qulí 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 Jalál Khán Raushání the disturbances in Zábulístán came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Láhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhánpúr, 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 Qulí Khán (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

1 Such forts were called T'hánah, now the common word for a police station.

"T'hánah 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 T'hánah, and to despatch provisions (rasa'ad) to the next T'hánah." Pádhásháhdahmáh, I. p. 187.

How old the use of the word T'hánah is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribeni and Sáthnúw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.
A son of his, Shukrullah (No. 373), vide below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The Mūsāir mentions another son, Mughul Kūnn, who served under Jahāngīr and Shāhāb-ud-dīn (vide Pādshāhīn, II, p. 641), and died 19th Ramazān 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odīgīr in the Dak'īn, where the author of the Mūsāir later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, vide p. 328.

For Zain Khān’s brother, vide No. 38.

35. Mīrza ‘Yūsuf Khān, 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 Shahbāz Khān left Bihār for Bengal, M. Yūsuf Khān was sent from Audh to keep Bihār. In the 33rd year (995), when Qāsim Khān (No. 59) resigned, M. Y. was sent to Kashmir 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 Kashmir, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country. In the districts of Mararāj and Kamruj, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahlut river, he fixed the taxes at one-fourth.

In Kashmir every piece of ground is called patta, though a patta originally is equal to 1 Big’īh, 1 Bawrah (Ilābī) of Akbar. Two and a half patta and a little more are equal to 1 Kashmiri Big’īh. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some kharwār of shali. A kharwār is equal to 3 manṣa, 8 serṣ of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmir is the tark, which is equal to 8 serṣ of Akbar (vide p. 84, note 3). At the time of the Rabi’ crop, they take 2 tarka from each patta of wheat and vetches (māsh). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs kharwār, which was 2 lacs more than before, the kharwār being reckoned at 16 dāms. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmir to M. Y. Kh.

In the 36th year, one of M. Y. Kh.’s Mutuṣaddis (revenue clerks) fled to court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 per cent. (dakh-pānzdah) higher, and the kharwār should be valued at 28 dāms. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qāzī Nūrullah and Qāzī ‘Ali to Kashmir, to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Khān’s people assumed a threatening attitude, Nūrullah returned, and Akbar sent Hasan Beg Shāikh ‘Umarī (No. 167) to Kashmir. On his arrival, some of M. Y. Kh’s people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malcontents of the country, who collected under Yādgār, the son of M. Y. Kh’s uncle. The disturbances became so serious, that Qāzī ‘Ali and Hasan Beg returned to Hindūstān; but the rebels blockaded the roads, and killed Qāzī ‘Ali. Hasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yādgār then read the khufbā 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 Kashmir; but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M. Y. Kh. under the charge of Abūlīzl. Yādgār in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hīrāpūr, where some of M. Y. Kh’s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yādgār fled outside of the camp, accompanied by a servient of the name of Yūsuf. His camp was plundered, and M. Y. Kh.’s men got hold of Yūsuf, who had returned
to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yádgár was. Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M. Y. Kh. refused to remain in charge of Kashmir under the increased revenue, the country was made khardišah, and Shamsuddin Kháff (No. 169) was appointed Governor with 8,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salum’s request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dárogah of the Topkhanah, and received Jaunpúr as tugul, vice Qulij Khán (1002); but in the 41st year his jágir was transferred to Gujrat, to enable him to serve in the Dák’hin. In the following year, when Çádiq of Harát (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed atáliq to Prince Murád, whom he joined in Báláqpur (Baráz). After the death of Prince Murád (p. 309), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself together with Abulfażl in the Dák’hin wars, and later, under Prince Dánýád, in the conquest of Ahmadábád, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar’s Court at Búrhánpur, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dánýád, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abulfażl and the Khán-Khánání at Báláq’hit. But soon after, he died of asecess at Jalnápur1, in Jumáda II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sultánpur, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohifahs, whose wages he paid monthly.

1 His sons. 1. Mírzá Lashkarí Çáfihíkán Khán (No. 375). He was under Akbar Thánahdár of Bér (East of Ahmadnagar), and got from Jahángír the title of Cásár Khán, and a tugul in Bihár. In the 5th year (of Jahángír), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1600, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Çádiqí of Kashmir. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahábat Khán had died, he was sent towards Dihlí, to intercept Mahábat’s treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Sháh Jahán’s reign, he was made a Commander of 2500, and 2000 horse, received the title of Çáfihíkán Khán, and was again sent to Bér, 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 Lábor. He died in 1056.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Mánṣúbdár of Kábúl, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahángír a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Mírzá Ina’z (وعاش). He was a good Prose writer, and wrote a History of the World, entitled Chámán.

3. Mírzá Afdísín. ‘He lived with his brother.’ He was subsequently made Mutawallí of Síkandráh (Akbar’s tomb), where he died.

1 My copy of the Tabagd, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—‘At the time he was appointed to operate against Béjá, he died at Jannatábád in the Dák’hin, which is generally called Jánápur.’ It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabagd, which was finished in 1001 A. H., or nine years before M. Y. Khán’s death.
A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mir 'Abdullah, was under Sháhjáhán a Commander of 1500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharúrí, E. of Bhr, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Sháhjáhán.

II. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdí 'Qásim Khán.

The Ṵabagáṭ mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served first under M. 'Askari, Bábá's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghazánfar Kokáb (Ḡuzánfar). Humáyún, after the conquest of Gújrá, had appointed 'Askarí to Ahmadábád. One night, when half drunk, M. 'Askari said, “I am king and the shadow of God;” when Ghazánfar gently replied, “Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses,” at which all who were present laughed. 'Askarí got enraged, and imprisoned Ghazánfar; but he escaped, went to Sultán Bahádúr, king of Gújrá, who had retreated to Fort Dúi, and betrayed the plans of 'Askarí. Bahádúr thereupon collected an army, marched to Ahmadábád, and drove the Prince away (vide No. 12).

Mahdí Qásim Khán joined Humáyún on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, Abdul Majíd Aqá Khán (No. 40) had been ordered to pursue Khán Zamán (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Gárrha (Jabalpúr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Gárrha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpúr to Agra, and was ordered to capture 'Abdul Majíd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived at Gárrha, 'Abdul Majíd fled to Khán Zamán; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh. so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Gárrha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahár, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantambhúr, which Akbar besieged, and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present. Akbar pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lák'hnáu as tvery.

'Nothing else is known of him' (Madsír). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the Ṵabagáṭ was completed. Husain Khán Zukríya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Láhor, which was called Bágh i Mahdí Qásim Khán, vide Badóní II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahángír's Death).

37. Muzaffar Khán i Turbatí.

Turbat is the name of a tribe (ulúa) in Khurásán. His full name is Khwájah Muzaffár 'Ali Khán i Turbatí. He was Bárám's Diván. Bárám delegated him from Dílpúr to Sher Muhammad Divánahí (p. 317), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muzaffár, he pardoned him, and made him 'Amil (Collector) of the Parganah of Parsáróor. Subsequently Akbar made him Diván i Buyútí (Collector of the Imperial Stores, &c.), and at last Diván of the Empire, with the title of Muzaffár Khán (971). Rájah Todarmál was then

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under him. According to Badānī, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Ḍāijah was a better financier than Muzaffar, whose accession to office was honored by the short tārīkh ḫūs, ᵇḏīm (= 971), or ‘Tyrant.’

In the 11th year, he abolished the Jam’i Raqmī. This is the name of the assessment of the Dīlāh empire, which had existed since the time of Bairām; but the rent roll shewed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; ‘for, on account of the number of men (kusrāt i mardum, i.e. ḽājīr holders) and the unsettled state (qālī i ṣildāyat) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (bāndīm ēṣvidāk) for the sake of mere shew (bāndī masīd i ᵇṭāb).’ This Jam’i Raqmī was now abolished (vide Third Book, ʿĀfīn i Dāhsūdāh), and Muzaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Qānūngos. The new rent roll was called Jam’i Ḥāṣīl i Ḥāl, or the Roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352). As the Dāşār law (pp. 265, 266, and p. 242) did not then exist, Muzaffar Khān fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the Amāra and the Mullāsīmā (friends of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.†

In the 12th year, it was reported that Muzaffar loved a boy of the name of Qūṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muzaffar assumed the garb of a ḽājīr, 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 Sārat, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Ṣaḥrāngpūr in Mālwā, he was appointed Fakīr of the Empire, with the title of Ḫusnata Ṣulk. 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 Ḥaftās in South Bhār, he ordered Muzaffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (vide Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwājah Shamsuddīn Khāfī (No. 169), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Ḫajīpūr, of which the Afgāns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bhār, from Chaussā to Garhī. Soon after the taking of Ḫajīpūr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afgāns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghāndāk.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Shāh Ṣanqūr (No. 122) and Ḍāijah Todar Māl continued under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khān Jāhān (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal.

† The Māfsir says, he allowed the first class 48,000 ēsdām, the second 32,000 ēd., and the third 24,000 ēd. per annum. These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with p. 231. But what was the value of a ēsdām in those days? In the 60th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mughal, Afgān, or Hindī</td>
<td>Sihaspāhs, 1000 ē, per monēm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duaspāhs, 800 ē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yaksaspāhs, 600 ē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Class, Rājpūts, 800 ē.</td>
<td>1st Class, Rājpūts, 800 ē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ditto ditto, 800 ē.</td>
<td>(Akhārnāmah). But at that time 40 ēsdām were equal to 1 Akbāreshāhī Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the 25th year (988), Shâh Manṣûr subjected the Amîrs of Bihâr and Bengal to strict enquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his demands, Ma‘qûm i Kâbuli and several other grandees that held jâgîrs in Bihâr, rebelled. Muzaffar imitated Shâh Manṣûr’s policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bîbâ Khân Qâqshál and other Jâgirdârs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihâr 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 Qâsâ, had not Muzaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tândah, which, according to Badûnî, 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, Shârafuddîn Husein (No. 17) escaped from Muzaffar’s custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.’s miserable condition. They moved therefore against Tândah, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabî’ 1, 988’).

The Jâmi’ Masjid in Agra was built by Muzaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins which still go by the name of Nawâb Muzaffar Khân ki Masjid or Kâli Masjid. The Madsir says, it stood in the Katra Khân Mian Bâqî, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jâmi’ Masjid of Agra was built, in 1058, by Jahân Arâ Begum, Shâhjâhân’s daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the Mirât ul A’lam, his youngest daughter was married to Shâh Fathullah of Shiraz.

38. Saif Khâ’n Kokah, older brother of Zain Khân Kokah (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Saif Khân, 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 her 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 Khân was born.

Akbar was very fond of Saif Khân, and made him, though quite young, a Commander of Four Thousand. He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Sûrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Agra to Ahmadâbâd (p. 325), and was killed bravely fighting with Muhammad Husain Mirzâ.

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Saif Khân was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Agra, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amânullah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

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1 According to Badûnî (II. p. 282), Muzaffar capitulated, left the Fort, and was then captured and slain.
39. Rajah Todar Mall, a Khetri.

He was born at Lábor. The Madsirul Umard 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 Khán Zamán (vide No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrát he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an 'alam and a magádrah (p. 55), and was ordered to accompany Mun'im Khán to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dád Khán i Kararáñí, when Khán 'Alam (vide No. 68) had been killed, and Mun'im Khán's horse had run away, the Bajah held his ground bravely, and 'not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory.' "What harm," said Todar Mall, "if Khán 'Alam is dead; what fear, if the Khán Khánán has run away, the empire is ours!" After settling severally financial matters in Bengal and Orísá, Todar Mall went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khán Jahán (No. 24) went to Bengal, Todar Mall was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dád. 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 Gujrát, vice Vazír Khán (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Ahmadábád matters with Vazír Khán, Muzaffar Husain, at the instigation of Mihr 'Alí Gulábí, rebelled. Vazír Khán 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 Ahmadábád. Vazír Khán would have been lost in this battle, if Todar Mall had not come to his assistance. Muzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Júnágarh.

In the same year Todar Mall was appointed Vázír. When Akbar left Ajmír for the Panjáb, the house idols of the Bajah 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 Bihár by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todar Mall, Gádíq Khán, Taxon Khán, &c., from Fathpur Síkrí to Bihár. Mubíb 'Alí (No. 107), Governor of Rahtás, and Muhammad Ma'úm Khán i Farakhúdí (No. 167) were appointed Kvakás, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Bajah 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'úm i Kábúl, the Qáqehál, and Mirzá Sharafrúdín Husain, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungir, and Todar Mall, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungir, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humáyún Farníl and Tarkhán Díváníáh, 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, Bábá Khán Qáqehál died, and Jabári, son of Mánún Khán Qáqehál desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Ma'úm i Kábúl went to South Bihár, and 'Arab Bahádúr wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Páhár Khán (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Ma'úm i Farakhúdí to Patna, to assist Páhár Khán, Todar Mall and Gádíq Khán followed Ma'úm i Kábúl to
Bihár. Ma'qūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Çádiq Khán in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with Tsá Khán, Zaminád of Orísá. Todar Mall was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihár, as far as Garlí, was re-annexed to the Dihlú empire.

In the 27th year (990), Todar Mall was made Diván, or rather Vakil. 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 Ašl-i Jam'í Šáhí, which superseded Muzaffer's assessment (p. 349). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akbarnámah.

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 Hindú Muharrirs. 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 Hindús to compete for the highest honors—we saw on p. 341 that Mán Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand,—explain two facts, first, that before the end of the 18th century the Hindús had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadians; secondly, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the Urdú, which without the Hindús 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 Hindús, 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 Bír Bar (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yúsufzais, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mán Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmir, T. M. was left in charge of Láhor. 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 Hardwár, 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 (side No. 27, p. 333).

Though often accused of headstrongness 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 Abulfazl and Mán Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhárú (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khán Khánán (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 Hindi ṭ, ḍ, and ṭ, which
explains the spelling 'Torel Mall,' which we find in old Histories. Under Shâhjahân also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name 'Todar Mall.'

The Tafhlul 'Imrân' 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 Qasim Khan, of Nishâpûr.

The Madârî calls him Qâsim Muhammad Khân, and has put his name under the letter Q; but Abulfazl, Badâoni, and the Tabaqât give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nishâpûr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bairâm Khân. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sûr, and served as Harâmat, or leader of the van, under Khân Zamân (No. 13) in the battle with Hemû. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was sent against Hajji Khân, who had defeated Rânâ Udai Sing of Maiwâr, and taken possession of Nâgor and Ajmîr. Hajji Khân was an old servant of Sher Khân, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Hajji Khân's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrât. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nâgor and Ajmîr, which for a long time remained the South Western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bairâm's party, and joined the Chaghtâi nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsuddîn Atgâh's corps in the fight in which Bairâm was defeated (p. 317). After the victory, he received Multân as jâgrî.

He was next sent to Sârangpûr in Mâlwâh, 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 Khân Uzbak (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the Tabaqât, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sârangpûr.

41. Vazîr Khan, brother of 'Abdul Majid i Azaf Khân (I), of Harât (No. 49).

When Vâzîr Khân escaped with his brother (vide below No. 49) from Bahdûr Khân (No. 21), he fled to Karhû, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muzaffar Khân (No. 37), free pardon for himself and Azaf Khân.

In the 21st year, when 'Azîz Kokah (p. 326) had incurred Akbar's displeasure, V. Kh. was sent to Gujrât, to govern in 'Azîz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (sipahsîlîr) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Todar Mall (No. 39) to Gujrât, to take the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the same time, Mîhr 'Ali Gûlîbî, a friend of M. Ibrâhîm Husain, rebelled and set up as king Muzaffar Husain, Ibrâhîm's young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhîn. 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 Sir Chand, of the Government College of Agra, 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 gton, and may be Babington, or some similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.

45
mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Todar Mall’s bravery. When the Rájah left, Mír ‘Alí 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, Mír ‘Alí was killed by a bullet, and Muzaffar Husain 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 Mañúr of Shíráz (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’úm Khan sickness obliged ‘Azíz to return to Bihár, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Çúbábád should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qúlú Khán, ruler of Orísá, whom he defeated (vide p. 366). Qúlú, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orísá. V. Kh. returned to Tándhá, and applied himself, with the assistance of Çádíq Khán (No. 43) and Sháhábád Khán i Kámbú (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each cúbáb should, in future, be ruled by two ‘Amírs, and Vázír Khán was appointed Çúbábád of Bengal, with Muhíbb ‘Alí Khán (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 965, V. Kh. died.

Sháhábád Khán, who was Baksháhí of Bengal, allowed Mírzá Muhammad ‘Alí, V. Kh.’s son, to take command of his father’s contingent. But M. M. Çádíq 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 Hanswáh, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mír Murád imprisoned him with the assistance of the jágír-dárs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qúlú Khán.

He is called Andajántí, from Andajáień, a province of Fárghánah, south of the Sáhíbún. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timúrids. His grandfather was a noble at Súltán Husain Mírzá Báqi’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, Abúfázl says that the Fort had been built in 947 (1540-41, A. D.) by Çafár Aghá, alias Khudáwánd Khán, a Turkish slave of Súltán Mahmúd of Gujrat. The táríkh of its construction is characteristic (metre long Ramál).

4 May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firangi.

Qúlú Khán died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramazán 1023 (end of 1613, A. D.) at Pasháwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

2 The numbers added give 947. The last yd, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

3 So according to the Tuzük i Jahán-gírí (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 123, l. l.).

Mialed by bad MSS, I mentioned on p. 34, note, the year 1085 as the year of his death. The Mirátul ‘Alam and the Madeir give as táríkh of his death the Arabic words, Almántu jayn.
The Madsir and Badāoni (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of جانی قریشی; but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as Qarādāni, Farādāni, Faryādāni, &c.

The Madsir copies from the Zakhīrat al-khawādir the following story which is said to have taken place in 1000 A. H., when Jaunpūr was Q.'s jāgīr. 'Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupola-like 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 Sanskrit, whether Rām Chandr's avatār (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sīṭā; whether Krishnā's avatār had taken place at Mathurā; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to those 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.'

Qulij Khān's sons. 1. Mirzā Saiyid Qulij (No. 293), regarding whom vide below.

43. Cādīq Khān, son of Bāqir of Harāt.

Other Historians call him Cādīq Muhammad Khān. His father, Muhammad Bāqir, had been qādīr to Qarā Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurasān. Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Tahmāsp, and fled to India. Cādīq entered Bairān's service as Rīkdār (spur-holder), and got soon after a manaḥ, and was made, after Bairān's death, an Amīr. Badāoni (II, 290) alludes to his services under Humāyūn in Qandahār, and the Tabaqāt says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpūr. On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished through C.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jāgīr, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhatā (Bhātā G'horā, or Bandah-Bewah), to get another elephant. After passing over 'the heights and the low places' of fortune, Cādīq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with
100 elephants, and was restored to favor. He was made governor of Garha, vice Bāi Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Č., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rājā Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Č. saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Karharā (करहरा), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthārā, close to which Undehā lay, Madhukar’s residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rām Sāh. Another son of his, Horal Deo (Horal Rāo), and about 200 Rājpūts were killed. Č. remained encamped in the Rājā’s territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rām Chand, a relation of his, to Akbar at Bāhirāh, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramāznān, 986, Č. with the penitent Rājā arrived at Court.

Soon after, Č.’s aqādā 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 ‘Aziz Kokah (No. 21), Č. and Muhibb ‘Ali Khān (No. 107) defeated Khābitah, one of Mā‘ūm’s officers, on the Ghandak near Hājiāpur, 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 Mīrzā Kokah, who had again left for Bihār.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vāds Khān (No. 41), who at a place six kōs from Bardwān was treating with Qutlū. Through Č.’s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlū in the possession of Oṛisū. Č. then returned to his tugāl at Patna.

When Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bhāṭ, the tugāl dārs of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him. Č., however, was no friend of Shahbāz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Č.’s elephant ran against Shahbāz, who believed the accident premeditated; and Akbar sent Khwājah Sulaimān (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihār; but Č., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shahbāz went from Bihār to Bengal, Č. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān.

When the Raushāns in the District of Mount Terāh (तेरघ), “which lies west of Pushtawar, and is 32 kōs long, and 12 kōs broad,” commenced disturbances, Č., in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zain Khān (No. 34) from Waqījūr, Č. was sent there, to subjugate the Yūsafzais.

In the 36th year, Prince Murād was sent from Mālwa to Gujrat, and as Īsmā‘īl Qull Khān (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as Vākī, Č. was appointed atāły to

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1 Khābitah (خبيطه) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Mā‘ūm i Kābul from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In Boddoni (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 310,) he is called Khābistah Bahādur (خبيطه) and Khastah (خسته) in my MS. of the Tabāqāt, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

2 The spelling Qutlū if perhaps preferable to Qutlū, if this name is a shortened form of Qutlugh.
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, Č. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Baráır.

In the beginning of the 41st year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Sarókwár Khán, and made much booty. He was then made governor of Sháhpúr, which town Prince Murád had founded six kos from Bálápúr.

Čádix died at Sháhpúr in the beginning of 1005. At Dholpúr, which lies 20 kos from Agra, near the left bank of the Chambal river, Č. 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 Kháds, and, on the accession of Jahángír, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Dost Muhammad (No. 287). 3. Yár Muhammad (No. 288). Neither of them was alive at the time of Shájháhn. Madír.

44. Rai Ráisingh, son of Rai Kalyán Mall (No. 93).

Rai Singh belonged to the Ráths of Bikanír, and is the fourth descendant from Rái Mánde. His father, Kalyán Mall, was a friend of Bairám (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmír, 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.

Rai 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 Díli territory; but Ibráhím, after his defeat at Sarál, invaded Akbar’s territory, and besieged Nágór, which at that time was the tuyúl of Khán i Kalán (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khán (p. 322). R. came to his relief, and the Mírzá 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 Mírzá (p. 325).

In the 19th year, R. and Sháh Qull Mahram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Súr, son of Rájah Mál Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwánáh, Chandr Súr’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 Társon Muhammad Khán (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamindárs of Jálor and Sárohí; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Háshím of Bárhah (No. 143) garrisoned Nádot to watch the Rákh of Udaipúr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltán Deodah, the zamindár of Sárohí, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sárohí and besieged their own, and appointed their Vástr, their Dívás, Bákkhás, &c. The appointment of the Vakil, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.
it. During the siege, R. called his family to his camp; but Saltán Deodāh fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abúgār. R. in the meantime took Sarohi, and hastened to Abúgār, which Saltán surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltán to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, 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 tuyu’darās to the Panjáb. In the 28th year, he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year, R. and Ismá‘īl Qulí Khán (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 Bīkānr, 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 Bahásh 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 Bahásh 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 darbārs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Súrat, with the order to assist in the Dak’hin wars. R., however, delayed in Bīkānr, 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 darbārs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abúfazl to Násik; but as his son Dalpat (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bīkānr (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 Ráná of Udaípúr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jāhángir, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor

1 Abúgār is a fort near Sarohi, and not far from the frontier between Gujrat and Ajmir. Abúfazl says in the Akbar-námah (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abúgār was Arbudá Achkál. Arbudá being the name of a spirit who, disguised as a female, shews wanderers the way, and achkál meaning mount ain. 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 Sawdnik and the Akbar-námah have Sultán Deodáh (سلاطین دودھ) for Saltán Deodáh (سلاطین دودھ) of the Madár.

* For Dalpat, the Tuzuk i Jákángrí (pp. 36, 106, and 126) has wrong Dalip. The Tuzuk and the second volume of the Pádiasháhnámah Ed. Édit. Indica, p. 635) have Súraj Singh, for Súr Singh, and the latter calls him a Dánhari, perhaps a blunder of the native Editores. But the Madár and the first volume of the Pádiasháhnámah have Súr Singh (pp. 297, 302, at the end of the first decade.)
set out for the Panjáb to pursue Khusrau, R. was put in charge of the travelling kāren; but on the road he left without order and went to Bīkānīr. In the second year, when Jahāṅgīr returned from Kābul, R., at the advice of Sharīf Khān, presented himself before the emperor with a falsuṭāh round his neck, to show his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned. He died in 1021.

His sons. 1. Dalpat (No. 283). 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 46th year, when Akbar was in the Dak’hin, Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, in consequence of his differences with Khwāja Fathullah, had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bīkānīr and created disturbances. In the 48th 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 Jahāṅgīr’s reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khān Jahān Lodi he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dak’hin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of Rdo, although his younger brother (by another mother), Sūr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Bāi Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Sūr Singh, however, disgusted Jahāṅgīr by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam i Čaļawī (No. 8), the governor of Sind. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahāṅgīr that Sūr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Ḥijār. Ḥāshim, the Faujdār of that Sirkār, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat’s son, Mahes Dēś, and grandson, Ratan, vide Pādisahānmah, pp. 635, 723; 684, 729.

2. Sūr Singh. After the death of his brother he rose to favor. In Histories he is generally called Rdo Sūr Singh, a title which he received from Shāhjahān. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sāl, the former of whom inherited the title of Rdo (vide Pādisahānmah II, p. 727).

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Shāh Qu’lī Mahram i Bahārī."u2002 They also caught Hemū’s father alive, and brought him to Pir Muhammad, who asked him to embrace Islam. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pir Mī. returned to Akbar. 2 Sawādīk from the Akbārīmāh.

1 Before the end of the first year, Pir Muhammad was despatched against Háj Khān in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sirkār of Alwar as far as Deolī Bājad [or Sākhārī], the birth-place of Hemū, and performed many brave deeds.

2 Soon after, before the end of the first year, they also caught Hemū’s father alive, and brought him to Pir Muhammad, who asked him to embrace Islam. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pir Mī. returned to Akbar. 2 Sawādīk from the Akbārīmāh.
year. Sh. Q. served with Muhammad Qásim Khán (No. 49) against Hájí Khán in Nágör and Ajmír.

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 Qubúl Khán; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,7 Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogí, and went into the forests. Bairám treated 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 Tilwárah (p. 317).

After Bairám's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amir. In the 20th year, when Khán Jahán (No. 24) 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 (mażúhí). From this circumstance, he was everywhere called Mahrum,8 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 Bahá (Jhelum) near Rasúlpúr, 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 Rájús of Shaikháwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewá to Rewá; 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 Tabagát says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Agrah 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 Qulí Khán, brother of Khán Jahán (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jálindhar (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 Balúchis (vide No. 44). On his arrival in Balúchistán, the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Gháuí Khán Wajhiyah and Ibráhím Khán, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwán 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 Makkáh. He begged hard

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1 For similar examples, vide p. 319, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 349.

2 Or Muhrim.
to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yúsufzais.

At that time epidemics were raging in Waijúr, and the chiefs of the Yúsufzais came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zain Khán (No. 34), governor of Zábulistán, pressed hard upon Jalálah Raushání, who had left Teráh and entered Waijúr. Zain Khán therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Čádiq Khán (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalálah, annoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Thánahdár of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalálah to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrát. In the 38th year, when Prince Murád had been made Governor of Máłwah, I. Q. was appointed his atáliq or Vakil; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Čádiq Khán having been appointed in his stead.

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kálpí, to look after his jágfr. In the 42nd year (1005), 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. Ibráhím Qulí (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Sálím Qulí (No. 367), and 3. Khádí Qulí (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.

47. Mírzá 'Já'ni' Beg, ruler of Táhtah.

He belonged to the Arghún clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khán. Abúfázal in the Akbarnámah gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khán.
Tóli Khan.

Qáán.)
Hulágh Khán (the brother of Mungó.

Abágh (or, Abághá) Khán, d. 663.

Arghún Khán, d. 690.

Four generations intervening.

Atkú Timur.

Shankal Beg Tárkhán.

Several generations not known.

'Abdulláliq Tárkhán.

Of his ancestors, Atkú Timur had been killed in the war with Tuqamish Khán, and the Emperor Timur took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a Tarhhán (vide the note at the end of this biography).

Mírzá 'Abdul 'Alí, fourth ancestor of M. Jání Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sultán Mahmúd, son of M. Abú Su'ád, and received the government of Bukhárá. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Sháhábání Khán Uzbek; only his sixth son, M. Muhammad Tašá, escaped. The Arghún clan in Bukhárá, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurasán, where they attached themselves to Mir Zul-nún Beg Arghún, who was the Amírul-
Mírzá 'Abdúl 'Ali Tarkhán.

M. Muhammad Tsá Tarkhán, d. 975.

M. Muhammad Báqí Tarkhán, d. 993.

Mírzá Páyandah Muhammad Tarkhán.

Mírzá Jáni Beg Tarkhán.

Mírzá Gházi Beg Tarkhán.

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 Ján Nizánnudín (generally called in Histories Ján Nándí), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abulfázl below in the Third Book, (Cábash 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 Bábáar. A short time before his death, which took place in 930,¹ he invaded Multán, then in the hands of the Langáhs.

Sháh Beg Arghún was succeeded by his son Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, who took Multán from Sultán Husain Langáh (vide Third Book, Cúbah 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 Bákhar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mírzá Muhammad 'Tsá, third ancestor of M. Jáni Beg, as their chief. M. Sháh Husain, assisted by his foster brother, Sultán Mahmúd, Governor of Bákhar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and cede a large part of Sindh to M. 'Tsá. On Sháh Husain’s death, in 963, the whole country fell to 'Tsá.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghúnns came to the throne of That’bah. 'Tsá died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muhammad Báqí, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Jáni Bábú. 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. Jáni Beg, the son of M. Páyandah.

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjáb, M. Jáni Beg had shewn no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th 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 Bákhar being the tuyát of the Khán Khánán, he did not move into Qandahár by way of Gáshnán and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jágir. In the meantime the conquest of That’bah had been determined upon at Court, and the Khán Khánán set

¹ Sháh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bábáar. He wrote a Commentary to the well known Arabic grammar Káfiyáh (شرح كوفي) and commentaries to the Majdídí, and the 'Aqád i Naasí (شرح عقيد ناصي).
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 Khan Khán Khán, he paid his respects to Akbar at Láhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Cubah of Multán as tawild, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Sháhrúkh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghán clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new tawild, 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 Sind. Láhori Bandar, however, became káličah, and the Sirká of Siwistán which had formerly paid peskhásh, 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 Abulází has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though none much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excess; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (sarsdám), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhánpur in the Dák’hind, after the conquest of Asir.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Asir, 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 takhallus of Hálímd.

Mirzá Gházi 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 Mirzá Isá Tarkhán, son of Mirzá Ján Babá (brother of M. Muhammad Bég, grandfather of M. Jání Beg); but Kusruá Khan Chirgí, an old servant of the Arghán and Vakil of his father, espoused his cause, and M. Isá Tarkhán fled from Sind. The army which M. Gházi Beg and Khusrua Khán had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Sa’d Khán (No. 25) and his son Sa’dulláh to Bhakkár, and M. Gházi Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sind.

After the accession of Jahángír, M. Gházi Beg received Multán in addition to Sind, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahár (Tzarík p. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Hussin Khán Shámlú, the Persian Governor of Harát. He also received the title of Farzand (son). Sháh ‘Abdá of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several khiláts.

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1 Here follows in the *Mádsír ul Umár* a description of Sindih taken from the Third Book of the Kín, concluding with the following remark:—

2 At present (when the author of the *Mádsír* wrote), the whole of Sind is under Khúsá Yár Khán Latf (७०६). From a long time he had farmed (ydráh kard) the Cubah of That hab, and the Sírkára of Siwistán and Bhakkár. Subsequently when the districts on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nádir Sháh, Khúsá Yár Khán administered them for Nádir Sháh. 3 Sa’dulláh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 332. He received the title of Návedísh Khán in 1020; vide *Tzarákh*, pp. 34, 96.
He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018, the word Ghází being the Tárikh of his death. Suspicion attaches to Lutfullah, his Vakil and son of Khusrau Khán Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghází does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the takhallus of Vagárdí, which he had bought of a Qandahár poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Ţálibí of Amul, Mullá Murshidí i Yazdjírdí, Mír Námátullah Váqíl, Mullá Asad Qúşúkhánwán, and especially Fughúrfúí of Gilán enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for dakhí (vide p. 102, note 6). In his private life, M. Ghází 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 That’lah are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzá.

Note on the meaning of the title of ‘Tarkhán.’

Abulfazl, in the Akbarnámah (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 Khán conferred it on Qishlíq and Bátá 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 (taklýf i bár). Chingiz Khán, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timur, a Tarkhán 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 Tarkhán had seven distinctions and privileges—1. a tablí; 2. a támástogh; 3. a naqqárah; 4. he can confer on two of his men a qushín togh, or chatr togh; 5. his Qur (p. 109) was carried (qu’ir i ú níz bardárrand). Among the Mughals no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (quyr) 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

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1 So the Madásir. The Tuzuk (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghází in the 7th year of Jahángír’s reign, 1021.

After M. Ghází Beg’s death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhán, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (vide p. 314).

Khusrau Chirgís tried to set up some Abdúl ‘Ali Tarkhán, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahángír bestowed his favours on Mirzá ‘Isá Tarkhán, son of M. Ján Bábé (uncle of M. Jání Beg). He rose to the highest honors under Sháhjáhán, and died more than hundred years old, in 1062, at Sumbhár. He had four sons—1. Mirzá Ináyatullah, who died in the 21st year of Sháhjáhán; 2. Mirzá Muhammad Çábí, who played some part during Aurangzeb’s war with Dárá Shíkh; 3. Fathullah; 4. M. Asgíl. Mirzá Bihránz, M. Muhammad Çábí’s son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Sháhjáhán.

* Nine was looked upon as an important number by the Mughals. Thus kings received nine presents, or the present consisted of nine pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghtáí tuqús (or tüqús, or tuqús), nine, came to mean a present, in which sense it occurs in the Páddusháhmánah and the ‘Alamgirnámah, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as haft tuqús párzák, ‘a present of seven pieces of cloth.’

* Vide p. 50.
belonged. In the statehall the Amirs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (kamdsuwar).

When Tughluq Timur conferred this title upon an Amir, he put all financial matters (ddd o sitad) 'as far as a Hazâri' (?) 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 Tarkhân had to answer for blood shed by him (pdâsr i khân), 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 Bariâs clan (vide p. 341, note), and the sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkiwat (ارکیوت) 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 Khwâjah in making Mîr Khudâdád a Tarkhán, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (tâl), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the yâsdwal (chief mace bearer) of the king is on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarkhân 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 Tarkhân from the left. 3. The Tarkhân’s seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to 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 Kha’ñ, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humâyûn who on his return to India made him a Kâda. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Agra. On Humâyûn’s approach, he left Agra, and joined Târîf Beg at Dhilli. Both opposed Humâyûn, Iskandar commanding the left wing (jâranghâr). His wing defeated the right wing (kurunghâr) and the van (hardawal) of Humâyûn, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favor of the Imperialists, when Humâyûn with his whole force broke upon Târîf Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khân Zamán (No. 13) against Humâyûn, and received after the battle for his bravery the title of Khân ‘A’lam.

As Khizr Khwâjah Khân,* the Governor of the Panjáb, had retreated before Sâkandar Khân Sûr, and fortified himself in Lâhôr, leaving the country to the Afgânûn, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyâlkoṭ and assist Khizr Khwâjah.

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1 The MSS. call him ملاً کے ملا، with every variety of diacritical points.
2 Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulistan; but according to the Tābâqât from the kings of Kâshgâr. He was a grandee of Humâyûn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. Askari in Qandahâr, when Humâyûn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwâjah threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humâyûn’s tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favor, was made Amâr ul Umâr, and married Gulbadan Begum, H.’s sister. When Akbar marched against
Afterwards he received Audh as tuyūl. 'From want of occupation,' he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khān (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khān Zāmān (No. 13). Together with Bahādur Khān (No. 22), he occupied Khairūbād (Audh), and attacked Mīr Muṣīzulmulk (No. 61). Bahādur 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 Khān Zāmān and Bahādur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Mūhammad Qul Khān Bārāīs (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khān Zāmān and Bahādur had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorākhpūr, which then belonged to Sulaimān, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bāyazīd, Sulaimān’s son, over Jhārkand to Orīsā. After Sulaimān’s return from the conquest of Orīsā, Isk.’s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaimān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghāns waited for a favorable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Mūnīm Khān, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sīrkār of Lakhnāw as tuyūl, and died there in the following year (1980).

49. ʿAʾṣaf Khān ʿAbdul Mājīd (of Harāt), a descendant of Shaikh Abū Bakr i Tāibādī.

His brother Vazir Khān has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr i Tāibādī was a saint (ṣāhib kānādī) at the time of Timur. When Timur, in 782, set out for the conquest of Harāt, which was in the hands of Malik Ghīāsuddīn, he sent, on his arrival at Tāibād, 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

Hemū. Khizr Khān was made Governor of the Panjāb and ordered to operate against Sīkandar Sūr, who during Humāyūn’s lifetime had retreated to the Sawālīks. Leaving Háj Khān Sīstānī in Lāhōr, Khizr Khān moved against Sīkandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. جمیر. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre; but Sīkandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Lāhōr. Sīkandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself had to move against him. Finding Akbar’s army too strong, Sīkandar shut himself up in Mānḵōt. After a siege of six months, Sīkandar bribed Shamsuddīn Aṭābādī (No. 18) and Mīr Muḥammad (No. 20), who prevailed upon Akbar to pardon him. Sīkandar sent his son ʿAbdurrahmān with some elephants as penkhāsh, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihār as tuyūl (vide p. 319, l. 10 from below). Mānḵōt surrendered on the 27th Ramazān 964. Sīkandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abūlfaqīl has not entered Khizr Khān in the list of Grandees. His name is given in the Tahāqāt. Similarly Khwājī Muḥāzin and Mīr Shāh Abūlmaʿālī are left out. For Kh. ’s son vide No. 153.

1 On Sulaimān’s return from Orīsā, he appointed Khān Jalān Lodhī, his Amir ul Umārā, Governor of Orīsā. Qutb Khān, who subsequently made king of Orīsā, was then Governor of Pūrī (Jaggarnath.) Bed. 11, 174.

2 He died A. H. 791. His biography is given in Jāmī’s Nafrāt ul Uns. Taibād belongs to Jāmī Khurāsān.
Shaikh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghias. "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 derelices; 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 Majíd was a Grandee of Humáyún, whom he served as Díwán. 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 Aqáf Khán, regarding which vide the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Aqáf was appointed Governor of Dihlí, 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 Chanád (Chunnar), A., in concert with Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaşah-Mánikpúr on the Ganges. About the same time, Gházi Khán Tanurí, an Afgán noble who had for a time been in Akbar's service, fled to Bhát'h Ghorá, and stirred up the Zamindárs against Akbar. A., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rájah Rám Chand, the ruler of Bhát'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, shot 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 Gadhá-Katangáh,2 or Gondwánálá, south of Bhát'h, which was then governed by Durgáwati,3 the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bir Sáh, at the conquest of Chaurágháth (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 Qásbál (No. 50) in Mánikpúr, 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 Gadhá spoils.

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1 Abulfazl, in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnámah, says that 'Alád-dín-i-Khiljí besieged Bándhú in vain.
2 Gadhá (Gurh, Gurháh, Gurra) lies close to Jabalpúr in Central India. Katangáh 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. 1897, Pl. LVII; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpúr and Gadhá, about Lat. 23030', as on the Map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Malwa; but both are called on the maps Katangáh. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gadhá-Katangáh. Abulfazl says, it had an extent of 160 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 Gadhá-Katangáh are generally called the Gadhá-Mandlá Rájahs. Mandlá lies S. E. of Jabalpúr, on the right side of the Narbáddah.

He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture, the imperial Mutaqaddás, 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 Gujía (Cafar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdi Qasim Khan (No. 36) to Gañhá. A. then left Central India 'with a sorrowful heart,' and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khan Zamán at Jaunpúr. But he soon saw that Khan Zamán only wanted his wealth and watched for a favorable moment to kill him. A. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khan Zamán had sent his brother Bahádur (No. 22) against the Afghán, and A. was to accompany him. Vazir Khán, whom Khan Zamán had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mutínpúr, which A. had appointed as place of rendez-vous. No sooner had A. escaped than Bahádur followed him up, defeated his men, and took A. prisoner. Bahádur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazir Khán fell over Bahádur. Bahádur made some one a sign to kill A., who sat fette-red on an elephant, and A. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazírin time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Kañah, and asked Muzaffár Khán (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muzaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjáb, he took Vazir with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. A. was ordered to join Majnún Qásahál at Kañah-Máñikpúr. His bravery in the last struggle with Khan Zamán induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyálg as tajul, vice Hájí Muhammad Sístání (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against Ráná Udai Singh. A. was sent in advance (mánqál). In the middle of Rabí I, 976, Akbar left Agrah for Chístor. The Ráná had commissioned Jai Mall, who had formerly been in Mirí'ha, 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 Shá'bán, 975, the fort fell A. was made Governor of Chístor.

Neither the Múddir, nor the Ŕubáqút, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Açáf Khán was bestowed upon another noble. ¹

Note on the Title of ‘Açáf Khán.’

Açáf was the name of the Vazir of Sulaimán (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badáoní, to avoid confusion, numbers them Açáf Khán I., II., and III. They are—

'Abdul Majíd, Açáf Khán I., d. before 981. (No. 49).
Khvájah Mirzá Ghíasuddín 'Ali, Açáf Khán II., d. 999. (No. 126).
Mirzá Ja'far Beg, Açáf Khán III., (No. 98).

¹ Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, 'Abdul Majíd Açáf Khán officiated in 1013 for Mán Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Fariduddín i Bakhání [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahángír.
The three Aqafs were Diwáns or Mír Bakshís. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will shew:

Aghá Mullá Dáwátdár.


Aqaf Khán II.

Míráz Núruddín. A daughter Míráz Ja’far Beg.

Aqaf Khán III.

Muntáž Mahall, (Sháhjahán’s wife).

Jahángír conferred the title of ‘Aqaf Khán’ (IV.) on Abúl Hasan, elder brother of Núr Jháán, and father of Muntáž Mahall (or Táj Bihš Sháhjahán’s wife), whose mother was a daughter of Aqaf Khán II. During the reign of Sháhjahán when titles containing the word Dowlaḥ were revived, Aqaf Khán was changed to Aqafuddauladoh, and this title was conferred on Aqafuddauladoh Jumálatul Mulk Asadjang (Sháhjahán-Aurangzéb), a relation of Aqaf Khán IV. Under Ahmad Sháh, lastly, we find Aqafuddauladoh Amír ul Mammálik, whose name like that of his father, Nizám ul Mulk Aqaf-jáh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. Majnu’n Kha’n i Qas’bshá’l.*

He was a grandee of Humáyún, and held Nárnául as jágir. When Humáyún fled to Persia, Hájí Khán besieged Nárnául, but allowed Majnún Khán to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Bájah Bihári Mall, who, at that time, was with Hájí Khán (vide p. 329).

On Akbar’s accession, he was made Jágrítár of Mániákpír, 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 Kálinjar. This fort was in the hands of Bájah Ram Chand, ruler of Bha’tí, who, during the Afghán troubles had bought it, for a heavy sum, from Bíjí Khán, the adopted son of Pahlá Khán. When, during the siege, the Bájah heard of the fall of Chitor and Rántánbhir, he surrendered Kálinjar to M. (29th Čáshar, 977). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Mun’im Khán (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorákhpúr. At the same time the Gujráti war had commenced, and as Bábá Khán Qásháhí had words with Sháháb Khán, (No. 80), the Mír Tozak, regarding certain

* They had been in use among the Kháilísháhs and the Gházmawíhs. Thus Yáma’us ud-dowlaḍ which title Sháhjahán bestowed on Abúl Hasan Aqaf Khán IV., had also been the title of Múmmud of Gházmá when prince. The kings of the Dákhín occasionally conferred titles with Dowlaḍ. This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Azaḍ ud-dowlaḍ on Mír Fathullah of Shírúz, who had come from the Dákhín.

The title Malik, so common among the Pat’háns, was never conferred by the Mughul (Chaghtáí) Kings of Delhi.

Titles with Jang, as Firúžjáng, Núrjáng, &c., came into fashion with Jahángír.

* Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbaks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnún Khán was certainly the best of them.

** Bábá Khán Qásháhí also was a gran- dee of Akbar, but Abúsafí has left him out in this list. Like Majnún he distin-
arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Mun’im’s army that Bábá Kháán, Jabárí (Majún’s son), Mírzá Muhammad, and other Qáṣbálí, had killed Shahbáz Kháán, and joined the rebellion of the Mírzá in Gujrá!; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Mun’im to imprison Majún. 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 Kháán and Jabárí had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujráí 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, Dáid retired to Orisá, and Kála Pahár, Sulaimán Manklí and Bábá Manklí had gone to Ghoraghát, Mun’im sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaimán Manklí, the acknowledged ruler of Ghoraghát, a great number of the principal Afghán nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaimán Manklí to his son Jabárí. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan. But Bábá Manklí and Kála Pahár had taken refuge in Kúch Bihár, and when Mun’im was in Katák, they were joined by the sons of Jaláluddín Súr, and fell upon the Qáṣbhálí. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tándáb, and waited for Mun’im, who, on his return from Orisá, sent them with reinforcements to Ghoraghát. The Qáṣbálí re-occupied the district. Majún died soon after at Ghoraghát.

The Tabaqát says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabárí distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the Dágh law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabárí then assumed the title of Khán Jakán. When the Qáṣbálí left Maqṣúm (p. 326), Jabárí went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

guisèd himself in the war with Kháán Zamán and the Mírzá. During Mun’im’s expedition to Bengal, the Qáṣbálí received extensive jágirs in Ghoraghát. Bábá Kháán was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majún’s death. He rebelled with Maqṣúm Kháán i Khánúlí, partly in consequence of Muzaffar Kháán’s (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Kháán Kháánán. He died in the same year in which Muzaffar died, of cancer in the face (khúra), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Púrí in S. Orisá. Vide below Third Book, Cúbah of Bengal and Orisá. A minute description of his conquest is given in the Muházan i Afghán, and by Stirling in his Account of Orissa, Asiat. Researches, Vol. xv. But Stirling’s account, taken as they are from the Púrí Vynasavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Púrú) differs considerably from the Akbarnáma. Kálá Pahár was killed by a gun shot in one of the fights between Maqṣúm and Qutúd of Orisá, and ‘Azíz Kokhá (vide p. 326), which, in 990, took place between K’halégánw (Colgong) and Gádhí (near Rajmahal).

Bábú Manklí subsequently entered Akbar’s service (vide No. 202). European Historians generally spell his name Bábú Mangalí, as if it came from the Hindí manguil, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But manklí is perhaps preferable. Two of Timúr’s ancestors had the same name. The Turkish manklí means خانلاری, khānlar, spotted.

* The best MSS. of the Akbarnáma, Badàoñí, and the Máṣísir have باداونی and the Maṣísir have باداونی.

Stewart (p. 109) calls him Jobbadury (f).
51. Shuja'at Khān, Muqīm i 'Arab.

He is the son of Tābrīz Beg's sister (No. 12). Humāyūn made Muqīm a Khān. On the emperor's flight to Farsa, he joined Mīrzā 'Askari. When Humāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muqīm, 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 Khān (No. 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Mun'im to take Bairām's place.

In the 9th year, Muqīm distinguished himself in the pursuit of Abdullah Khān Uzbek (No. 14), 'the king of Mandū', and received the title of Shuja'at Khān, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious Abdullah.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honored him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Ahmadābād (p. 226). Once he slandered Mun'im, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānān 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 Mālwā.

In 988, when troubles in Bihār and Bengal had broken out, Shuja'at Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sāragpūr for Fathpūr (Badānī II, 284). At the first stage, Tābrīz Beg Bārās who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Hājī Shihāb Khān leader, fell upon Shuja'at's tent, and killed his son Qawīm Khān.2 Shuja'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 Sāragpūr. 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 Sāragpūr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 284, Akbar once saved Shuja'at's life in the jungles.

From Badānī (II, 234), we learn that Qawīm Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqīm Khān (No. 386) is Shuja'at Khān's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qāīm Khān was the son of Muqīm Khān. Qāīm's son, 'Abdurrāhīm, was under Jahāngīr a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made, in the 8th year, Faujdar of Alwar. Qāīm's daughter, Chainā Banu, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngīr in his harem, and went by the title of Padishāh Mahāl. She adopted Miyān Joh, son of the above 'Abdurrāhīm. Miyān Joh was killed by Mahālat Khān, when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngīr's person.

No. 52. Sha'h Buds'gh Kha'īn, a descendant of Uymāq2 Kāl of Samāqand.

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1 So the Māsīr and the Akbarānāmah. Badānī (II, 234) has Qāīm Khān; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. Indica.

2 There were two tribes of the Qarā Turks called یوماق or یوماق, یوماق. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence یوماق, as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians, means a kind of superior cavalry; vide Tuzuk p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may
The Turkish Badûd 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'izzûl Mult (No. 61) against Bahádur No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son, 'Abdul Ma'âlah (No. 83), ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shibâbdûdûn Ahmad (No. 20) against the Mîrzâs in Mâlîwâh, received Sârangpâr as tâyûl, fought under 'Azîz Kokâh (No. 21) in the battle at Patan (18th Ramaùsân 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandû, where he died. The Tâbaqât says, he had the title of Amirâl Umârâ. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohînî.

Inside Fort Mandû, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of Nîkântâh, regarding the inscriptions on which the Maâsir gives a few interesting particulars.

No. 53. Husain Kha'n (Tukriyâh), sister's son of Mahdî Qâsim Khán (No. 36).

He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign. In his jihâd 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 Badáoni, who served Husain as almoner to his estate (Shamsábûd and Patiâdî).

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 Mûnkot, Akbar made him Governor of Lâhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar, in Châfâr 965, marched to Dîhî, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjâb. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunnî. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindús as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. tukrdâ) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of Tukriyâh, 'Patcher.'

Like Shâh Quli Khán Mahram (No. 45), he stuck to Bairâm to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jûûjîhar; but after Bairâm had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdî Qâsim Khán, from dislike to Qâgra, went by way of the Dak'hîn to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwâs in Mâlîwâh, when the rebellion of the Mîrzâs broke out,

be seen from p. 57, l. 1, of the second volume of my Xin text, where Abûfâzî applies the word to Râjûtî cavalry of the Râhîr clan. The word is pronounced âîmâq in India.

The meaning of Miyân Kâl is still unclear to me. To judge from Abûfâzî's phrase, it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective Miyân Kâl occurs frequently. Two Miyân Kâls may be found below among the list of learned men (Qâzî 'Abdussamîf) and the poets (Qâzî-i Kâlî).

1 Vide my Essay on Badáoni and his Works in J. A. S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 129.
and in concert with Muqarrib Khán, the tuyüllüdor 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 Mîrzá for an interview. Though urged to join the Mîrzá, 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 jâgîr was transferred from Lak'hnau, where he and Badāonî had been for about a year, to Kânt 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 Bihâr, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hâjpúr, he confiscated H.’s jâgîr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jâgîr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His manzâ, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpûr in Kâmbîsen, 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 Çâdiq Khán (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Gâh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mumîm Khán, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bârba, and was taken to Fathpûr Sikrî, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

The Tabaqât says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnâmas, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yûsuf Khán, was a grandee of Jahângîr. He served in the Dak'hîn in the corps of 'Azîz Kokah (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwîz, the Khán Khânân, and Mân Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khán Khânân (Tuzuk p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (vide pp. 327 and 339). Yûsuf’s son, 'Izzat Khán, served under Shahjâhân, (Páddâkhâm. II, 121).

54. Mursâd Khán, son of Amir Khán Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Murâd Khán. In the 9th year, he served under Aqâ Khán (No. 49) in Gaûha Katangh. In the 12th year, he got a jâgîr in Mâlwa, and fought under Shihâbuddîn Ahmad against the Mîrzâs. After the Mîrzâs had returned to Gujrat, M. got Ujjain as tuyûl.

In the 13th year, the Mîrzâs invaded Mâlwa from Khandesh, and Murâd Khán, together with Mîr ‘Azîzullah, the Diwán of Mâlwa, 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 Qulîj Khán (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mîrzâs retreated to Mandû. Followed up by Qulîj and Murâd, they retreated at last across the Narîbâdah.

In the 17th year, the Mîrzâs broke out in Gujrat, and the jâgîrdârs of Mâlwa assembled under the command of M. ‘Azîz Kokah (No. 21). Murâd held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramazân, 980).

† Elliot (Index, p. 255, First Edition) has by mistake Lak'hnor (on the Hâm-gang) instead of Lak'hnau (in Ausl), and he calls Husain Khán a Kâshmîrî. This must be an oversight.
In 982, he was attached to Mun‘īm’s expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathābād, Sirkār Boglā (S. E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jalsore) in Orīsā, after Dāuíd had made peace with Mun‘īm.

When in 983, after Mun‘īm’s death, Dāuíd fell upon Nazar Bahādur, Akbar’s Governor of Bhadrak (Orīsā), and treacherously killed him, Murād wisely retreated to Tāndaḥ."

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathābād, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murād at Fathābād, Qiyā Khān in Orīsā, Mirzā Najīt at Sātānāw, were almost the only officers of Akbar’s Bengal corps, that did not take part in the great military revolt of 983. Qiyā was killed by Qutūl (p. 343), and Murād died at Fathābād, immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 983, "before the veil of his loyalty was rent."

After his death, Mukand, the principal Zamīndār of Fathābād, invited Murād’s sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

_Vide_ No. 369.

55. _Hājī Muhammad Khān_ of Sīstān.

He was in the service of Bairām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bairām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humāyūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bairām innocent, he went back, taking Hājī Muhammad with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion." 

After the conquest of Hindūstān, H. M., at Bairām’s request, was made a Khān, and was rapidly promoted.

In the 1st year of Akbar’s reign, H. M. was ordered to accompany Khizr Khwājah (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tārīḫ Bég’s (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor’s cause; and Mulla Ḥabibullāh Makhḏūm ulmulk who, though in Akbar’s service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afgān, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favorable opportunity and leave the Sāvālīks. As related above, Khizr Khwājah moved against Sikandar, leaving H. M. in charge of Lāhor. Being convinced of Makhdu’m’s treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bairām fell out with Pir Muhammad (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bairām fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amīrs to Dhilī 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 Bairām. After Bairām had been pardoned (p. 318), H. M.

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1 As Mun‘īm left Thānahdāras in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dāuíd must have been restricted to Kāṭak Proper. Mun‘īm’s invasion of Orīsā was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar’s reign.

2 Having mentioned Kāṭak, I may here state that the name ‘Aṭāk’, (Attuck, in the Panjāb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because it rhymes with Kāṭak. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. _Akbarnd- maḫ_.

Hājī Muhammad is the same to whom Eskin’s remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470, note.
and Muhammad Tarson Khán (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijáz as far as Nıgor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bairám 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 Śik-hāzdrā. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chit́or, he sent H. M. and Shihábdūdím Ahmad (No. 26) from Gágrán against the sons of Sultan Muhammed Mírsá, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Málwa. H. M. then received the Sirkár of Madú as jágír.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Mun’ím Khan on his expedition to Bengal and Ḍíjà, and got wounded in the battle of Takaró (20th Zí Qa’dáh, 982). He then accompanied the Khán Khánán to Gaur, where soon after Mun’ím’s death he, too, died of malaria (983).

Note on the Battle of Takaró, or Mughulmári, in Ḍíjà.

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar’s generals. It crushed the Afgáns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Ḍíjà. The MSS. of the Akbarnámáh and the Madsir have Takáról, and Takáról. My copy of the Sawáníh has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnámáh have Nakáról. In Baddání and the Ţabaqát the battle of Takaró is called the battle of چیتارو (vide p. 318), which may be Bajhoráh, Bakhhoráh, Bajhór, or Bakhór. Stewart’s account of Mun’ím’s Ḍíjà expedition (Vih Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnámáh and the Ţabaqát. He places the battle in the environs of Kaṭak, which is impossible, and his ‘Bukhtoro’ is a blunder for بیتیرو. In Chit́or, the final alif having assumed the shape of a ر, and the خ of خ. The Lucknow lithograph of the Akbarnámáh, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has چيتور, in Chit́or!

The Akbarnámáh, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mall moved from Bardwán over Madáran1 into the Pargnah of Chittúa (چیترا), where he was subsequently joined by Mun’ím. Dádd had taken up a strong position at حوری, Harpur or Harípur, “which lies intermediate (barzakhe) between Bengal and Ḍíjà.” The same phrase (barzakhe), in other passages of the Akbarnámáh, is applied to Chittúa itself. Dádd’s object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Ḍíjà, into which led but few other roads; “but Ilyás Khán Langáh showed the victorious army an easier road,” and Mun’ím entered the country, and thus turned Dádd’s position. The battle then takes place (20th Zí Qa’dáh, 982, or A. D., 3rd March, 1576). After the battle Todar Mall leads the pursuit, and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Mun’ím to come and join him, as Dádd had collected his troops near Kaṭak, and the whole army

1 Madáran lies in Jahánábád, a Pargnah of the Húglí district, between Bardwán and Mednípúr (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 Bengálar for 1870.
moves to Kātak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dāūd in the possession of Kātak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuā, which lies a little E. E. N. of Mednīpūr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rājah Todar Mall, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadra, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jelāsoore), and probably north of it, as Abūl Fazl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Orīsā lately published, I found on the road from Mednīpūr to Jalesar the village of Mughulmāri1 (Mughulmāri, i. e., Mughul’s Fight), and about seven miles southwards, half ways between Mughulmāri and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroe.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmāri is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the تکروئی, Tukaroī, of the Akbarmānah.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badānī (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of three, four kos, i. e., about six miles, and thus the distance of Tukaroī from Mughulmāri is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name تکروئی, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqāt and Badānī (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word chaur which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badānī (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196), and the Ṭabaqāt, it is said that Todar Mall in his pursuit reached کالکالکھیتی Kalkalghāti (?), not Bhadra.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orīsā, at Gaur of malaria.


Regarding Turbatī, vide No. 37. He was Mushrīf (accountant) of Humāyūn’s Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of Mushrīf i Buyūtāt (store accountant). In 957, when Mīrzā Kālmān took Kābul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced

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1 Another ‘Mughulmāri’ lies in the Bardwān district, between Bardwān and Jahānābād (Hūgūli District) on the old high road from Bardwān over Madārān to Mednīpūr. The word ‘Ali has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.
him to pay large sums of money. On Humayún’s return to India, A. Kh. was made Mir Bakhsh, and got an ‘alam. He was together with Tardí Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, when Humayún died. In the battle with Hemí, he held a command in the centre (qol), and his detachment gave way during Hemí’s charge. A. Kh., together with Fír Muhámmad (No. 20) and Asfuz Khán (No. 74), fled from the battle-field, partly from hatred towards Tardí Beg—the old hatred of Khürsánís towards Uzbaks—, and retreated to Akbar and Bairám. As related above, Tardí Beg was executed by Bairám for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Asfuz Khán were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bairám 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.’ Madeir.

57. Sha’hbeg Kha’n, son of Ibráhím Beg Harlí (?). He is sometimes called Beg Khán (p. 313). He was an Arghán; hence his full name is Sha’h Beg Khán Arghán. Under Jahángir he got the title of Khán Daurán. He was in the service of Mírá Muhammad Hákím of Kábul, Akbar’s brother, and was Governor of Pasháwar. When after the Prince’s death, Mán Singh, in 993, crossed the Niláb (p. 340) for Kábul, Sháh Beg took M. M. Hákím’s two sons, Ká Qád and Afráíyáb, to Akbar, and received a mańcá́b. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yúsufzais, and got Khúsá́b as jágír. He then served under the Khán Khánán in Sind, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2500. In the 39th year Akkar sent him to Qandahár (p. 313), which Múzáffar Húsín had ceded. During the time of his Governorship, Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kákár (कैकर) tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3500. In the 47th year, Ghaznín was placed in his charge (vide No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahángir, Húsín Khán Shá˘nlí, the Persian Governor at Harái, 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, Húsín 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, Húsín Sháh received a remittand from Sháh ‘Abbás for having besieged Qandahár ‘without orders,’ and Húsín Khán, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahángir in 1016 (15th Çafar) visited Kábul, Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 6000, 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 Mísa¦r. My MSS. of the Áin have حرماک, which may be Harík, Harma˘k, Harbak, &c. Some MSS. read clearly Harmak.

² According to the Tuzuk (p. 53), Sh. B. then held the Parganah of Sher as jágír, regarding which vede 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 (Tuz., p. 257), and was appointed Governor of that'hab. He resigned, however, in the same year (Tuz., p. 275) and got the revenue of the Parganah of Khusbab assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to That'hab, he called on Aqaf Khan to take leave, and Aqaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullâ Muhammad of That'hab, who had been a friend of Aqaf. Shâhbeeg had heard before that the Mullâ'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 (sarkhâd); but if not, I shall flay 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 Qandahâr, he conferred upon him an 'alam and a naggarah (p. 50); but on receiving the insignia, he said to Farid (No. 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my mançab, and a jâgîr, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kâbul, he paraded before Jahângir 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 kûñdîr, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients Châr Bughrâ (p. 60, l. 13), which gave rise to his nickname Châr Bughrâ Khur.

His sons. 1. Mirzâ Shâh Muhammad, Ghazin Khan, a well educated man. Jahângir, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, 600 horse.
2. Ya'qûb Beg, son-in-law to Mirzâ Ja'far Aqaf Khan (III) (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The Madsir says, he was a fatalist (azâlparast), and died obscure.
3. Asad Beg (Tuz. p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The Madsir does not mention him.

The Tuzuk, p. 31, mentions a Qâsim Beg Khan, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shâhbeeg Khan Argâhûn must not be confounded with No. 148.

58. Khan 'Alâm Chalmah Beg, son of Hamdam who was Mirzâ Kâmrân's foster brother.

Chalmah Beg was Humâyûn's Safarchî, or table attendant. Mirzâ Kâmrân 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 Kâbul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.
2 Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk, (p. 266) makes him governor of Patnâh—a confusion of Kâmrân and Kâmrân.

* For Chalmah, the MSS. of the Ain have, at this place, Halim. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The Madsir and good MSS. of the Akbarnâmah have Chalmah. Turkish dictionaries give chalmah (شَلَم) in the meaning of wild goat's dung, and châlma (شَلَم) in that of dastár, a turban.

In the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badam Khan 'Alâm is wrongly called خَرّ خَرّ خَرّ خَرّ,... خَرّ خَرّ, instead of خَرّ خَرّ.
Before he left, Humayûn, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

' The fold of the poor man’s turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head.'

And immediately afterwards he said the following verse extempor—

' Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty.'

Humayûn felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kâmrân’s old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalma Beg and said, “Will you go with him, or stay with me?” Chalma Beg, though he knew that Humayûn 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 Kâmrân and his companion.

After Kâmrân’s death, Chalma Beg returned to India, and was favorably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3000, bestowing upon him the title of Khâd ‘Alam. He served under the emperor against the Mîrzâs in Gujràl, and was present in the fight at Sarnâl (p. 330, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dâúd in Patna, Khân ‘Alam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the G’handak, 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’îm’s corps. In the battle of Takarof (p. 375), he commanded the hardâwal (van). He charged the Afghans, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard 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, Gújar Khân, Dâúd’s best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black guṭâsas (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, 962).

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 Takhallûg of Hamdamî (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 معمارî, in my Text edition, p. 229, read معمارî.

50. Qâsim Khân, Mîr Bahr Chamanârâl (?) Khurasân.1

1 I am doubtful regarding the true Khurasân, ‘Ruler of Khurasân.’ The meaning of the odd title chaman-ardî, Mâsâir, 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 Khámrán was, in 954, besieged in Kábul, Humáyún had occupied Mount Áqábín, which lies opposite the Fort of Kábul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qásim Kháán and his younger brother, Khwájagí Muhammad Husain (No. 241), threw themselves down from a turret between the Alánín Darwázah and the Qásim Barlás bastion, and went over to Humáyún, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Q. Kháán was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Agraïh, which he completed "after eight years at a cost of 7 kvars of tankahs, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamnáh river, E. of the town of Agraïh, 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 everywhere reaches water." 2

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Agraïh. In the beginning of Sha'bán 956 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmir, 'a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Díhil.' Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmir, the passes are all so narrow, that a few old men might repel a large army. The then ruler of Kashmir was Ya'qúb Kháán, son of Yusúf Kháán Chak. He had fortified a pass; 2 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 Kashmiris, 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 Andáján (Faraghánah) gave out that he was a son of Sháhrúkh. 8 He met with some success in Badakhshán, but was defeated by the Túrán.

It has left it out. Mir Bahár means 'admiral.' If chamanvári Kháán be a genitive, the words mean, 'Admiral of the ruler of Khurášán,' which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled Mir Bar, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, &c.

1 The old Fort of Agraïh was called Badalgar (Bad. I. 420). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Çahár), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

2 The Fort Badalgar 55 ن , not 55 ن , which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Agraïh, cannot be the old Fort of Agraïh, because Badalgar (I. 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwáliár, not "one of the Forts dependent on Gwáliár."

For Udantgir, on the same page in Elliot, read Ulgígar (لاگر). It was a Fort in the Sirkár of Mandlár, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have Ootgír or Deogurh.

* Called in the MSS. The word kútal, means 'a mountain,' or 'a mountainside.'

8 In 1016 another false son of Mirzá Sháhrúkh (p. 313) created disturbances and asked Jahángír for assistance against the Túránís.

The false of Mirzá Sháhrúkh's second son, Mirzá Husain, is involved in obscu-
Shâh. The pretended then made friendship with the Zâbulî Hazârah, 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 Hazârah. But Háshím Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kâbul. 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 juncture, 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 pretender and his men. In the melee, the murderer was killed.

For Qâsim’s brother see No. 241, and for his son, No. 236.

60. Baqî’ Khán’na, (elder) brother of Adham Khán (No. 19).

His mother is the same Máhum Anagah, mentioned on p. 323. “From Badáoni [II, 340] we learn that Baqî Khán died in the 30th year as Governor of Gaḏha-Katangah.” This is all the Madârî says of him.

His full name is Muhammâd Bâqî Khán Kokah. From Badáoni II, 81, we see that Baqî Khán took part in the war against Iskandar Khán and Bahádur Khán (972-73), and fought under Mu’izzulmulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khairábâd, in which Budágh Khán (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Baqî Khán, Mahdî Qâsim Khán (No. 36), and Husain Khán Tukriyâh (No. 53) had personal grievances—their Uzbek hatred—against Mu’izzul-Mulk and Râjah Todar Mâl.

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 ‘Ali Mâsâ’ Râzî, the 8th Imam of the Shi’ahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called Banâwîs.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpûr to punish Khán Zamán (No. 13), who had despatched his brother Bahádur and Iskandar Khán Uzbak (No. 48) to the district of Sar-sâd.1 Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (vide No. 60) under Mu’izzulmulk. Bahádur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants.

1 Most MSS. have Sarw, Sardar; but again Sarw, Sardar, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the Sarw River (آب سرون، آب سرور, آب سرور, آب سرور, آب سرور).
M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahádur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Laeshkar Khán (No. 90) and Rájáh Todar Mall to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahádur, if he was satisfied of his good intentions. But here also the rancour of Khurásánis towards Uzbekis 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 Ibráhim Khán (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahádur near Khairábád. Muhammad Yár, son of Iskandar Khán’s brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandar 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 Bahádur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.’s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budágh Khán (No. 52) taken prisoner, but many soldiers went over to Bahádur. Flushed with victory, he attacked the centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (vide No. 60). Todar Mall’s firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Biháár, M. M. got the Pargana of Árah (Arrah) as jágír. In the 24th year, the nobles of Biháár under Maqúm i Kábult, tuyáldár of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mir ‘Ali Akbar (No. 63); 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 Assad Khán Turkmán, jágírdár of Mánikpúr, to hasten to Jaunpúr, and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Assad 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.

62. Mir ‘Ali Akbar, (younger) brother of the preceding. He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank. In the 22nd year, he presented Akbar, according to the Tabaqát, with a Maulúddnmah, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the hand-writing of Qázi Ghíánsúddín i Jání, a man of learning, who had served under Humáyún, 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 Jaláluddín Muhammad Akbar. This Maulúddnmah Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mir ‘Ali Akbar with a Parganah as insám.

When his brother was sent to Bihár, M. ‘A. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamáníyáh, which “lies 6 kos from Gházpúr” (vide p. 329).

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1 Badáóni says Todar Mall’s arrival was “naphta on Mu’izzul Mulk’s fire.” Throughout his work, Badáóni shews himself an admirer of Khán Zamán and his brother Bahádur. With Mu’izz, a Shí’áh of the Shi’áh, he has no patience. ‘Mu’izz’s ideas, he says, were ‘I and nobody else;’ he behaved as proud as Fir’aun and Shaddád; for pride is the inheritance of all Suyyids of Masbhad. Hence people say—‘Akhl Masbhad, bayz Ímám i shumád, La’natulláhi bár tamám i shumád.’ ‘O people of Masbhad, with the exception of your Imam [Máúsá Raza], 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 Masbhad vanished from the surface of the earth.’

2 Called in the Madáir (though it cannot be Nuddes in Bengal); in my copy of the Súzanah the word Naldah in Sambhal appears to be meant.
and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpúr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. 'Aziz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihár, 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 Khan'án, brother of Atgah Khán (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznín. After Bairán’s fall, he held a tayṣīl in the Panjáb, and generally served with his elder brother Mír Muhammad Khán (No. 16).

On the transfer of the Atgah Khán from the Panjáb, Sh. was appointed to the Skár of Qannáuj. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Moháín, he sent Sh., together with Qázi Khán i Badakhshí (No. 223), Mujágid Khán, Subhán Quli Turk, against the Ránsá. He afterwards distinguished himself in the conquest of Kónábhálmír. In the 25th year, he was made atálg to Prince Murád, and was in the same year sent to Málwáh as Governor, Shujá’át Khán (No. 51) having been killed. His son Báz Bahádúr (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrát. In the 28th year, he served against Muzaffár, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahropch, which was held for Muzaffár by Chirkís i Rámi and Nasírásá, brother of Muzaffár’s wife. The former having been killed, Nasírásá escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Shariíf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihabuddín (No. 26) to the Dak’hín, to assist Mírzá ‘Aziz (No. 21).

In the 38th year, he went from Málwáh to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznín, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Sháh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

‘Nothing else is known of him.’ Madísir.

His son, Báz Bahádúr (No. 188), held a jágár in Gujrát, and was transferred to Málwáh as related above. He served in the siege of Asfíl, and in the Ahmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingábas, but was released, when Abúlásí made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibn-i Ébrí'ím Khán’ání i Shábí’ání' (uncle of Khán Zamáñ, No. 13).

He served under Humáyún. After the conquest of Hindústán, Humáyún sent him with Sháh Abúl Ma’áll to Láhór, to oppose Síkandár Súr, should he leave the Sawálíka. After the fall of Mánkót, he received the Parganah of Sarharpúr, near Jaunpúr, as jágár, and remained with Khán Zamáñ. During Khán Zamáñ’s first rebellion, Ébrí’ím Khán and Khán Zamáñ’s mother repaired at Mun’im Khán’s request to Court as hostages of his loyalty, Ébrí’ím 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, Khán Zamáñ again rebelled, and Ébrí’ím went with Síkandár (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ébrí’ím, at Mun’im’s request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khán Khánán.

In the Tábaqát, Ibn is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

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1 It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badáoni II. 23, where Sarharpúr, which “lies 18 kos from Jaun-
His son, Ismâ'îl Khán, held from Khán Zamán the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultan Husain Khán Jalâir. Ismâ'îl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khán Zamán; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khwâjah Jalâluddîn Mahmûd Bujuq, of Khurúsán.

The MSS. of the Aín have Muhammad, instead of Mahmûd, which other histories have, and have besides a word after Muhammad which reads like ٔبجؤ (bujuq), the scriptio defectiva of the Turkish ججؤ (bujuq), 'having the nose cut,' as given in the copy of the Madâsir.

Jalâluddîn was in the service of M. 'Askârî. He had sent him from Qandahâr to Garmisr, to collect taxes, when Humâyûn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalâl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humâyûn conferred on him the title of Mir Sâmân, which under the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humâyûn's return from Persia, Jalâl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznîn, the tugût 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 Ghaznîn. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munîm Khán, who owed Jalâl an old grudge. Jalâl soon found his post in Ghaznîn so disagreeable, that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznîn, when Munîm called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munîm imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalâl's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Munîm's men caught him and his son Jalâluddîn Mas'ûd. Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munîm.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munîm's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he shewed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

66. Haidar Muhammad Khân, Akhtah Begt.

He was an old servant of Humâyûn, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when in the defeat near Balkh Humâyûn's horse had been shot. On the march against Kâmrân who had left Kâbul for Afgânístân, the imperialists came to the River Surkhâb, Haidar, with several other faithful Amûrs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyâh-âb, which flows near the Surkhâb, before the army could come up. Kâmrân suddenly attacked them by night; but Haidar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahâr and to India, and was appointed to Bayânah (Bad. I., 463), which was held by Ghâzî Khán Sûr, father of Ibrâhîm Khán. After the siege had lasted some time, Haidar allowed Ghâzî to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghâzî. Humâyûn was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haidar do so again.

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1 He must not be confounded with p. 67, who 'ate opium like cheese out of the Jalâluddin Mas'ûd mentioned Tuzuk, the hands of his mother.'
After Akbar’s accession, H. was with Tardí Beg (No. 19) in Dihlí, and fought under Khán Zámán (No. 13) against Hamd. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kábul. At Muníím’s request, he assisted Ghání Khán (vide p. 318) in Kábul. But they could not agree, and H. was called to India. He accompanied Muníím, 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. 18) in Gujarát. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mírza Qulí, attached to the Bengal army, under Muníím. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (vide p. 376).

A son of H. is mentioned below (No. 326.)

Mírza Qulí, or Mírza Qulí Khán, Haidár’s brother, distinguished himself under Humayún during the expedition to Badákshán. When Kámirán, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humayún, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, Dost Múhammad, saved him in time.

According to the Tabagdát, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (umard i kódr), 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 Abúfázél in this list.

67. I’timád Khán, of Gujarát.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

I’timád Khán was originally a Hindú servant of Sultán Mahmúd, king of Gujarát. He was ‘trusted’ (i’timad) 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 fouly 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 Razí’d Mulk, under the title of Ahmad Sháh, to the throne. Razí’ 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 Bukhárá, 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 (ناکی) to the throne, “who did not belong to the line of kings”; but on introducing him to the grandees, I’t. swore upon the Qorán, 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 Amirī

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* Regarding this distinguished Gujarát 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 Muzaffar.

This is the origin of Sultán Muzaffar, 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 Amirs 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 Itimádul Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sultán Muzaffar, 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 Jhujhár Khán, took Sultán Muzaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Ahmadábád, and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mírzás seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahroche and Súrát. The general confusion only increased, when Sultán Muzaffar fled one day to Sher Khán Fúláí 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 Bahroche; and Sultán Muzaffar, who had left Sher Khán, fell into the hands of Akbar’s officers (vide No. 362). Itimád 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. Barodáh, Champánír, and Súrát were given to It. as tujádl; the other Amirs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mírzás. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Ikhtiyáril-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took It. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. It. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Sháhbáz 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 Mir Ábú Turáb (vide p. 198) went to Makkah. On his return, he received Patan as jídír.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihábuddín 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 allay the factions in Gujrát. No sooner had Shiháb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. It did nothing, alleging that Shiháb was responsible for his men; but as Sultán Muzaffar had been successful in Káth’hwár, It. left Ahmadábád, and went to Shiháb, who on his way to Court had reached Kari, 20 kos from Ahmadábád. Muzaffar used the opportunity and took Ahmadábád, Shiháb’s men joining his standard.

Shiháb 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 Muzaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. It. paid them well, and
sent them under the command of his son, Sher Khán, against Sher Khán Fúkád, who was repulsed. In the meantime M. `Abdurrahím (No. 29) arrived. Leaving I't- at Patan, he marched with Shiáháb against Muzaffar.

I'timád died at Patan in 995. The Tabaqát puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

In Abulfazl's opinion, Gujrátis are made up of cowards, deceits, several good qualities, and meanness; and I'timád was the very type of a Gujrátí.

No. 68. Pa'yandah Khán' Muhammad Khán Kokí's brother.

Hájjí Muhammad and Sháh Muhammad, his brother, had been killed by Humáyún for treason on his return from Persia. Hájjí Muhammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Páyandah, in the 6th year of Akbar's reign came with Mú'ním from Kábul, and was ordered to accompany Ádham Khán (No. 19) to Málwáh. In the 19th year, he accompanied Mú'ním to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhágwán Dáé against Ráhí Partáb. In the Gujrát war, he commanded M. 'Abdurrahím's (No. 29) khardwáj.

In the 32nd year, he received G'horág'hát as jágír, whither he went.

This is all the Madsir says regarding Páyandah.

His full name was Muhammad Páyandah. He had a son Wá½ Beg who is mentioned below (No. 369).

From the Tuzuk, p. 144, we see that Páyandah died in 1024 A. H. Jahángír, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. Tuz., p. 68.

No. 69. Jágamnáth, son of Rájah Biháí Mall (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafüridín Husain (No. 17; vide p. 329). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mán Singh. In the 21st year, when Ráná Partáb of Maiwár opposed the Imperialists, Jágamnáth during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rám Dás, son of Jai Mall. In the 23rd year, he received a jágír in the Panjáb, and was, in the 26th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mírzá Muhammad Hakím from invading the Panjáb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Ráná. Later he accompanied Mírzá Yúsuf Khán (No. 36) to Kashmír. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murád in Kábul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Málwáh, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dak'hiin, he left Murád without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dak'hiin, J. met the emperor at Rantambhórr, his jágír, and was then again sent to the Dak'hiin.

In the 1st year of Jahángír, he served under Prince Parwíz against the Ráná, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusrú had been captured, called Parwíz to Court (Tuzuk, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 359) had raised at Nágóor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3000 horse.

Rám Chand,² his son. He was under Jahángír a Commander of Two Thousand, 1500 horse.

² The Tuzuk, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. Vide also Pádiáhánímadah, I., 5., 318.
Rájáh Munróp, a son of Rám Chaud. 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’h.

70. Makhús’s Khán, (younger) brother of Sa’íd Khán (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multán. In the 23rd year, he served under Sháhábéž 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, Makhús 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 Módásír has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqqúd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahángír would not give him a manṣúb.

71. The author of the A’ín, Abúlfazl, son of Shaik Mubárík of Nágor. Abúlfazl’s biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismá’íl Khán Dúldí.</p>

Dúldí, or Dúldí, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlás clan (vide p. 341, note).

The Módásír calls him Ismá’íl Qulí Beg Dúldí. A similar difference was observed in the name of Hussain 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’íl Qulí was a grandee of Bábar and Humáýún, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humáýún 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 Dáwar. When Kábul was besieged, Ism. and Khízr Khwájah (vide p. 365, note 2) attacked Sher ‘Alí, an officer of Mírzá Kámrán, who at the prince’s order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (gáfšák i wálíyát) on its way to Chírákán; but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ‘Alí could not reach Kábul, and marched towards Ghaznín, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khízr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humáýún. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qaráchah Khán, and followed Mírzá Kámrán to Badákshán. Humáýún 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 Díhil, together with Sháh Abúl Ma’áli to Láhor.

“Nothing else is known of him.” Módásír.

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1 So the Módásír. Our maps have Charíkár (Lat. 35°, Long. 69), which lies north of Kábul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istálíf (إسطاول) or (إسطاف) lies half way between Kábul and Charíkár.
73. *Mi'r Babus (?), the I'ghur.*

The I'ghurs are a well known Chaghtáí tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different *lecitio*; *vide* my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The *Madsir* has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Ṭabaqat.

74. Ahşraf Khán 'Mi'r Munshí', Muhammad Āqghar of Sabzwár (?).

He was a Husainí Sayyid of Mashhad (Madsir, *Mi'r-dī w'l'Ilam*). The author of the Ṭabaqat 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 Máṣir, this is an error of the copyists.

Ahşraf 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'lig* characters (p. 101, 1. 14). He also understood *jaqar*, or witchcraft.

Ahşraf was in Humáyún's service, and had received from him the post and title of *Mi'r Munshí*. After the conquest of Hindútán, he was made *Mi'r 'Ars* and *Mi'r Mól*. At Akbar's accession, he was in Dihí and took part in the battle with Hemú (p. 365, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bārām, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Māchhíwárah on his way to the Siwáliks where Bārām was. He was well received and got a *manābād*. In the 8th year, when the emperor returned from Málíwah, he bestowed upon him the title of *Ahşraf Khán*.

In the 19th year, he went with Múním to Bengál, was present in the battle of *Takarof*, and died in the twentieth year (983)1 at Gaur (vide p. 376).

Ahşraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, *Mi'r Abul Muzaffar* (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ahşraf's grandsons, Husainí and Burháni, held inferior commands under Sháhjáhán.

75. Sayyid Mahmúd of Bar'ha, [Kúndíwál].

'Sayyid Mahmúd was the first of the Bárha Sayyids that held office under the Timúrids.' He was with Sikandar Síd (Baddóns II, 17) in Mánkoj, but seeing that the cause of the Afgháns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bārām, and served in the first year under 'Ali Qulí Khán Zamán (No. 13) against Hemú. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hájí Khán in Ajmír (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Sháh Qulí Mahram (No. 45) Fort Jaitáran, and served in the same year under Adham Ko- kah against the Bhdauriyáhs of Hátkánt' (vide p. 323, last line).

After Bārām's fall, Sayyid Mahmúd got a jágír near Dihí. In the 7th year, he brought Múním Khán to Court (vide p. 318). In the 17th year, he served under the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrát, was present in the battle of Sarnáli, and followed up Mírzá Ibráhim 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 Amroháh (No. 140) against Bájah Madhukar, who had

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1 The *Mi'r-dī* 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-dī*.

2 The best MSS. have *�ِدْجَةَ فَلَيْلَى*. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmír over Páli to Jálor.
invaded the territory between Sirionj 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 Madhukur, 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 Amírs. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Aqaf Khán, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (iqbál i püdisháhí) accompanied you." Mistaking the word 'Iqbál' for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Mahmúd, "Iqbal i Pádisháhí did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers: see 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 Amírs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahángír (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 باره bára. The lexicographer Bahr i 'Ájam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled Jawáhir al Hurúsí, says that the names of Indian towns ending in باره bárah, باره bára, تخت báhar, are used for مدن bárha, in باره bára, تخت báhar, forms an adjective تخت báhar, and you say باره bárah, instead of باره bárha.

The name Bárha has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindí numeral bára, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahángír; for both the Tábqáti and the Tuzük derive the name from 12 villages in the Duáb (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrám, the Bárha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abul Farah of Wázír; but their nasabábámah, or genealogical tree, was smeared at, and even Jahángír, in the above quoted passage from the Tuzük, 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

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1 "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmán families in Norther India, the Barha and Belgram Syuds, and in Khyrábád, Futtehpore Huswá, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, The Chronicles of Ozaa, Allahabad, 1863, p. 93.
the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors, as Sayyid Kháñ Jahán (Sayyid Abul Muzaffar), and several others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valor had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (hardwai); 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 Hindústání (vide p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mánikpúr, the Kháñzúdahs of Mewáit, and even families of royal blood as the Ḍafáws.

The Sayyids of Báhra are divided into four branches, whose names are—1. Tíhanpúr; 2. Chhatánpúr, or Chátáraúr; 3. Kándliwád; 4. Jágnerí. The chief town of the first branch was Jáñsáth; of the second, Sambálhárah; of the third, Májhárah; of the fourth Bídáu lá on the Jamnáh. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz., the Kándliwád (كویندلیواد) to which Sayyid Máhmúd (No. 76) belonged; and the Tíhanpúr (تھانپور), of which Sayyid Kháñ Jahán was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Báhra before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Súrú, because the arrival of Sayyid Máhmúd 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 Humáyún; but this is at variance with Abulfazí’s statement that Sayyid Máhmúd 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 ʿAbdulláh Kháñ and Sayyid Husain ʿAlí Kháñ, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Máhmúd under Akbar, and the above two brothers, who made four Timúrids emperors, dethroned and killed two, and blinded and imprisoned three!  

The Sayyids of Báhra are even now-a-days numerous and ‘form the characteristic element in the population of the Muzaffarnagar district’ (Leeds’ Report).

Abulfazí mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, viz.—

2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother, (No. 91). 7. Sayyid Jhajhú (No. 221).
5. Sayyid Rájú (No. 165).


* They made Farrukh Siyar, Raʃʿuddáranjá, Raʃʿuddánah, and Muḥammad Sháh, emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahándár Sháh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Prínces Aʿazzud-dín, ʿAlí Tabár, and Humáyún 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. Sálīn; S. Fáth Khán, (Bad. II., 180); &c.

The following trees are compiled from the Tuzuk, Pádisháhánámah, and Madsir.

(a.) Sayyid Mahmúd of Bárha, Kündlíwád.

S. Jamáluddín, (No. 217.)


S. Súltán, Čalábat Khán, alias Ikhtí-čaq Khán.

Pád. II., 735.

(b.) Sayyid Dílíf Khán (‘Abdul Wáhháb), d. 1042.


d.) Sayyid Khán Jahán i Sháhjahánf, Thianpúrf.———A brother. (alias S. Abú Muzaffár Khán), d. 1065.


The Pádisháhánámah (I., b., 312, 319 ; II., p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mákhán, d. 9th year of Sháhjahán; S. Síkhan; S. ‘Abdulláh; S. Muhammád, son of S. Áfzál; S. Khádím; S. Sáír; S. Shiháb.

e.) Sayyid Qásím, Sháhámat Khán [Chátraúf]———a brother (was alive in the 24th year of Aurangzib).

1. S. Nuqáz Yár Khán (under Muhammád Sháh).

(f.) Sayyid Husain Khán, d. 1120.


(g.) Sayyid ‘Abdulláh Khán, [Thianpúrf].

alias Sayyid Míyán (under Sháh ‘Alam I.)

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 Ṣaddat-i Bārka, composed in 1864 and 1865 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 Wāsīṣt is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Iltizamīsh (Altamah), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulāqū’s invasion of Baghūdād and the overthrow of the empire of the Khālifāhs; while the sons of Abul Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihābūddīn Ghorī—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 Dādū, who settled in the mauza' of Tiḥānpūr.
2. Sayyid Abūlāfzūl, who settled in the qasbāh of Chḥāṭamūrād (جحانبور).
3. Sayyid Abūlāfzāl, who settled in the mauza' of Kūndūāl.

These four places are said to lie near Pātīshā in the Panjāb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of Chḥāṭamūrād, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also Chḥāṭraūr, جحاٹروئی, جحاٹروئی, and Jagnīr, جنگری instead of Jhūjār, although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Pātīshā, the four brothers went to the Dūbāb between the Ganges and Jamnab, from where a branch was established at Bilgām in Audh.

The etymology of bārka is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from bāhir, outside, because the Sayyids encamped outside the imperial camp; some from bāraka, the twelve Imāms of the Shi'ahs, as the Sayyids were Shi'ahs; some derive it from twelve (bārakah) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahar, Tahsil Anūpshahar, is said to contain a bārka of Pāthāns, i. e. 12 villages belonging to a Pāthān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic abdār, pious.

The descendants of S. Dādū settled at Dhdāsir; and form the Tiḥānpūrī branch, those of S. Abūlāfzūl at Sambalgharai, and form the Chḥāṭamūrād or Chḥāṭraūrī branch; those of S. Abūlāfzāl went to Majhāshāh, and are the Kūndūwāls; and those of S. Najmūdīn occupied Bīdāūlī, and form the Jhūjārī, or Jagnīrī, branch.

A. The Tiḥānpūrīs.

The eighth descendant of S. Dādū was S. Khān Qīr (?). He had four sons—

1 The word خان کیر occurs also in the lists of Pāthān nobles in the Tārīkh i Fīrūzābādī. The title of Khwās Qīr, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later "gurvaghi, the officer in charge of the qīr (p. 110). But the name Khwās Qīr is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him خوان کیر, خوان کیر, or خوان فیر, Khwās Fir or Khwās Qīr (?).
1. Sayyid ‘Umar Shabid, who settled in Jánasāth, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 392, (g).

The occurrence of the name ‘Umar shows that he, at any rate, was no Shihāb.

2. Sayyid Chownān, who settled at Chatorah (चतराघ), in the Pargannah of Jolī-Jánasāth. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign of Shāhjāhān is said to have founded Kharwah Jalālpūr in Tāqah Sirdhanah, district Mirāth. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad ‘Ali and ‘Ali Aghā, whose descendants still exist in Chatorah and Jalālpūr 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 Čalāh Khān, who served in Aulī, and died childless.

3. Sayyid Humā (हुमा). He settled at Bihārī, Muzaffarnagar. He had six sons—

I. Sayyid Qutb, whose descendants occupy the village of Bīlapūr in the Muzaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Rat’heri Sayyids.

II. S. Sultān, whose descendants hold Sirdhālī.  

III. S. Yūsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Dhalnāh (one MS. reads Dabānāh).

IV. and V. S. Jūn and S. Mān, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naqīruddīn. To his descendants belongs S. Khān Jāhān i Shāhjāhānī, p. 392, (d.). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, S. Manṣūr built Manṣūrpūr, and his descendant hold nowadays Manṣūrpūr and K’hatauli; his second son Muzaffar Khān [Sher Zamān] built Muzaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. Sayyid Ahmad. He settled at Čakol in Jolī-Jánasāth, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tātār Khān, and Dīwān Yār Muhammad Khān as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Aurangzīb.

B. The Chhatvanārī, or Chhatawaṇī, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abūl Fazl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhruddīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbār at Sambalpahārah, the rājāhs of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhār, is said to have had four sons—

I. Sayyid ‘Ālī.

II. Sayyid Ahmad, a descendant of whom, S. Rauṣhan ‘Alī Khān, served under Muhammad Shāh.

III. S. Tājuddīn, whose son, S. ‘Umar, settled at Kakrauli.

IV. S. Sādār (perhaps the same on p. 392, l. 11 from below), who had two sons S. Haidār Khān, and S. Muhammad Khān. The descendants of the former settled at Mirānpūr, which was founded by Nawāb S. Shāhāmat Khān, evidently the same as on p. 392, (l. 10). S. Muhammad Khān settled at K’hatorah (“a village so called, be-

1 The Pādiskhānāmah, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams. A S. Jalāl is mentioned Tuz., p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwal (vide No. 99).
cause it was at first inhabited by Káithá). Among his descendants are S. Nuqrat Yár Khán, (p. 392), and Ruknuddaulah.

C. The Kûndlíwáls.

S. Abul Fazáil settled at Majhárah, which is said to have been so called, because the site was formerly a jungle of muñj grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are masýíd-ul-khabár, i.e., it is not known what became of them. The Kûndlíwáls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhárah being altogether deplorable.

The Kûndlíwáls are now scattered over Majhárah, Hâshimpúr, Tang, Tanderah, &c.

D. The Jagnérs.

The son of S. Najmuddín, S. Qamaruddín, settled at Biqáulí. A descendant of his, S. Fakhruddín left Biqáulí and settled at Párpá (in Jól-Jánsáth), and had also zamindáris in Chandauri Chandaurah, Tulsipúr, and K'hari. Now-a-days many of this branch are in Biqáulí, Tláqah Pánípat, and Díhlí.

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bárha still exist are—Mirápúr, K'hatauli, Mirsárnagar, Jói, Tas-ha, Bak'herah, Majhárah, Chataurah, Sambalhráh, Tang, Bilsipúr, Mornáh, Súrdhrá, Kiláodáh, Jánsáth.

After the overthrow of the Tihánpúrí brothers [p. 392, (g.)], many emigrated. Sayyids of Bárha exist also in Lak'hnau, Barelí, 'Awpaláb, in Audh; also in Nagínah, Mainán, and Chánipúr in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Jól Saiyids is said to exist in Párniáh (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint 'Abdullah Kirmání of Bárha claim likewise to be related to the Bárha Saiyids.

During the reign of Aúranjáb, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunní tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sádát i Bárha under Muhammad Sháh (vide Elphinstoné, 5th edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous flight at Bhasí (بھاسی), which lies on the K'hatauli road, where the Saiyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors during their palmy days had collected.

1 As this place is said to have been founded by Hizábr Khán [p. 392, (c.)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kûndlíwál. His brother, S. 'Alam perished with Prince Shujá' in Arrácan; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, ten were Bárha Saiyids, the remaining twelve being Mughtuls.

The value of the above-mentioned two Úrdí MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sádát i Bárha, 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 Saiyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Saiyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kûndlíwáls, who are the very opposite of masýíd-ul-khabár.
76. 'Abdullah Khan Mughul

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the *Muāsir* or the *Tabaqāt*. He has been mentioned above, p. 309, l. 21. Akbar's marriage with his daughter displeased Bārām, because 'Abdullah's sister was married to Ḍārām, of whose party Bārām believed him to be. When Bārām, during his rebellion (p. 317), marched from Dīwānūr to Ḫalīfān, he passed over Tihrāh, where 'Abdullah defeated a party of his friends under Wālī Beg (p. 329, No. 24).

'Abdullah Khan *Mughul* must not be confounded with 'Abdullah Khan *Uzbek* (No. 14).

77. Shaikh Muhammad i Buhārī.

He was a distinguished Hindūstānī Sayyid, and maternal uncle (*tughdí*) to Shaikh Farīd i Buhārī (No. 89). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattā Khāshā Khāli Afsān handed over the Fort of Chanūr to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaikh Muhammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a *tughūl* in Ajmūr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaikh Muḥīn i Chishti's tomb, as the *khādīms* were generally at feud about the endowments 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 Mīrzā 'Azīz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmādābād. After the Emperor's victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā joined Ḥusain Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and 'Āqīl Mīrzā, at Patān (Gurārū); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Agra. The other three Mīrzās remained in Patān, and entered into a league with the Fūlādī party (vide No. 67). Mīrzā 'Azīz had been reinforced by the Mālwāh contingent under Qutbuddin (No. 28), Shāh Budāgh (No. 62), and Maṭlāb Khān (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaikh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholāh to Sūrāt. Mīrzā 'Azīz Kohk left Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78) in Ahmādābād, and moved against the Mīrzās in Patān. The Mīrzās and Sher Khān Fūlādī, however, wished to delay the fight, as their re-inforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khān sent proposals of peace through Shaikh M. to M. 'Azīz. Shāh Budāgh advised M. 'Azīz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and 'Azīz drew up his army. He himself, Shāh Budāgh, Mu'azzād i Farānkūhūdī (No. 128), Ma'ṣūm Khān and his son, and Maṭlāb Khān (No. 83) stood in the centre (*gol*); Qutbuddin (No. 28), and Jamāluddin Injū (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaikh Muhammad, Murād Khān (No. 54), Shāh Muhammad (No. 96), Shāh Fakhruddin (No. 88), Muzaffar Mughul, Pāyandah (No. 68), Ḥājī Khān Afsān, and the son of Khawāj Khān, on the left wing; Dastam Khān (No. 79), Na'amān Khān (vide p. 334), Muhammad Qulī Toqūhī (No. 129), and Mihr 'Alī Sīlūz (No. 130), led the van (*harāval*); Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) occupied the *Altīmūs* (between the van and the commander); and Mīrzā Muṣlim and Chirmā Khān formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fūlādī and Juna'id i Karānānī; the right wing by the three Mīrzās; the left wing by Muhammad Khān (Sher Khān's eldest son) and Sādāt Khān; and their van was led by Ḍad Khān, younger son of Sher Khān. 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. 95) 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 Ja’far, brother of Shaikh Farid (No. 99). The Mírzás also fell upon Sháh Fáhruddin and repulsed him. Qutbuddin even was hard pressed, when M. 'Azíz 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 Júnágadh, and the Mírzás to the Dak’hin.

78. Sayyid Hámíd i Bukhári.

Sayyid Hámíd was the son of S. Mírán, son of S. Mubárík. Sayyid Mubárík was a Gujráti Courtier (vide p. 385, note) who, it is said, arrived from Bukhári 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. Mubárík’s arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When I’timád Khán (No. 67) raised Náthú to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, S. Mubárík got several Mahalls of the Patan, Dholáh, and Dandoqah (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholáh and Dandoqah were given to his son, Sayyid Mírán, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hámíd.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrát, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Hámíd went over to him, and was favorably received. During the war of Mírzá ‘Azíz Kokah with the Mírzás (vide No. 77), S. H. was put in charge of Ahmadábád. In the 18th year, Dholáh and Dandoqah were again given him as tayúl. Subsequently, he served under Qutbuddin in Kambhát.

In the 22nd year, he was appointed to Multán, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yúsuf Khán i Razawi (No. 35), against the Balúchis. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammad Hakím invaded Láhor, S. H. with the other tayúládrs 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 Bhrán (on our Map, 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 Afghánis, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalálah i Tariki as leader, and attacked S. H. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bhrán; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The Madsir says, he was killed in 993. In this fight, forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghánis 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 Dílíh, vicq Shaikh ‘Abdul Wáháhá, also a Bukhári Sayyid (Tuz. p. 35, l. 8 from below).
Kamál served under Farîd i Bukhârî (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrau, and commanded the left wing in the fight near Bhairowâl, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bâhrâ, who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Ya'qûb, son of S. Kamal, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse, and died in the third year of Shâhjâhân’s reign. The Madsir says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shâhjâhân’s grandees given in the Pâdishâh-nâmah (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hânîd, of the name of Sayyid Bâghrî, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khân, son of Rustam i Turkistânî.

The correct name of this grandee is Dastam, a very unusual name, though most MSS. of the Ain and many of the Akbarnâmah give Rastam. The Madsir 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 Madsir and Akbarnâmah, which I have seen, either Najîb i or Bukhârâ—was a friend of Mâhum Anagah (vide No. 19), and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khân, in the 9th year, served under Mu’izzul Mulk (No. 61) against ’Abdullah Khân Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served under Mîrza Azîz Kokah in the battle of Patan (vide No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mirzâ, and got a flag. In the 22nd year, he was appointed to the Cûbah of Aujurî, and got Rantanbhûr as tâyûl. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year, Uchlá, son of Balbhadîr, and Mohân, Sûr Dâs, Tillûksî, sons of Râjah Bihârî Mall’s brother, came without permission from the Panjâb to Lûnî (?), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachchwâlahs, 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 hardly, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight, the three...

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1 The geographical details given in the Akbarnâmah are unsatisfactory.

Abûl Fazîl mentions the Qâchâh (small town) of Lûnî (لُنّ) as the birth-place of the Kachchwâlah rebels; the fight, he says, took place in a village (maonza) of the name of Torî, and Dastam died at Shergârî, which is also called a Qâchâh. But the Akbarnâmah leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The Tabaqât, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khân was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhûr. The only places near Rantanbhûr which resemble the above three, are Bounlee, Tobra, and Shergârî, as given on the Trig. Map of the Judhpûr Territory for 1850. The road from Shergârî (about 4 miles S. E. of Rantanbhûr) to Bounlee is bisected by the Banas River. Rantanbhûr 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 Tobra, one about 3 miles S. W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. Bounlee, or Bounli, would be لونلي, which will be found below as the head of a Pargana in Sirkâr Rantanbhûr, and the change of لونلي to لون بونلي is very simple. The greatest difference lies in Shergarî and Shergarî.

The Akbarnâmah says, the fight took place on the 10th Abân of the 25th year.
nephews of the Bájah were killed. Dastam received a wound from Uchlá, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchlá, 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 Sherpúr. 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 Máfír says, he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhúr was then given to Mírzá 'Abdurrahmán (No. 29) as jágír.
A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Shabbá's Khán i Kambú.

Regarding the tribe called Kambú, vide Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistich quoted (Metre Hazaj)—

‘The Afghános are the first, the Kambús the second, and the Kashmírs the third, set of scoundrels' 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 Shabbá was Hájí Ismá'íl, a disciple of the renowned saint Baháuddín Zakariyá of Multán. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an aš-
rafi', or goldmuhár, 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 Ahráfi 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.

Shabbá at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his an-
cestors had done; but the excellent way in which he performed the duties of kotwád, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amír and appointed Mír Tózak (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khán (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was ap-
pointed Mír Bakhabí. In the 21st year, he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpúr, especially against Kallah, son of Rái Rám, and grandson of Rái Máldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwánah. Shabbá first took Fort Daigúr (‡), where a large num-
ber of Ráthor 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, Shabbá was sent against Rájah Gajpatí. This Rájah was the

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1 The MSS. have دیکور, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S. W. of Jodhpúr, near which it must lie. Dúnáráh (most MSS. have رویار) lies on the right bank of the Lúfí, S. W. of Jodhpúr. Here Shabbá crossed (ubúr) and went to Swádsáh, which lies N. W. S. of Dúnáráh, about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lúfí.

2 So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him Gújíty, the Lák'hnáu Akbarnámah (III., 140) Kají, and the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badáróní, Kachkí, (p. 179, 284, 286,) and Kají (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lák'hnáu edition of the Akbarnámah.
greatest Zāmīndār in Bihār, and had rendered good services during Mun'im's expedition to Bengal. But when Dād, king of Orīsā, invaded Bengal after Mun'im's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpati rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihār. Farhat Khān (No. 145) tāyīlīdar of Arām, his son Farhang Khān, and Qārātāq Khān, opposed the Rājah, but perished in the fight. When Shaḥbīz approached, Gajpati fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdēspūr, where the whole family of the Rājah was captured. Sh. then conquered Shērgāthi, which was held by Śrī Rām, Gajpati's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtsā. Its Afghān commander, Sāyīd Muhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junaide i Kārānī, had been hard pressed by Muzaffār (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shaḥbīz, 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 Rānā Partāb, and besieged the renowned Fort of Koupbhānār (called on our maps Kosalnīr, on the frontier between Ūdāipūr and Jodhpūr, Lat. 25° 10'). The Rānā, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a Samānī, when the Fort was taken. Gogandāh and Ūdāipūr submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 tāhānas in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Ūdāipūr to Pūr Mānḍāl. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Dāddā, son of Rājī Surjān Hādā (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajūnīr, where disturbances frequently occurred.

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihār; but he did not agree with M. 'Azīz Kokhā—Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated 'Arāb Bahādūr, and marched to Jagdēspūr. At that time the report reached him that Ma'qūm Khān Fakhkhāfī (No. 157) had rebelled, and 'Arāb Bahādūr and Niyyāb Khān had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sultānpūr Bīkārī, 25 kos from Awadh (Faizābād). Ma'qūm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, a distance of 30 kos. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemies, that Ma'qūm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.'s right wing attacked the enemies, Ma'qūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Faizābād). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Ma'qūm 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 Kābul. At court, Sh. generally gave offence by his pride; and when once, at a parade, the Bakhshās had placed the young Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) above him, he gave openly vent to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rājī Sāl Darbārī (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.'s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. 'Azīz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh. with other Ambās was sent there. He followed up Ma'qūm Khān Kābulī to G'horaḡ'hāt, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhātī (p. 342), plundered Baktarāpūr, the residence of Ṭās, took Sunnārgānīw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. Ṭās afforded Ma'qūm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgānīw; Ma'qūm 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 showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to ʻTanah, all advantages being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the ʻImālīdars of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Māqīm. In the 30th year, he and Čādiq Khān (vide No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhāṭī, and even sent a detachment to Kokrah (كوكرگ), which lies between Ōrīsā and the Dakhīn.' Modhū Singh, the Zamīndār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sa'dī (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 Afghāns of Sāwād; but he left his duties without order, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made adilīq to M. Shāhrukh, who had been appointed to Máilwāh and was on his way to Prince Mūrād in the Dakhīn. During the siege of Ahmadnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr-i Nau, 'which is called Burhānābād,' asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shī'ahs, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called Langar-i ʻIdwāsīān, 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 Čādiq Khān (No. 43) was appointed his adilīq, Sh. left without permission for Máilwāh. Akbar gave his jagir to Shāhrukh, and transferred Shāhbāz.

In the 43rd year, Sh. was sent to Ajmīr as Commander of the masnad of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), whom Akbar has asked to go from Ilhābād against the Rānā. 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 Ajmīr another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salīm took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Ilhābād without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shāhbāz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmīr within the hallowed enclosure of Mu'in-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 Shāhbāz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shāhbāz 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 not remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word murīd (disciple) on his signet. His Sunni 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 Fathānīr and seized Shāhbāz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the 'āṣr, 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 Shabbaz 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 dupatta shawl on the ground, and said not only his wajah (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar slapping all the while his head, saying, 'Get up!' Abul Fath stepped up, and interceded for Shabbaz, whose persistency he admired.

Abulfazl says that Shabbaz 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 Pàras stone (vide Book III, Çúmah of Málwah). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputhe he had 9000 horse. Every Thursday evening, he distributed 100 Askhafis to the memory of the renowned Ghausussiqlain (Abdul Qádir i Jiláni). To Kambú he gave so much, that no Kambú in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mir Bakhshi, he introduced the Dghy law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (vide pp. 242, 255, 256).

Shabbaz's brother, Karamullah, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Sarrej (Másir). The Madsir mentions a son of Shabbaz, Ilhámullah. He was Wdzi'ahkanwis (p. 258) of the Sirkár of Baghánah, where he died.

The Tuzuk (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Rambáz Khán, who during the reign of Sháhjáhán was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, Bakhshi and Wdzi'ahkanwis of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Sháhjáhán's reign.²

81. Dárwísh Muhammad Uzbak.

The Madsir says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Êbbaqat merely say that he was dead in 1001.

From the Akbarndmáh (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bairám. He was sent by Bairám together with Muzaffar 'Ali (No. 37, and p. 317, l. 3) to Sher Muhammad Diwánah, who despatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the Akbarndmáh (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 250,—for Dárwísh Uzbak Khwàjah, read Dárwísh Uzbak o Muzaffar Khwàjah). From the fact that Abulfazl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bairám's submission.

82. Sháikh Ibra'ím, son of Sháikh Músá, elder brother of Sháikh Salim of Fathpur Sikri.

² Rambáz Khán is wrongly called Nidz Khán in the Êd. Bibl. Indica of the Padisháhn. I, b. p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, Rambáz Khán, as in the Tuzuk.

Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 159, says that Rambáz's name was Khábullah; 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 Tabaqát, Nizám says, 'At present (in 1001) Shabbaz is Mir Bakhshi of Málwah.'
His father, Shaikh Músá, lived a retired life in Sikrí. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Sikrí 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 Sikrí family owes its elevation.

Shaikh Ibráhím lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year, he was made Thánahdár of Ládli, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year, he was made Governor of Fathpur Sikrí. In the 28th year, he served with distinction under M. 'Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár and Bengal, and was with Vásír Kháán (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutúb of Ópísá. When Akbar, in the 30th year went to Kábul, he was made Governor of Ágráh, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the Taḥaḏdář, he was not only the brother, but also the son-in-law of Shaikh Salim i Sikríwáli.

83. 'Abdul Múšlab Khá’n, son of Sháh Budágh Khá’n (No. 52).

The Múšlab makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

'Abdul Múšlab accompanied Sháháduddín Husain (No. 17) on his expedition to Mírzá. In the 10th year, he served together with his father under Mu’izzulmulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahádur Khá’n, and fled from the battle-field of Khairábád (pp. 372, 382). In the 12th year, he served under Muhammad Qul Khá’n Bárká (No. 31) against Iskandar Khá’n in Audh. He then retired to his tayyád in Málwáh.

In the 17th year, he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. 'Azíz Kokah and was present in the battle of Patán (p. 396). In the 23rd year, when Qutúbuddin’s men (No. 26) brought Múzaffár Husain Mírzá from the Dak’in to Court, ‘Abdul Múšlab attached himself as convoy, and saw the Mírzá safely to Court. In the 25th year, he accompanied Ismá’íl Qul Khá’n (No. 48) on his expedition against Niyábat Khá’n 'Arab. In the following year, he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Danlat, son of 'Alí 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 jágrí.

In the 30th year, he accompanied M. 'Azíz Kokah to the Dak’in, and was sent, two years later, against Jálaláh Tátürkí, the Afgán rebel. One day, Jálaláh fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Núrí Khá’n (No. 213), Salim Khá’n (No. 132), and Sheroyah Khá’n (No. 168). They were in time assisted by Muhammad Qul Beg and routed Jálaláh, who escaped to the mountains. 'Abdulmušlab “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 Bángáb, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzánd, was under Jálángír, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. 'Tíbár Khá’n, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was 'Ambar. He was one of Bábár’s Eunuchs. When Humáyúdn left Qandahár for 'Iráq, he despatched 'Tíbár and others
to conduct Maryam Mak'īn (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952, he left Kābul 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 Kābul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dīhlī, where he died. He must not be confounded with No. 86.

86. Rājah Bir Ba[r] [Bir Ba[r]], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Maheš Dās (Madaśir; the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Paddoni, II. p. 161, calls him Brahman Dās), and was a Bhāṭ, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call bdāfārash, 'dealers in encomiums.' He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Bāndonī, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kālīpī to Court, where his bonmots 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 Ṛdī, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate, and had him constantly near himself.

In the 18th year, Rājah Jai Chand of Nagarkot, who was at Court, happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nagarkot was given to Kab Rādī as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rājah Bir Ba[r]. But Jai Chand's son, Budh Chand (or Budhi Ch., or Badhi Ch., —the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Husain Quāli Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza, as related above, forced Husain Quāli to raise the siege, and Bir Ba[r], in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād, 24th Rabī' II, 981. (Vide note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year, he was sent with Rāj Lōn Karan to Dūngarpūr, the Rāj of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zain Kokāh (No. 34) conducted Rājah Rām Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bir Ba[r] spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year, Zain Khān Kokāh marched against the Yūsfuzaīs in Bījor and Sāwād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bir Ba[r] was sent there together with Hakīm Abūl Fath (No. 113). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abulfazl or Bir Ba[r] 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). Bir Ba[r] and nearly 8000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered.²

How Akbar felt Bir Ba[r]'s loss, has been mentioned on p. 205. There is also a letter on this subject in Abulfazl's Maktūbāt.

The following passages from Badāonī (Ed. Bibl. Ind., pp. 387, 388) are of interest—

"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year

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¹ Just as Jotik Rādī, the (Hindū) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Faižī] had the title of Malik-waškhu'ard, or 'King of Poets.'
² On p. 344, read Bijor for Wajūr.
³ A similar catastrophe befell Aurang-
(996) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bīr Baṛ, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindū by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr Baṛ’s loss, and invented the story that Bīr Baṛ had been seen in the hills of Nagarkot, walking about with Jogīṣ and Sannāsī. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Baṛ was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzāis; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogīṣ, inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Ahādi 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 Bīr Baṛ had been seen at Kālinjar (which was the jāgīr of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognised him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bīr Baṛ had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bīr Baṛ had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to court; and the Hindī Krorī (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bīr Baṛ. The Krorī could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bīr Baṛ in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty went actually through a second mourning; but he ordered the Krorī 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 Krorī had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine."

Bīr Baṛ 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 Hindustān.

The hatred which Badšom, Shabbāz Khān (No. 80), and other pious Muslims showed towards Bīr Baṛ (vide pp. 183, 188, 192, 199, 204) arose from the belief, that Bīr Baṛ had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām.

Bīr Baṛ’s eldest son, Ldlaḥ, 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 fāqīr, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. Ḥikhāṣ’s Khān Pṭibār, the Eunuch.

The Madṣir does not give his name. The list of Akbar’s grandees in the Ṭabaqāt has the short remark that Ḥikḥāṣ Khān was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahār Khān, (Muhammad) Aẓghar, a servant of Humāyūn.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read Bahāddur Khān. The Madṣir does not give his name. The list of the Ṭabaqāt mentions a ‘Bahār Khān, a Khāṣṭh Khālī Aqfān, who held a command of Two Thousand.’ Bahār Khān Khāṣṭh Khālī is also mentioned in several places in the Akbarnāmah. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abulfazl in this list. Perhaps we have to read Pahār Khān, instead of Bahār Khān; vide No. 407. The notice in the Ṭabaqāt implies that he was dead in 1001.
88. Sha'ḥ Fakhruddi'n, son of Mir Qasim, a Mūsawi Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhruddin came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he served in the army which was sent against 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year, he was in the manqalāt, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. and Hakim 'Ainulmulk to Mīr Abū Turāb and I'timād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to I'timād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. 'Aziz Kokah (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 396). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrat (p. 325, note, where according to the Akbar-nāmah we have to read 21st Rabi' II., for 4th Rabi' I.). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqībat Khān.1 In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrat), vice Tarāq Muhammad Khān (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 967, died (986, Tābaqāt).

89. Rājah Ra'm Chand Baghelah.

A few MSS. read Bhagelah, which form Tod says is the correct one. Baghelah, however, is the usual spelling.

Rām Chand was Rājah of Bhat'h (or Bhattach, as the Mādīr spells it). Among the three great Rājahs of Hindūstān, whom Bābār mentions in his Memoirs, the Rājahs of Bhat'h are the third.

Rām Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsūn, 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 Jalāluddin Qūrchi (No. 213) to Bhat'h, to induce Tānsūn to come to Agra. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Agra, and the first time that Tānsūn performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tānsūn 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 Hindūstān.

When Aqāf Khān (I.) led his expedition to Gaṭha (p. 367),2 he came in contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rājah became 'a servant' of Akbar. In the 14th year, Rām Chand lost Fort Kālinjar, as related on p. 369. He sent his son, Bīr Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhat'h; but Bīr Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to court. Rājah Bīr Bār and Zain Kokah were selected for this office, and Rām Chand came at last to court, where he was well received.

R. Ch. died in the 37th year, and Bīr Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rājah. 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 Akbar-nāmah (III., p. 222) calls him Naqībat Khān (?).

2 On p. 367, Rām Chand is by mistake called Rām 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 Patrás (No. 196) with troops to Bándhú, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (t'nhak). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismá'îl Qul Khán (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, Durjodhan, a grandson of Rám Chand, was made Rájah of Bándhú. In the 21st year of Jahándir's reign, Amr Singh, another grandson of Rám Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihl. In the 8th year of Sháhjahán, when 'Abdul-lá Khán Bahádúr marched against the refractory zamindár of Ratanpúr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anúp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rájah Pahár Singh Bandeláh, Jágirdár of Chaurágañ, attacked Anúp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairán, a zamindár of Chaurágañ, 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 Çalábát Khán, Governor of Iláhábád (vide p. 362) conducted him to Court, where Anúp turned Muhammadán. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bándhú and the surrounding districts.

90. Lashkar Khán, Muhammad Husain of Khuréssán.

He was Mír Bakshí and Mír 'Arz. In the 11th year, Muzaffár 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'im'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 (Mádsír, 1,000).

The Mádsír has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment, which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of Lashkar Khán was conferred by Jahándir on Abul Hasan Masbúdís, and by Sháhjahán on Ján Nisár Khán Yádgar Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Mahmúd (p. 392). In the 17th year, he served in the mangál, 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 Patán to Ídar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of the Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patán, he gave the town to Mírá 'Abdulrahmán (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muhammad Husain Mírá, Sháhí Mírá, and Sher Khán Fúládí, besieged Patán; but they dispersed on the approach of M. 'Ariz.

In the 20th year, S. A. and his nephews S. Qásim and S. Hásím quelled the
disturbances in which Jaláluddín Qurchí (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984, he
served under Sháhshí Kháń (No. 89) in the expedition to Siwánah. According to
the Tábaqát, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.
Abul Fázl mentioned Sayyíd Ahmad above on p. 289, l. 4 from below.
Sayyíd Ahmad’s son, S. Jamáluddín, was killed by the untimely explosion of a
mine during the siege of Chitátor (p. 368).
This S. Jamáluddín must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamáluddín
who was executed in 993 (Badáí I, 345). He was a grandson of S. Mahmúd
(No. 75), S. Qásim being called his uncle.
He came with Humáyún to Hindústán. In the 11th year (973), he was sent
together with Sháh Quli Náranjí (No. 231) to Gajhá-Katangah, because Mahdí
Qásim Kháń (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kákár served also under
Mu’izzul-Mulk (No. 61), and was present in the battle of Kíbarábd. He took part
in the bloody fight at Sarnál (middle of Shá’bán, 980; vide p. 333). He was then
attached to Mu’in’s corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and
his son were killed (end of 981; Múdasír, 980).
93. Raí Kálya’n Múllí Záminádár of Bikánír.
He is the father of Raí Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 357.
94. Tháhir Kháń, Mir Farághát, son of Mir Khurád, who was atidíq
to Prince Hindáí.
His name is not given in the Múdasír. Thá Tábaqát merely says that he was
a grandee of Humáyún, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Com-
mander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son Bágí Kháń,
who likewise served under Akbar.
From the Akbaránámah (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of
Akbar’s companions. Together with Dastám Kháń (No. 79), Qutlú Qádám Kháń
(No. 123), Peshráu Kháń (No. 280), Hákím ul Mulk, Muqbil Kháń, Shimál Kháń
(No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwájah Mu’ázzam,
brother of Akbar’s mother.
95. Sháh Muhammad Kháń of Qalát.
As Qalát belongs to Qandahár, he is often called Sháh Muhammad Kháń i
Qandaháír. The Múdasír says, that the name of the town of Qalát is generally spelt
with a J, Q; but that the Hazaráhs pronounce Kálát, with a K.
Sháh Muhammad Kháń was a friend of Bairám, and was with him in Qandahár,
which Humáyún had given Bairám as jágír. Bairám, however, left it entirely in
S. M.’s hands. Bahádur Kháń (No. 22) was then Governor of Dáwár, 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 Humáyún, and wrote to Sháh Táhmasp of Per-
sia that it was Humáyún’s intention to cede Qandahár; he should therefore send troops,
defeat Bahádur, and take possession of the town. Táhmasp sent 3000 Turkmán
troopers furnished by the jágír-dárs of Sístán, Faráh, and Garmár. Their leader,
‘Ali Yárá, 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 Bahá'ím Mirzá (vide No. 8, p 313), Wáli Khállísh Shámití, 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 cessation of Qandahár, observes the author of the Madsir, differs from Muneh Shíkandar’s version in his great work entitled ‘Alamárád Súkandárí. According to that history, Táhmasp, at the very first request of Sháh Muhammad, sent Sultán Husain Mirzá with Wáli Khállísh and other nobles to Qandahár. They defeated Bahádur; 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 Khán, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (985), he led the van in the battle near Sarangpúr, in which Báz Bahádur lost Málwah, 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 Kóká, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 306).

Regarding ‘Ádíl Khán, S. M.’s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Já’ír Súrijan Hádá. He is often merely called Já’ír Hádá. The Hádás are a branch of the Chauhán. The Sírkár of Rantambhúr is called after them Hádáí’t.

Já’ír Súrijan was at first in the service of the Rájá, 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 Dádúü and Bhuj (No. 176) 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 Shaíkh Baháuddín Majzúb of Básdáon, but was cut down by one of Musáfír 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 Qul 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 Gádha-Katangah from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanád (Chunár).
Soon after, Daudá fled and created disturbances in Bünūl. Zain Khán Kokā (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhuj were therefore sent to Bünūl, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudá who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shahbáz Khán (p. 400). Not long after, Daudá fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muzaffar’s (No. 37) death, in Bihár. The Mašir does not mention the year of his death. From the Ṭabaqāt, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

Por R. S.’s son, Rái Bhuj, vide below, No. 175.

97. Sha’ham Khán Juláir.

Juláir is the name of a Chagháltái tribe.

Sháham’s father was Bábá Beg, who had been under Hamáyún governor of Jaunpúr. Bábá Beg took also part in the battle of Chausá, in which Hamáyún was defeated by Sher Sháh. The Emperor fled to Agra, and ordered Bábá Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begums. In attempting to rescue the Ladies of the Harem, Bábá Beg was killed by an Afgáň near the imperial tent.

Sháham Khán was made an Amir by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966), he served together with the two Jaláirs mentioned below, Hájí Muhammad Khán i Sistání (No. 55), Chálma Beg (68), Kamál Khán Ghákkar, and Qiyá Kháú Gung (No. 38), under Kháñ Zamán (No. 13) in the Jaunpúr District against the Afgáňs. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Sháh, son of 'Adlí, Mubáriz Kháñ, after Bairám’s death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year, Sh. Kháñ served against Kháñ Zamán.

In the 10th year, he served under Mun’im in the Bengal and Opisá wars, was present in the battle of Takaró and pursued with Todar Mall the Afgáňs to Bhdák (p. 375). After Mun’im’s death at Gaur (p. 376), the grandees put Sh. Kháñ 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 Maháll (p. 331). In the 24th year, he was jágirdár of Hájípúr (opposite Patna). After Muzaffar’s death (No. 37) in 988, before Todar Mall had arrived, he defeated and killed Sa’íd i Badakhshí, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued ’Arab Baháddür, whom Shahbáz Khán (p. 400) had defeated. In the 26th year, Sh. Kháñ was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Ma’üm Kháñ i Farankhúdú (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahráich over Kalyánpúr to Muhammadábád, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpúr. Sh. Kháñ, from Narhan, Pahár Kháñ (No. 407) from Gházi púr, and Qásim from Jaldpúr, united their contingents, and pursued Ma’üm so effectually, that he applied to M. ‘Azíz Koká, to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year, he was made Governor of Gaḍhá, and soon after, of Dihlí. In the end of the same year, he accompanied Sul tá Múrúd, who conducted M. Suláimáñ (No. 5) to court. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he assisted Ćádí Khán (No. 43) in his expedition against Jaláláh Táříki in Teráh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjáb, Akbar made Dihlí his residence. It was proved that Sh. Kháñ had been oppressive, and he was therefore
manned. Two years later, he served in the Ḍaṣir war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zi Hijjah, 1009.

The Ṭabdqat says that Sháhám Khán was in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnameh mentions two other Jaláir Grandees—

1. Sultan Husain Khán Jaláir. He was mentioned above, p. 384, l. 2.

2. Muhammad Khán Jaláir. The Ṭabdqat 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. Aṣaf Khán (III.), [Mírzá Qiwásu’d-dín] Ja’far Beg, son of Badi’u’zzamán of Qazwín.

His father Mírzá Badi’u’zzamán was the son of Aghá Mullá Dáwát-dár of Qazwín (vide p. 369). M. Badi’, during the reign of Sháh Táhirís, had been vazír of Káhán, 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. Ghiásu’d-dín ‘Alí Aṣaf Khán II. (No. 126), on his return from the Ídár expedition. The new Dáqá law having then been introduced (vide p. 242), Akbar made Ja’far a Commander of Twenty (Bistí) and attached him to the Dáqálí s (p. 232) of his uncle. According to Baddóní (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 Muzáfár Khán (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with him, when the Bengál military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shamsu’d-dín i Kháfí (No. 169) into the hands of the rebels. Ja’far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Táhpur, 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 Aṣaf Khán. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshí, vice Qází ‘Alí. In his first expedition, against the Ráns of Udaipúr, Aṣaf was successful.

In the 32nd year, he was appointed Thánahdár of Sawád (Swat), vice Ismail Quli Khán, who had been reprimanded (p. 361, where for Wajáhir read Bjhór). In the 37th year, Jalálah Raúshání fled to ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbek, king of Túrás; but finding no support, he returned to Teráh, and stirred up the Khrídí and Urajzaf Afgáns. Aṣaf 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, Aṣaf was sent to Kashmir, M. Yúsuf Khán (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jágír holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kábulí (No. 191), Muhammad Quli Afsán, and Hasan ʿAráb, were the most important. The cultivation of Zájírán (saffron, vide p. 84) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qází ‘Alí, i. e., at one lac of khaweedra, at 24 damás each (vide p. 346). Aṣaf only stayed three days in Kashmir, and returned to Láhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jágír holders, Aṣaf was made Governor of
the province. In the 41th year, (beginning of 1008), he was appointed Diváni kal, vice Patr Dás (No. 196).

In 1013, Prince Salím (Jahángír) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salím was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrát as tayúl, and gave up the Chúbahs of Hábúbád and Bihár, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihár was given to Aḥaf who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahángír's accession, Aḥaf was called to court, and appointed atáliq to Prince Parsvíz, who had taken the command against the Ráná. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khúsrau. In the 2nd year, 1016, Jahángír, after suppressing Khúsrau's revolt, left Láhor for Kábul, and as Sharíf Kháán Amír ul Umár remained dangerously ill in India, Aḥaf was made Vákíl and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels. But he never trusted Jahángír, as the Emperor himself found out after Aḥaf's death (Tásuk, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar's death, the kings4 of the Dákhín had been restless, and Malik 'Ambar had seized upon several places in the Balág'hát District. The Kháán Kháánání (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahángír sent Prince Parsvíz to the Dákhín, with Aḥaf Kháán as atáliq, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rájah Mán Singh (No. 30), Kháán Jaláli Lódí, Kháán i A'zam, (No. 21), 'Abdulláh Kháán, "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 Amirs, spoiled everything; and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige (p. 326). Not long after, in 1021, Aḥaf died at Búhrángpúr. The Tártáb of his death is—

джиг фарахан. A hundred times Alas! for Aḥaf Kháán!

The Tásuk (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Aḥaf Kháán 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 topping 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 Akbar's disciples (p. 209). He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawi, entitled Núránímah, ranks after Núṣánum's Shirín Khásharú. Vide below among the poets of Akbar's reign.

Aḥaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. Mirzá Zain ul 'abbídín. He was a commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Sháhjáhán's reign. He had a son Mirzá Jafír, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same takhallús (Jafír). He, Záhid Kháán Kokah, and M. Sháff (Pádsháhánmah; Sháff, Mástúr), son of Saif

1 It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as insígnia on Diváns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

4 Mughul Historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dákhín kings. The word which they generally use is dunyaddar, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the Akbaranmah.
Khan, were such intimate friends, that Shahujaan dubbed them sik yar, 'the three friends.' He later resigned the service, and lived in Agra on the pension which Shahujaan granted and Aurangzeb increased. He died in 1094.

2. Suhrab Khan. He was under Shahujaan a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shahujaan.

3. Mirza 'Ali Aqbar. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parendah expedition, he created dissensions between Shahu Shujah and Mahamat Khan. He served in the war against Jujhur Bandalah, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamuni, as related in the Padisahdnamah. He had just been married to the daughter of Mutamid Khan Bakhsh (author of the Iqbalnamah i Jakungiri); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shahujaan married her to Khan Daurun. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. Mirza 'Askari. He was in the 20th year of Shahujaan a Commander of 500, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the Padisahdnamah mention two relations of Aqaf—
1. Muhammad Qulih, son of Mirza Shahu, brother or nephew of Aqaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shahujaan's reign. 2. Mugim, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaikh Farid i Bukhawri.

The Iqbalnamah, according to the Madsir, says, he belonged to the Misawat Sayyida; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhvar Sayyida's trace their descent to Sayyid Jafir i Bukhai, seventh descendant of Imam 'Ali Naqi Alhadif.

The fourth ancestor of Shaikh Farid was Shaikh Abdulghaffar of Dilihi, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Sayurghal tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaikh Farid was born as Diilihi (Tusaq, p. 68). He entered Akbar's service early. In the 28th year, when M. 'Aziz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Hotar army, S. F. accompanied Vazir Khan (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwan, where Qutul of Orfasa had collected his Afghans. Qutul having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutul'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 Bakhsh, and had also for some time the Daftar i Tusa in his charge, i.e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jagir holders.

His elevation under Jahangir, was due to the decided support he gave Jahangir, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khuras at Bhairoppal. When Prince Salim occupied Ilahabads during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to manpahs and giving them jagirs, Akbar favoured Prince Khurasan so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salim's men were sent to Gujrat. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salim to stay outside the Fort of Agra; and M. 'Aziz Kokah (No. 21) and Raja Mân Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khurasan's succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and
Sirāfī Fārādī to take the command. But Sh. F. did not care for their arrange-
ments and went over to Prince Salonūs outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar
shut his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5000,
and the title of Čūhībussaifi wa-yalālam, ¹ was appointed Mir Bukhārī.

A short time after, on the 8th Zī Hajjah, 1014, Prince Khusrau suddenly left
Agra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhūr. Sh. F., with other Bukhārīs
and many Bārha Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahāngīr himself followed
soon after, accompanied by Sharif Khān Ṭumrūlū, and Mahābāt Khān, who
were hostile to Sh. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him.
Sulṭān Khusrau had gone to Lāhūr, and besieged the town, when he heard of
Sh. F.'s arrival with 12000 horse at the Ab i Sultānāpur. He raised the siege, and
arrived at the Bāīā, which Sh. F. had just crossed. Khusrau was immediately
attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bārha and Bukhārī Sayyids had
to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of
Ṣaif Khān, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Kundilwāl, (p. 392) and Sayyid Jalāl.
There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1500 Budakshī troopers,
and had not S. Kābul (p. 397) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with
loud cries of Pādīshāh salamāt, the Bārha Sayyids would have been cut down to a
man. Sayyid Saif Khān got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalāl died a few days after
the battle. About four hundred of Khusrau's troopers were killed, and the rest dis-
persed. Khusrau's jewel-box fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took
place in the neighbourhood of Bhairowāl. ² In the evening Jahāngīr arrived, embraced
S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Parganah
of the name of Fathābād, and was given Sh. F. as a present. He received, besides,
the title of Martazā Khān, and was appointed governor of the Čūbā of Gujrāt.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahāngīr an immense ruby made into a ring,
which weighed 1 misk, 15 surkhs, and was valued at 25000 Rs. As the relations
of the Shaikh oppressed the people in Gujrāt, he was recalled from Ahmadābād (Tārīkh,
p. 73). In the 5th year, he was made governor of the Panjāb. In 1021, he made
preparations to invade Kāŋgrah. He died at Pat’hān in 1025, and was buried at

¹ This title we also find in old inscrip-
tions, e. g. in those of Tribenī and Sāg-
guw, Hūgli District. It means Lord of the sword and the pen.

² Bhairowāl, on our maps Bhīrowaṭāl, lies on the road from Jāhīnāhar to Am-
ritsar, on the right bank of the Bāīā. After the defeat, Khusrau fled north-
wards with the view of reaching Rahtās beyond the right bank of the Jhelum.
He had therefore to cross the Rāwī, the Chunāb, and the Jhelam. On coming
to the Chunāb, at a place called Shāh-
pur (a very common name in the Panjāb), he could not get boats. He therefore
went to Sodharah, which is also men-
tioned as a place for crossing in the
Tehabgāt i Nācirī,—on our maps Sodra,
N. E. of Vazirābād,—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 Chunāb, and
swam back. This came to the ears of the Chunādī of Sodharah, and a report
was sent to Abū Īsām Tāmkīn (No. 100), one of Jahāngīr's officers stationed
at Gujrāt (at some distance from the right bank of the Chunāb, opposite to Vazir-
ābād). He came, took Khusrau from the
island, and kept him confined in Gujrāt.
The news of the capture reached Jahāngīr at Lāhūr on the last Muharram 1015,
i.e. 52 days after Khusrau's flight from
Agra. On the 3rd Čaftār, Khusrau,
Hasan Beg i Budakshī (No. 167), and
'Abdurrāhīm Kharī, were brought to
Jahāngīr in the Bāgh i Mīrzā Kāndīs.
Dihli (Twa. p. 159). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 3000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dihli, entitled Aṣḥābqandādīd, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhārī. Of Farid's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (ddīdān). 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 Sarādī 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 khāmah).

According to the Tawak, p. 65, Salimgaḍ (Dihli) belonged to S. Farid. It had been built by Salim Khán the Afgān during his reign in the midst (dar miyān) of the Jamnāh. Akbar had given it to Farid.¹

When Shaikh Farid died, only 1000 Ashrafīs were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the Tūrīkh of his death—

† دور خود بردن dad, khurd burd (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 jāgīr lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujarāt, he had a list made of all Bukhārī 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 Sarādās. The one in Dihli has been mentioned above. In Ahmadābād, a mahallah was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhārā. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Shah Wajhuddin (died 988; Baddāmi III, 43). He also built Faridābād near Dihli, the greater part of the old pargana of Tīlāj being included in the pargana of Faridābād (Elliot's Glossary, Beames' Edition, II, p. 123). In Láhor also, a Mahallah was built by him, a large bath, and a chauk, or bazaar. The Government officers under him received annually three khalāta; 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 Jahāngīr, 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 Afgān of the name of Sher Khán, had taken leave in Gujarāt, 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 (Abd-barnāmah III, p. 196) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamnāh.
² In Dihli, Ahmadābād, and many other places in Gujarāt, do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. Vide Nos. 77, 78.
The Shaikh ordered Dwarká Das to pay the man his wages, and the Bakhshí wrote out the Descriptive Receipt for the man's one day's pay. But Farid got angry, and said, “He is an 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 service.

"Negret and Sav," explains the author of the Madeir, “change as before, and the sons and the brothers turn as old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps I have said for some other country!"

Shaikh Farid had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muhammad Saíd and Mir Khán. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often wanted, they would noisily pass the palaces 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 Mahābat Khán, whom Jahángír had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Khán. Sh. F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood; but Mahābat got together several 'respectable' witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mir Khán had been killed by Muhammad Saíd, and Shaikh F. had to remain quiet.

Muhammad Saíd was alive in the 20th year of Sháhjahán, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (Pādushákha. II, 742).

Sayyid Jafīr, Sh. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 397, l. 5).

The Pādushákha (I, b, 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions Sayyid Badr, son of Shaikh Farid's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and Sayyid Bhakar, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. Samańji Khán, son of Chalmah Beg.

For Samańji we often find in MSS. Samáji. The Turkish samo means key, so that Samańji, or Sa'máchí would mean one who looks after the key.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the Madsir, nor the Tabaqát. Nor have I come across his name in the Akbarnamesh. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samańji Khán will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardi Khán, son of Qiyá Khán Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 344. The Tabaqát says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrát).

1 Tardi Khán is also mentioned in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 18, l. 15. But this is a mistake. It should be Tar Khán, not Tardi Khán. The word tóqání, i. e., also is a mistake, and should be Tóghád. Pages 18, 19 of the Tuzuk treat of Akbar's forced march to Patan in Gujrát (vide p. 325, note, and p. 466, l. 10). The Madsir (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, b.) mentions the 4th Rabí 'I as the day when Akbar left Agra; but from the Akbarnamesh (Lockslove Edition, III, 18 E.) it is clear that Akbar left Agra on the 24th Rabí 'I, 981, and engaged the enemy on the 9th day after his departure, i. e., on the 5th Jumáda I, 981. Hence the date 5th Jumáda I, 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, Tuzuk, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumáda I, 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of Akbar's reign, and the
102. Mihtar Khān, Anisuddin, a servant of Humayūn.

The word mihtar, pr. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humayūn's servants. Thus in the Akbarnamah (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 Khān was the title of Anis (uddin). He was Humayūn's treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantambhūr 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 Maiwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the Chandāwūl (rear). In the 25th year, he held a jāgir in Auda, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Ma'ṣūm Khán Farangkhād (No. 167).

Anis was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar's death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the Tabaqdt, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngir's reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the Madāir correctly, he was a Kāfī, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Mūnis Khān, his son, was during the reign of Jahāngir a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. Abū Tālib, son of Mūnis Khān, was employed as treasurer (kāżadnāwī) of the Čūbāh of Bengal.

103. Rai Durga Sisodīn.

Rai Durgā is generally called in the Akbarnamah, Rai Durgā Chandrawaṭ (चन्द्रवात). The home of the family was the Parganah of Rāmpūr, also called lakāmpūr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar's reign, Rai Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mīrzā Muhammad Hakım of Kābul. In the 28th year, he was attached to Mīrzā Khān's (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrat war. In the 30th year, he was with M. 'Afnis Kokah (No. 21) in the Dakhīn. In the 36th year, he followed Prince Murād to Mālwāh, and later to the Dakhīn.

In the 45th year, Akbar sent him after Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā. He then accompanied Abūlfaqīr to Nānīk, 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 Jahāngir's reign.

According to the Tusuk (p. 63), he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahāngir says, he had at first been in the service of Rānā U'dāi 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 Tabaqdt says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The Madāir continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.

correction of the MSS., is a truly herculean labour, which the want of critical acumen on the part of the editors of our printed historical editions has very much increased. Vide No. 104.
Genealogy of the Ráos of Rúmpúr (Iástánpúr), Chítor.

1. Rái Durgá Sisodíáh
   (Chándráwá)  

2. Ráo Chandá (Jahángír)
   (a) A son ___________________________ (b) Ráp Mukund

3. Ráo Dándá (Shábjáhán)

4. Ráo Hattí Singh (Do.)³
   [died childless]

5. (a.) Ráo Ráp Singh —— (b.) Ráo Amr Singh
   [died childless]

6. (a.) Ráo Ráp Singh —— (b.) Ráo Amr Singh
   (Aurángzúb)  

7. Ráo Muhkam Singh

8. Ráo Gopál Singh

9. Ráo Ratan Singh

Ráo Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of Músulín Khán
(Aurángzúb-Jahándár Sháh).

104. Mádhu Singh, son of Rájah Bhagwán Dás (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnál (p. 333). In the beginning of the 21st
year (Muharrum, 984) he served under Mán Singh against Ráná Kiká, and distin-
guished himself in the battle of Gogandah (21st Rabí’ I., 984).² In the 30th
year, he accompanied Mírá Sháhrúkh (No. 7) on his expedition to Kashmir. In the
31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hámíd (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rájah
Bhagwán from Thánah Langar, where he was stationed, to ‘Alí Masjíd, where Mán
Singh was.

In the 48th year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2000 horse.
According to the Tabáqát, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2000.

His son, Chaṭr Súl, or Sátír Súl, was at the end of Jahángír’s reign a Commander
of Fifteen Hundred, 1000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhum Singh
and Anand Singh, in the Dák’hin, in the 3rd year of Shábjáhán’s reign. His third
son, Ugar Sén, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (vide Pádisáhán-
i, p. 294; I., b., pp. 305, 314.)

¹ There is some confusion in the MSS.
battle, and brought Akbar Mán Singh’s
and printed editions regarding his name.
report, it is clear that Mán Singh set out
This in the Pádisáhánímah, Ed. Bibl.
Thus in the Pádisáhánímah, Ed. Bibl.
Indica, I, b., 365, he is called Mákí
Indica, I, b., 365, he is called Mákí
Singh; but Hattí Singh in the same
Singh; but Hattí Singh in the same
work, Vol. II, p. 730, and Hattí, on
work, Vol. II, p. 730, and Hattí, on
p. 374.

² It was said above, p. 330, l. 1., that
the battle of Gogandah was fought in
985. This is the statement of the Tabáqát,
the battle of Gogandah was fought in
985. This is the statement of the Tabáqát,
which the Madár follows in its
which the Madár follows in its
biographical note of Rájah Mán Singh.
but from the Akbarnámah and the His-
biographical note of Rájah Mán Singh.
but from the Akbarnámah and the His-
tory of Báchoní, who was present in the
story of Báchoní, who was present in the

³ It is said above, p. 330, l. 1., that
a confusion of solar and lunar years.
It is said above, p. 330, l. 1., that
Histories should bear this in mind. The
the Sáramí should be the guide of Historians.
106. Sayyid Qasim, and 148. Sayyid Ha’ishim, sons of Sayyid Mahmud Khan of Bárha, Kándliwál (No. 75).

In the 17th year, S. Qasim served under Khan ’ Alam (No. 58), in the pursuit of Muhammad Husain Mirzá, who after his defeat by M. ’ Aziz Koko (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dák’hin.

S. Hásim served, in the 21st year, with Ráí Ráí Singh (No. 44) against Sultán Deorah, ruler of Sarohí, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year, both brothers served under Shabbáz Khan (No. 80) against the Ráá. In the 25th year, when Chandr Sen, son of Mádeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had jágrés in Ajmér, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the hardwaal of Mirzá Khan (No. 29) in the Gujárát war.

S. Háshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmadábád. S. Qásim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thánahdár of Patañ. When Mirzá Khan went to Court, leaving Qulj Khán as Governor of Ahmadábád, Qásim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muzaffár, Jám (zamindár of Little Kachh), and Khángár (zamindár of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mirzá Khan, Khán i A’zam (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujráth. Qásim continued to serve in Gujráth, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sultán Murád’s Dák’hin corps.

Qásim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1500.

Regarding their sons, vide p. 392.

XII. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. Ráí Sál Darbári, Shaikháwat.

He is also called Rájá Ráí Sál 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 Kachhwaás are divided into Rájáwats and Shaikháwat. To the latter branch belong Rájáhs Lon Karon, Ráí Sál, &c.; the former contains Mán Singh’s posterity (the present rulers of Jai póór).

The term Shaikháwat, or Shaikháwat, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muhammadan Shiikh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called Shaikh.† Hence his descendants are called the Shaikháwat Branch.

Ráí Sál was employed at Court, as his title of Darbári indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahángir, he was promoted, and served in the Dák’hin. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Ráí Sál was in the Dák’hin, Mádhu Singh and other grandchildren of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Ráí Sál’s paternal possessions. But Máhurá

1 He is the same as the Shaikhji of Jaípúr genealogies. Shaikhji is said to have been a grandson of Udaíkaraan, twelfth descendant of Dholá Ráí (p. 320).

2 Called in the Mudsir Jálí, Khan-dár or Ghándár, ‘near Amber.’
Dás, a Bengali, who was Ráí Sál’s Munshi 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 Zamindárs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rájá Girdhar, Ráí Sál’s son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the Akbarnáma 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 Pádishákhánímah (I., b., p. 314) mentions another son of Ráí Sál’s, Bhuj Báp, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The Tabaqát says that Ráí Sál was, in 1001, a Commander of Two Thousand. Abúlází calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This manzáb is unusual, and Ráí Sál stands alone in this class. It does not occur in the lists of Grandees in the Pádishákhánímah. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Manzáb after the Hazárí was the Hazár o pánzándi, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.


This grandee must not be confounded with Muhibb ‘Ali Khán Bahásí (p. 422).

Muhibb ‘Ali Khán is the son of Mír Nizánuddín ‘Ali Khalífah, the “pillar of Báb’s government.” He had no faith in Humáyún, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdí Khwájah, Bábá’s son-in-law. Mahdí, a short time before Bábá’s death, assumed a royal department. One day, Mír 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 Harávi5 in the corner of the tent. Muqím reported these words to Mír Khalífah, and upbraided him for giving Mahdí his support. Mír Khalífah thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdí, and raised, on Bábá’s death, Humáyún to the throne.

His son Muhibb ‘Ali Khán distinguished himself under Bábá and Humáyún. His wife was Náhib Begum, daughter of Qásím Kokáh. Qásím had sacrificed himself for Bábá. Bábá had fallen into the hands of ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbek, when Qásím stepped forward and said that he was Bábá. He was cut to pieces, and Bábá escaped. In 975, Náhib Begum went to That’hab, to see her mother, Hájí Begum (daughter of Mirzá Muqím, son of Mirzá Zul-nún). After Qásím Kokáh’s death, Hájí Begum married Mirzá Husán, and after him, Mirzá ‘Tsá Tarkhán, king of Sindh (p. 382). Before Náhib Begum reached That’hab, Mirzá ‘Tsá died. His successor, Mirzá Báqi 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. Báqi’s person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Hájí Begum was put into prison. Náhib 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 Muhibb ‘Ali

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1 Father of the Historian Nizánuddín Ahmad, author of the Tabaqát i Akbarí. | Muqím was then Dívrán i Buyúddí.
to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack That'hah. Násíhí Begum did so on coming to court, and Akbar, in the 16th year (978), called for Muhíbb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muhíbb set out, accompanied by Mughal Khán, a son of his daughter. Sáíd Khán (No. 25), Governor of Multán, had also received orders to assist Muhíbb; but at Sultán Mahmúd’s request, Muhíbb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troops. 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. Muhíbb, though he had only 200 troops, resolved to punish Sultán Mahmúd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Mahmúd had 10000 horse assembled near Fort Máthílah (ماثیلا). Muhíbb 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 Mubárák Khán, Sultán Mahmúd’s caziré, left his master and went with 1600 horse over to Muhíbb. But as Mubrák’s son, Beg Oghlí, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sultán Mahmúd, Muhíbb wished to kill Beg Oghlí. Mubrák, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muhíbb’s power. Muhíbb therefore killed Mubrák, 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 Sír 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 Salm, if Muhíbb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmúd) to court; for he said, he could not trust Muhíbb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mír Gesú, Bakháwal-begi, to Bhakkar.² Before Mír Gesú arrived, Sultán Mahmúd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mughal Khán just besieged Fort Ganjábah,³ and his mother Sámi‘ah Begum (Muhíbb’s daughter) who felt offended at Akbar’s proceedings, despatched a few ships against Mír Gesú, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqim i Harawí also arrived and dissuaded Muhíbb from hostilities against Mír Gesú. The latter now entered Bhakkar (981), and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muhíbb nor Mughal felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muhíbb therefore entered into an agreement with Mír Gesú, according to which Mughal 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 Mír Gesú despatched a flotilla after Mughal. Muhíbb upon this withdrew to Máthílah. Sámi‘ah 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 Tárikh i Ma‘qúmi (vide No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot’s History of India (1, p. 240 et.) has given extracts. But Abulfazl’s account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson’s Mír Kísá, we have to read Mír Gesú. His biography is given in the Mada’ir. ² Generally called Ganjábah.
night. Next day, Mujahid arrived in forced marches, defeated the enemy, and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muhammad Tarson Khan (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 Mir 'Arz. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of Mir 'Arz, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihli. Muhibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihli in 989.

Muhibb is placed in the Tabagat among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abul Fazl says that it is called in old books Mas-ğurah. Six rivers unite 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 Loharú, and near it is the Indus.

Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghán, king of Thát’háh, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother Sultán Mahmúd. After Sháh Husain’s death, Sultán Mahmúd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mírzá Táí Tárkhán (p. 362) at Thát’háh. Both were often at war with each other. Sultán Mahmúd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thát’háh, it was attached to the Úbah of Multán.

[Muhibb ’Ali’ Khán’ Rahtá’si’].

Like Muhibb ’Ali Khán, son of Mir Khalifah, Muhibb ’Ali Khán Rahtá’si is put in the Tabagat among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abul Fazl has not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the Akbarnamah and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtás in S. Bihár, he is generally called Rahtá’si. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Sháh. During his reign, as also that of Salmán Sháh, Fath Khán Batní commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaimán and Jun'aid i Kararáni. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. As related above (p. 400), he handed it over to Shabbáz Khán (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatí and his son Súri Rám (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb ’Ali Khán governor of Rahtás, and Shabbáz Khán made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Hábíb ’Ali Khán (vide No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yusuf Mití, who had collected a band of Afghans and ravaged S. Bihár. His death affected his father so much, that he became temporarily insane.

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2 If Prof. Dowson’s MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 241), the Tiríkh i Mu’áçámi would contradict the Akbar-|námah. Mujáhid Khán is again men-|tioned, l. c., p. 282.
In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Čúbah, Muhīb was ordered to join Vazír Khán (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year, Bihár was given to the Kachhwáhás as jágir, and Akbar called Muhīb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multán. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muhīb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muhīb took ill, and died, on the emperor’s return, near the Khāqān Sulaimán. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the Akbarnámah (III, p. 245) a place Muhīb ‘Alípur’ is mentioned, which Muhīb founded near Rahíkás.

108. Sultan Khwājah ʿAbdul ʿAzīm, son of Khwājah Khwāwand Dost.

He is also called Sultan Khwājah Naqshbandī. His father Khwāwand Dost was a pupil of Khwājah ʿAbduṣshahād, fifth son of Khwājah ʿAbdullāh (generally called Khwājaqān Khwājah; vide No. 17, p. 322), son of the renowned saint Khwājah Nāṣiruddin Aḥrār (born 806, died 29th Rabi‘ I, 895).

When ʿAbduṣshahād came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pargana Chāmārī. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sultan Khwājah, though neither learned in the sciences nor in Ṭaqlawwuf (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 Mīr Ḥajj, and as such commanded a numerous party of couriers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sultan Khwājah was to distribute six lacs of rupees and 12000 ḥilāṭs 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 Fathpūr, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dānyāl.

His son, Mīr Khwājah, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badāuí and Abūl Fazl, Sultan Khwājah belonged to the elect of the ‘Divine Faith’ (vide p. 204).


His name is not given in the Mādsīr and the Taḥaqdī. The Akbarnámah mentions a Khwājah ʿAbdullāh who served in the war against ʿAbdullāh Khán Uzbek (No. 14), in Mālah (971-72), during the last rebellion of Khán Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnāl (middle Sha‘bān, 980; vide p. 333). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnámah, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

1 Not given on the maps.

2 Naqshband was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwājah Bahārūddin of Bakhair, born 738, died 3rd Rabi‘ I.

791. He was called naqshband, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave kasmīhādz adorned with figures (naqsh).
110. Khwa'jah Jahān, Aminā of Harāt.

His full name is Khwājah Aminuddīn Māhmūd of Harāt. The form Aminā is modern Iranī, which likes to add a long ā to names.

Amin was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humiyūn on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshī of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar’s accession, Amin was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of Khwājah Jahān. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year, he was accused by Muzaffar Khān (No. 37) of want of loyalty shewn in the rebellion of Khān Zamān. 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 Hājipūr; but Amin had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpūr. When the emperor returned from Hājipūr over Jaunpūr 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 Lakhnau, in the beginning of Sha'bān, 982.

According to the chronology of the Ṭabagāt, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amin’s brother is mentioned. His name was Mirzā Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of Shahrī. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahāngīr also conferred the title of Khwājah Jahān on the officer (Dost Muhammed of Kābul) who had served him as Bakhshī while Prince.

111. Ta‘ta’r Khān, of Khurāsān.

His name is Khwājah Tahir Muhammed. In the 8th year, he accompanied Shāh Bāḏāgh Khān (No. 52) and Rāmī Khān (No. 146), and pursued Mir Shāh ʿAbul Ma‘ālī, who withdrew from Hičār Firūzah to Kābul.

He was then made governor of Dīhlī, where he died in 986.

The Ṭabagāt says, he was for some time Vazīr, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullā Nūrūdīn Tarkhān, vide Badāonī III, 199.

112. Hākīm Abulfath, son of Mullā ʿAbdurrazāq of Gīlān.

His name is Masihuddin Abulfath. Maulānā ʿAbdurrazāq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of Čādr of Gīlān. When Gīlān, in 974, came into the possession of Tuḥmāsp, Ahmad Khān, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and ʿAbdurrazāq was tortured to death. Hākīm Abulfath, with his distinguished brothers Hakim Humām (No. 205) and Hakim Nūrūdīn, left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 175). They went to Court and were well received. Abulfath, in the 24th year, was made Čādr and Amin of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he was captured with several other officers (vide Nos. 98 and 150); 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 takhalluṣ is ‘Qurārī’. Their fourth brother, Hakīm Luṭīrullāh, came later from Iran to India, and received through Abul 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 Bīr Bār on the expedition against the Yaṣufzāis in Sawād 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 Kashmir, and from there to Zābulistān. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar’s order, Khwājah Shamsuddin (No. 159) took his body to Hassan Abdāl, and buried him in a vault which the Khwājah had made for himself (Tūsuk, p. 43). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abulfath’s tomb.

The great poet ‘Urfi of Shīrāz (vide below, among the poets) is Abul Fath’s encomiast. Faizi also has composed a fine ma’rīa, or elegy, on his death.

Abulfazl and Badānī speak of the vast attainments of Abulfath. A rare copy of his Munshiṣidā preserves in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwārī diminutively Anwāriā; and of Khagānī 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 (Badānī III, 167).

Badānī mentions Abulfath’s influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islām (p. 176).

Abulfath had a son, Fathullah. He was killed by Jahāngīr, as he was an accomplice of Khusrāu (Tūsuk, p. 58).

A grandson of Abulfath is mentioned in the Padshahnāmah (II, p. 739). His name is Fath Zik; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 180 horse.

118. Shaikh Jamāl, son of Muhammad Bakhtyār.

His full name is Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, son of Shaikh Muhammad Bakhtyār. The Bakhtyār clan had possessions in Jalālsar, Cūbah of Āgra.

Shaikh Jamāl’s sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar’s harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamāl’s elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rāp 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 25th year, he accompanied Ismā’īl Quli Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyābat Khān. Niyābat Khān was the son of Mir Hāshim of Niahpūr; his name was ‘Arab. Before his rebellion, he held Jhosi and Arai (Jalāl-ābād) as jāgīr. In the fight, which took place near ‘Kantīt, a dependency of Pannah,’ Shaikh Jamāl was nearly killed, Niyābat Khān having pulled him from his horse.

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1 His Munshiṣidā contain interesting letters addressed by Abulfath to his brother Hakim Humān, the Khān Khānān (No. 299), Khwājah Shams (No. 159), and others.

2 The Bibl. Indica edition of Badānī (II, 289) says, the fight took place at Gasišt (کشت), a dependency of Patnah (پتن) ; but this is a mistake of the
In the 26th year, he marched with Prince Murád against Mírzá Muhammad Hakim of Khábul.

Shaikh Jamál 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. Jamál therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a jogí. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamál 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 Zábulistán, Shaikh Jamál had to remain sick in Länderánah. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamál has been mentioned above on p. 191.

114. Ja'far Khán, son of Qazáq Khán.

He is generally called in the histories Ja'far Khán Tulú, Tulú being the name of a Qáilibásh tribe.

His grandfather, Muhammad Kháñ Sharaftúdín Oghlí Tulú, was at the time of Humáyún's flight governor of Harát and lallahús1 to Sulítán Muhammad Mírzá, eldest son of Sháh Táhmasp i Čáswí. At the Sháh's order, he entertained Humáyún in the most hospitable manner. When he died, he was succeeded in office by his son Qazáq Kháñ. But Qazáq shewed so little loyalty, that Táhmasp, in 972, sent Ma'chúm Beg i Čáswí against him. Qazáq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Harát, he died. Ma'chúm 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 Kháñ Zamání, and was made a Khán and a commander of One Thousand. From Baddóní (II, p. 161) we see that he had a jágír in the Panjáb, and served under Husain Qulí Kháñ (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the Tábahát, 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. Sháh Fánazí, son of Mír Najástí.

His name is not given in the Múásir and the Tábahát. From the Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Málwáh and took part in the battle near Sárangpúr (beginning of the 6th year; vide No. 120).

The poet Fánáí who is mentioned in Baddóní (III, 296), the Tábahát, and the Mírád ul 'A'am, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar com-

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1 The word lallah is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, such as the Memoirs of Táhmasp, the Alámárd, &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 atálíq, which so often occurs in Indian Histories. Vide p. 357, note.
ferred on him the title of Khán. He was a Chaghtái 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. conscience. 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 Khán, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the Mādir and the Tabaqāt. An Asadullah Khán is mentioned in the Akbarnāmah (end of the 12th year). He served under Khán Zaman (No. 13), and commanded the town of Zamāsid (p. 320, l. 4 from below). After Khán Zamān’s death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaimān, king of Bengal. But Mum’in (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and took quickly possession of the town, so that the Afgāns under their leader, Khán Khánān Lodi, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afgāns into contact with Mum’in; 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 Khán Khánān Lodi, on the part of Sulaimān, promised to read the Khutbah, and to strike coins in Akbar’s name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaimān in 980.

The Akbarnāmah mentions another officer of a similar name, Asadullah Turkmān. He was mentioned above on p. 383.


From the Akbarnāmah (III, 296) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel ‘Arab Bahādur. Shahbāz Khán had sent Sa‘ādat to a Fort near Rahtās, where he was surprised by ‘Arab, defeated and slain. It is said that ‘Arab drank some of his blood.

118. Ru‘psī Bairagī, brother of Rājah Bihārī Mall (No. 23).

The Mādir says that Ru‘psi was the son of Rājah Bihārī Mall’s brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the Tabaqāt, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred.

Jaimall, Ru‘psi’s son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (p. 329). He served some time under Shara’uddān (No. 17), jāgirdār of Ajmīr, and was Thānāhdār of Mīrtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaimall went to Court. In the 17th year, he served in Mangalā of Khán Kalān (Vide No. 129), and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 416, note). In the 21st year, he served in the expedition against Daud, son of Rāi Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Būndī (Muharram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died.

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1 According to the Akbarnāmah, Ba’domī, and the Tabaqāt, Sulaimān died in 960. In Princep’s Tables, Stewart’s Bengal, &c., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The Riyāds ussalātīn, upon which Stewart’s work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the Akbarnāmah and the Tabaqāt, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. This corrects also note 1, p. 171.

2 The MSS. call the Fort Kismat, كسمت, Kismat, &c. It is said to be a dependency (as muzaffāt) of Rahtās.
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 Süttee. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnáth’s (No. 69) and Ráí Sánd (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 Hussain Mírzá, after Akbar’s forced march to Patan and Ahmadábád, is known from Elphinstone’s History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rápsí was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Máldeo) 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 Rápsí’s rudeness.

119. I’timá’d Khán, Khwájahsará”.

He has been mentioned above p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muhammad Mir ‘Adl (vide No. 140) had died.

Maqúrd ‘All, 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. Maqúrd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, I’timád was murdered by Maqúrd, whilst getting up from bed.

I’timád built I’timádpúr, 6 kos from Agra, He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.1

120. Báz Baha’dur, son of Shajával Khán [Súr].

Abulfazl says below (Third Book, ‘Čúbah of Málwah) that his real name was Bágazíd.

Báz Báhadur’s father was Shujá’at Khán Súr, who is generally called in histories Shajával, or Sajával, Khán. The large town Shajáwalpúr, or Sajáwalpúr, in Málwah bears his name;2 its original name, Shujá’atpúr, which Abulfazl gives below under Sírkár Sárangpúr, Málwah, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Sháh took Málwah from Malú (Qádir Khán), Shujá’at Khán 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 ‘Adl, 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 Gádha was not successful. Rání

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1 The Trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of I’timádpúr Man-dra about 9 miles E. of Agra, in the Pargannah of Fathábád, near Samúgar, where Aurangzib defeated Dará Shikoh.
2 A few MSS. have Shujá’ Khán for Shujá’at Khán, just as one M.S. reads Shujá’púr for Shujá’atpúr. Elphinstone also has Shujá’ (p. 501, note 1). The word ‘Shujá’at’ should be spelled ‘Shajá’at’, whilst Shujá’ is pronounced Shujá; but the former also is pronounced with as all over India.
Dīrghāvatī (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 Hindūstān, especially the beautiful Rūpamati, 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 Mālwhah. Pir Muhammad Khān (No. 30), 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak (No. 14), Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qandahār (No. 95) and his son 'Adil Khān (No. 125), Čadiq Khān (No. 43), Habib 'Ali Khān (No. 133), Haidar Muhammad Khān (No. 66), Muhammad Qulī Toqbhāi (No. 129), Qiyā Khān (No. 184), Mīrā Bahādur (No. 208), Samānjī Khān (No. 147), Pāyanādāḥ Muhammad Mughul (No. 68), Mihr 'Ali Sildoz (No. 130), Shāh Fanāfī (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Bāz Bahādur three kos from Sārangpur and defeated him (middle of 968). Bāz Bahādur 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 Mīrān Shāh of Khāndesh, who assisted him with troops. Pir Muhammad in the mean time conquered Bijādapūr, threw himself suddenly upon Bārānāpur, 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 Narbaddā. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jagirdārs left for Agra, so that Bāz Bahādur without opposition re-occupied Mālwhah.

In the 7th year, Akbar sent 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak to Mālwhah. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bhrājī, Zamīndār of Baglānah, and tried to obtain assistance from Chīgiz Khān and Sher Khān of Gujrat, and lastly even from the Nizām ul Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Rānā Udai Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar's generosity; for in the 16th year, Akbar ordered Hasan Khān Khizānchī to conduct Bāz Bahādur 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 manačab of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bāz Bahādur and his Rūpamati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. Vide No. 188.

121. Udai Singh, Mot'īh Rajah, son of Rāi Māldeo.

The Tabaqät says that he was in 1001 a commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpūr.

Akbar, in 994, married Udai Singh's daughter to Jahāngīr. On p. 8 of the Tunā, Jahāngīr says that her name was Jagat Gosāinta. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān); vide p. 310, l. 19.

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1 The 6th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 24th Jumādā II, 968, and the battle of Sārangpur 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 Gajpat of Orīsā. In 981, he was at Kambhātī, which he left on the approach of Muhammad Husain Mirzā, and withdrew to Ahmadābād to M. 'Azīz Kokah (No. 21).
Mírzá Hádí in his preface to Jahángír’s Memoirs (the Tuzuk-i Jahángírí) has the following remark (p. 6): ‘Rájáh Udáí Sing is the son of Rájáh Máldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Káná Sánká, who fought with Firúz-makáni (Bábár) 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 Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Mot’h Rájáh accompanied in the 22nd year Cúdíq Kháñ (No. 43), Rájáh Askarán, and Ulugh Kháñ Habshí (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabí’ I, 985). In the 28th year, he served in the Gujrát war with Muzaffár (Akbarnámah, III, 423).

Another daughter of Mot’h Rájáh was married to Jaimál, son of Rápel (No. 118).

122. Khwájah Sháh Manújá’r, of Shíráz.

Manújá was at first Muskríf (accountant) of the Khúshbú Kháñák (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muzaffár Kháñ (No. 37) induced Sh. Manújá to go to Jaunpúrá, where Kháñ Zámán made him his Dívánán. Subsequently he served Mún’im Kháñ Kháñán in the same capacity. After Mún’im’s death, he worked for a short time with Tódár Man in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor Yásár. 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 Dáhíldák roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself which did not then include Ofíisá, Thát’háh, Kashmir, and the Dák’his, was divided into 12 parts, called čúbah; and to each čúbah a sipáhdar (Military Governor), a Dívánán, a Bákhsí (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a Mír ’Adl, a Çádér, a Kóstedí, a Mír Bahárr, and a Wádísí Navísí (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 Bihar by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihar were then not completely subjugated, and the Afgháns still mustered large forces in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Ofíisá, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Manújá’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 Bihar. This Manújá cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihar officers an increase of only 20 per cent. He then wrote to Muzaffár to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Sayyúrgháí tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jágír-holders in Jaunpúra, Bihar, 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 Hindá was on the side of the rebels. Todar Mall tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mançür and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Ma'qum Khán i Farakhkhudí (No. 187) and Muhammad Tarson (No. 39). Akbar deposed Mançür and appointed temporarily Sháh Qulf Mahram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mançür's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, at Ma'qum Khán i Kábúl's instigation, threatened to invade the Panjab, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mançür's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mírzá M. Hakím's Munshí, addressed to Mançür. Accidently Malik Sání, Hakím's Diwán, who had the title of Vazír Khán, left his master, and paid his respects to Akbar at Sonpáš. As he put up with Mançür, new suspicions got astart. Several words which Mançür 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 Farídún Khán (maternal uncle to M. M. Hakím) had presented the Beg to the Mírzá. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Mançür; he should remain in arrest till any of the grandees should stand bail for him; but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Bái (p. 262) to hang Mançür on a tree near Saráí Kot K'chákhwah (beginning of 989).*

3 The chief rebel was Ma'qum Khán i Kábúl, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 189, 342, 351, 400, etc.). He was a Tarbátí Sayyíd (vide p. 348, No. 37). His uncle, Mírzá 'Azíz, had been Vazír under Humáyún, and Ma'qum himself was the foster-brother (Iská) of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwájah Hasan Naqshbandí (p. 322, l. 11) who had married the widow of Mír Sháh Abul Músá Khán, Ma'qum, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghánis, and was wounded in a fight with Kála Páháir. For his bravery, he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Orísd as tayyíf, when Músá and Múshafir's strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him Ma'qum Khán i 'Afrí, 'Ma'qum Khán, the rebel.' His fights with Múshafir and Shahbáz have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to Bhágí (p. 348, note), where he died in the 34th year (1007).

4 His son Sháhjáhán was under Jhángir Thánahádar of Ghasmand, and a commander of Fifty Hundred under Sháhjáhán, who bestowed upon him the title of Asad Khán. He died in the 12th year of Sháhjáhán's reign. His son, Qubdí, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the Pádshákhdáma, 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.

5 So the Akbarndáma, كروی a village on the road from Kárnál to Lúdhíyánah, Lat. 30° 17'; Long. 76° 53'. In the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Bádaóní (I, p. 294, 293) the place is called كروی kajh kof, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called Musharraf Beg, and a few lines lower, again Sharaf Beg. Bádaóní says nothing of Todar Mall's intrigues. Mançür was hanged in the very beginning of 989, i.e. the end of the 26th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 6th Sháhríar 989 (the Lucknow Edition, III, 325, has wrong 990); and the 27th year commences 16th Sháhríar 990, which in the Bibl. Indica Edit. of Bádaóní (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 (16th Rajab 989), 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-begî.1

The Turkish word qutlugh means mubárâk, and qadam i mubárâk, is the same given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet. The Tabaqât calls him Qullâ, instead of Qutlugh, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 356.

Qutlugh Qadam Khán was at first in the service of Mirzâ Kámrán, and then went over to Umayyún.

In the 9th year of Akbar’s reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwájah Mu’ázzam, and served in the same year in Málwah against Abdulláh Khán Uzbek (No. 14). In the battle of Khairáláb, he held a command in the van.

In the 19th year, he was attached to Munsím’s Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takarói (p. 375). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khán, served under Prince Murád in the Dák’haín, and was killed by a cannon ball before Daulatábáb.

124. 'Ali Quli Kha’n, Indarábí.

Indaráb is a town of Southern Qunduz. The straight line drawn from Kábul north-wards to Táilkhán passes nearly through it.

'Ali Quli had risen under Humayún. When the Emperor left Kábul for Qands-hár to enquire into the rumours regarding Bairám’s rebellion, he appointed 'Ali Quli governor of Kábul. Later, he went with Humayún to India.

In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he served under ‘Ali Quli Khán Zamán (No. 13) in the war with Hémí, and accompanied afterwards Khízr Khwájah (p. 353, note 2) on his unsuccessful expeditions against Sikandár Súr.

In the fifth year, he served under Attah Khán (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bairám was defeated.

The Tabaqât says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. ‘A’dil Kha’n, son of Sháh Muhammad i Qalátí (No. 95).

He served under Adham Khán (No. 19) in Málwah, and took a part in the pursuit of ‘Abdulláh Khán Uzbek. Later, he assisted Muhammad Quli Khán Barlás (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandár 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 muddah, to be confounded with the much higher title A’tbégí, from the Turkish ädî, a horse; vide p. 137, Aín 53.

1 A’khtah means ‘a gelding,’ and akhtah-begî, the officer in charge of the geldings (vide No. 66). This title is not
i.e., under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbârs, 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'allisq i khdîr) with the wife of his father's Diwân; but he was not successful in his advances. His father reproached him with, and 'Adil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

'Qiyâd Khan, brother of 'Adil Khân. Jahângîr made him a Khan. He served the Emperor as Qarâwalbegi (officer in charge of the drivers).


He is not to be confounded with Mir Ghia'suddin 'Alî Khân (No. 161). For his genealogy, vide p. 308. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaikh ShihÂbuddin Suhrwardi, a descendant of Abû Bakr, the Khalifah.

Khwâjah Ghia's was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakshahî by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrâti war, and received the title of Aqaf Khân. He was also made Bakshahî of Gujrát, and served as such under M. 'Aziz Kokah (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amirs to Idar, 'to clear this dependency of Gujrât of the rubbish of rebellion.' The expedition was directed against the Zamîn'dâr Nârân Dâs Rât'hor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqim i Naqshbandî, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Aqaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mâlwâh and Gujrât, to arrange with Shihâb Khân (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the Dâgh (pp. 242, 256).

He died in Gujrât in 989.

'Mirzâ Nûruddin, his son. After the capture of Khurâsân, (p. 414) Jahângîr made Aqaf Khân III. (No. 98), Nûruddin's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nûruddin who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khurâsân, and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khurâsân was placed under the charge of I'tibâr Khân, one of Jahângîr's eunuchs, and Nûruddin had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindû, who had access to Khurâsân, 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 Jahângîr on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwâjah Waisî, Diwân of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nûruddin and Muhammad Sharîf, son of I'ümâduddaulah, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list

1 Author of the 'Awârif ul Ma'ârif. He died at Baghdad in 632. His uncle Abdul-najîl (died 663) was also a famous

of names was also brought up; but Jahángir, at the request of Khán Jahán Lodi, threw it into the fire without having read it; “else many others would have been killed.”

127. Farrukh Husain Khán, son of Qásím Husain Khán. His father was an Uzbak of Khwárazm; his mother was a sister of Súltán Husain Mírzá.

The Mudásir and the Tabaqát say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (II., p. 335).

128. Mu‘inuddín [Ahmad] Khán i Farankhúdí.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 Agrah during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when `Abdullah Khán Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Máwlah, Mu‘ín was made a Khán. After the conquest, he divided the province into khāliçkah and jāgir lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar’s satisfaction. In the 18th year, Mu‘ín was attached to Mum’ím’s Bihár corps. He then accompanied the Khán Khánán to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaró, and died of fever at Gaur (vide p. 376).

The Tabaqát merely says of him that he had been for some time Mír Sámáns. For his son vide No. 157.

Badáoni III., p. 157) mentions a Jámi’ Masjíd built by Mu‘ín at Agrah.

129. Muhammad Quli‘ Toqba’i.

Toqba’i is the name of a Chaghdtái clan.

Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khán (No. 19) in the conquest of Máwlah (end of the 6th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mírzá Sharafáb-din (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980), he served in the Mangalí of Khán i Kalán (No. 16).¹ In the 20th year, he was attached to Mum’ím’s corps, and was present in the battle of Takaró, and the pursuit of the Afghán to Bhdédrak (p. 376).

¹ Many MSS. have Faranjúdí. The Mujam mentions a place فرنک، Farankad, which is said to be near Samarqand.

² Akbar left Faithpur Sikri for Gujrat, on the 20th Cafr 980 (17th year), passed over Sangánír (8 miles south of Jaipur), and arrived on the 15th Rabi’ 1. at Ajmir. On the 2nd Rabi’ II., 980, he ordered Khán i Kalán (No. 16) to march in advance (Magáld), and left Ajmir on the 22nd Rabi’ II. Shortly before his arrival at Nágór, on the 9th Jumáda 1., Akbar heard that Prince Dányaíl had been born at Ajmir on the 2nd Jumáda 1., 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajah, 980, and Ahmadábad on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Sha‘bán, 980, the fight at Sarná took place with Ibráhím Husain Mírzá. On the 2nd Sha‘bán, Akbar reached Barodah, and arrived at Súrat, on the 7th Rama-zán, 980. On the 18th Ramazán, 980, Mírzá ʿAzíz defeated Muhammad Húsain Mírzá and the Fóúlís at Patan. Súrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwál.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dányaíl’s birth. The Támsí (Sayyid Ahmad’s edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumáda 1., 979, which has been given above on p. 309. Badáoni (II., p. 139) has the 2nd Jumáda 1., 980. The Akbarnámah has the 2nd Jumáda 1., and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the Sámsáán also place the event in 980, but say that Dányaíl was born on the 2nd Jumáda 1., 979.

On the 6th Zí Qa‘dah, 980, the 18th year of Akbar’s reign commences. After the Tád-i Qurúbán (10th Zí Rajah, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Ják to Agrah, which he reached on the 2nd Cafr, 981. After this, Muhammad Húsain Mírzá invaded Gujrat, and took Bhdédrak.
130. Mihr 'Ali' Kha'n Sildos.

Sildos is the name of a Chaghátai clan. According to the Ţabaqát, he was at first in Bairam's service. In the end of the 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanádh (Chunar), which Janá Khán, the Afgán Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Badáoni II., 32). Akbar offered him five parganahs near Jampur, but Jamál did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 'Ali with vain promises. Mihr 'Ali at last left suddenly for Agra.

On his journey to Chanádh, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badáoni, then a young man, whom he had given lodging in his house at Agra. 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 Chitor.

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 Hijar, and honored him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakínah Bándi Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kábul to advise his brother, Mirzá Muhammad Hakim. In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mall against the rebel 'Arab.

The Ţabaqát makes him a Commander of Fifty Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwa'jah Ibri'sím i Badakhshih'.

He is not mentioned in the Músir and the Ţabaqát. From the Akbarnámah (II., p. 207) we see that he was Jágfrdár of Sakti (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. بربک or بربک.

The Ţabaqát mentions a Sultan Ibráhim of Aubah (near Harát) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the Aín. He was the maternal uncle of

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 Aín and Akbari is the third part,—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dánya'í (2nd Janmáda I., 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zí Qa'dah, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between those two years, viz., the conquest of Gujrát and the first defeat of the Mirzás.
Nizamuddin Ahmad, author of the Ṭabaqát. He conquered Kamáon and the Dáman i Koh.

132. Salím Khá'n Ká'kar.

Several MSS. of the Ain call him Salím Khá'n Ká'kar 'Alí. The Akbaranámah calls him Salím Khá'n Ká'kar, or merely Salím Khá'n, or Salím Khá'n Sírmúr. The Ṭabaqát has Salím Khá'n Sírmúr Afghán.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Máiwah, and later under Mu'izzulmulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khairábád. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Saruál. He then served in Bengal, and was jágirdár of Tájpúr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shahbáz Khá'n (No. 80) to Bháští. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazír Khá'n having gone to the frontier of Orísá, Jabárá (vide p. 370, note 2) made an inroad from Kúsh Bihár into Ghorágbáští, and took Tájpúr from Salím's men, and Púrníah from the relations of Tarson Khá'n (No. 32). Jabárá moved as far as Tándští. The Kétál, Hasan 'Alí, was sick, and Shaíkh Állah Báksh Çúdr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaíkh Faríd arrived, and Jabárá withdrew to Tájpúr. In the 32nd year, Salím served under Mátál Khá'n (No. 83) against the Tárífíís, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Çádíc Khá'n against the same Afghán rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Habí'b 'Alí' Khá'n.

He is not to be confounded with the Habíb 'Alí Khá'n mentioned on p. 422.

Habíb was at first in the service of Bárám Khá'n. In the third year, when Akbar had marched to Ágra, he ordered Habíb to assist Qiyá Khá'n (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantánábád. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghánas, and Salím Sháh had appointed Jhújhr Khá'n governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Ráí Surján (No. 96), who was then in the service of Ránah Udáí Singh. But Habíb had to raise the siege. Abúfáízí attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bárám's fall produced.

In the 6th year (908), he served under Adham (No. 19) in Máiwah. According the Ṭabaqát, he died in 970.

134. Jagmá'1, younger brother of Rájah Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmá'1 was mentioned on p. 329. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mír'tha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadábád, he was put in command of the great camp.

His son Kangár. He generally lived with his uncle Rájah Bihárí Mall at Court. When Ibádím Hussain Mirzá threatened to invade the Ágra District, he was ordered by the Rájah to go to Díhú. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mán Singh's expedition against Ránah Partáb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Sháháb Khán (No. 80). When Sháháb returned unsuccessfully from Bháští (p. 401), Kangár, Sayyid 'Abdulá Khán (No. 189), Rájah Gopál, Mirzádáh 'Alí (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed
Naturūs Beg Qaṣḥāl, the leader. They then joined Shahbāz, and arrived after a
month of eight days at Sherpur Mūrcha.

According to the the Ṭabaqat, Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two
Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

185. Ulugh Khān Habēḥi, formerly a slave of Sulṭān Mahmūd of
Gujrāt.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian Khân i Kaldun (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Mahmūd of Gujurāt. The word Habēḥi, for which MSS.
often have Badakhsār, implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch. In the
17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Ahmadābād, he was one of the first
Gujrāt nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Čādiq (No. 43) against Rājah
Mādhuṣar Bandelah, Zamīndār of Undchah. In the 24th year, he followed Čādiq,
who had been ordered to assist Rājah Todar Mall on his expedition against the rebel
ʿArab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which
Khābātā (p. 356, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

186. Maqūd ʿAll Kor.

The Ṭabaqat says that Maqūd was at first in Bārīm Khān’s service. He had
been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the Akbarnāmah (II., 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No. 33)
in the conquest of Gwāūlār.

187. Qabūl Khān.

From the Akbarnāmah (II., p. 450, last event of the 16th year of Akbar’s reign)
we see that Qabūl Khān had conquered the District of Bhambar on the Kashmir
frontier. One of the Zamīndārs of the District, named Jamāl, made his submission, and obtained
by flattery a great power over Qabūl, who is said to have been a good-hearted Turk. Jalāl
not only managed on various pretenses to send away Qabūl’s troops, but also his son ʿYādgār
Husain (No. 338), to Naujahrah. The Zamīndārs of the latter place opposed ʿYādgār,
and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, ʿYādgār managed to
escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamīndār. About the same time Jalāl collected
his men and fell over Qabūl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Rāmāzan, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jahān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious
Zamīndārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

ʿYādgār Husain recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the
commanders of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāmah mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served
in the Afghan war in Bengal under Muḥīm Khān Khānān. He was present in the
battle of Takarīf and pursued the Afghāns under Todar Mall to Bhadrak (p. 375).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the Ṭabaqat and the Maʿāṣir.
Commanders of Nine Hundred.


Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, Long. 70°, Lat. 38°. The District of Kolāb lies north of Badakhshān Proper, from which it is separated by the Amū (Oxus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshān. Hence Kūchak ‘Ali is often called in the Akbarnāmah Kūchak ‘Ali Khān i Badakhshī.

He served under Mun’im Khān against Khān Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation at Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Mun’im Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takarof (p. 375).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148, and No. 380.

139. Sabdal Khān, Sumbul, a slave of Humayūn.

140. Sayyid Muḥammad, Mir ‘Adl, a Sayyid of Amrohāh.

Amrohāh, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to Sirkār Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad had studied the Hadīs and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Bādāonī was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ‘Adl. When the learned were banished from Court (ikhrāj i ‘ulamā’), he was made governor of Bhakkar. He died there two years later in 986 or 986.

From the Akbarnāmah we see that S. Muḥammad with other Amrohāh Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Mahmūd of Bārha in the expedition against Bājah Madhukar.

He advised the Historian Bādāonī to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious Madād i Mu’āṣir tenures, an advice resembling that of ‘Abdulghaffār (vide No. 99, p. 413). S. Muḥammad’s sons were certainly all in the army; vide No. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawī Khān, Mirzā Mirak, a Razawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

He was a companion of Khān Zamān (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 Khān Zamān again rebelled, Mirzā Mirak was placed under the charge of Khān Bāqī Khān (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihlī, Baddonī II, 100). After Khān Zamān’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 manṣūb and the title of Razawī Khān. In the 19th year, he was made Diwan of Jaunpūr, and in the 94th year, Bakhshī of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

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2 Not all MSS. of the A’in have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 to the Hazāris. But the best MSS. have this manṣūb. In the lists of grandees in the Pīdīshākhnamah also the manṣūb of Nine Hundred occurs.

3 In 983, the 20th year, (Akbarnāmah III, 138). Baddonī (III. p. 76), has 984.
At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (26th year), he was with Muzaffar Khán (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 Zí Hajjah, 987) and gone from Tāñḍah to Gaur, Muzaffar sent Razawí Khán, Ráí Patr Dás (No. 196), and Mír 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 Ráí Patr Dás's Rájputás said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Ráí Patr Dás mentioned 'this to Razawí Khán, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Ráí Patr Dás. Razawí Khán and Mír Ahmad Munshi surrendered themselves.

The Mādīr says that nothing else is known of Razawí Khán. The Tábaqát says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand and was dead in 1001.

Mírzá Mírak is not to be confounded with Mírak Khán, 'an old grandee, who died in 975' (Tábaqát); or with Mírak Bahádur (208).

Sháhjáhán conferred the title of Razawí Khán on Sayyid 'Alí, son of Şadr-ud-Dawlah Mírání S. Jalál of Bukhárá.

142. Mírzá Naja't Khán, brother of Sayyid Barkah, and
149. Mírza Husein Khán, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the Tábaqát, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them Naját, instead of Najábat, and Husein instead of Husein.

From the Aḵbār-i-Máh (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humáyún on his march to India.

Mírzá Najábat served, in the 10th year, against Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shiháb Khán (No 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rájah 'Alí Khán, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bábá Khán Qáshšál (vide p. 369, note 3), Jābúrí (p. 370), Vazír Jamíl (No. 200), Sa'íd-i Toqábáí, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zí Hajjah, 987, from Tāñḍah to Gaur across the Ganges. Mír Najábat was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muzaffar sent his grandees [Mír Jamál-ad-Dín Huseín Injád (No. 164), Razawí Khán (No. 141), Timúr Khán (No. 215), Ráí Patr Dás (No. 196), Mír Adham, Husein Beg, Hakím Aḥsáfemail (No. 112), Khwájá Shámsuddín (No. 159), Jās'ar Beg (No. 98), Muhammad Quli Turkmán (No. 203), Qásim Khán i Sistáñ, Twaz Bahádur, Zulf 'Alí Yazdí, Sayyid Aḥāb Is-báq i Qasáfí (No. 384), Muzaffar Beg, &c.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mír Najábat stayed with Vazír Jamíl, although Muzaffar, who was Najá'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 Sátgáw (Húgái). Aḥufázal mentions him together with Murád Khán at Páthábád (No. 54), and Qiyá Khán in Orúš (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (Aḵbār-i-Máh. III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murád died, and Qiyá was soon after killed by the Afgányes under Qutlú, who looked upon the revolt as his opportu-
nity. Mir Najat also was attacked by Qutlu and defeated near Salimabadd (Salimamobad), S. of Bardwan. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hulif. Babab Khan Qasabian sent one of his officers to get hold of Najat; but the officer hearing of Qutlu's victory, attacked the Afgahans near Mangulco, N. E. of Bardwan. Qutlu, however, was again victorious.

143. Sayyid Ha'shim, son of Sayyid Mahmud of Barha. Vide No. 105, p. 419.

144. Ghazi Khan-i Badakhsh'i.

In MSS. Ghazi is often altered to Qazi, and Badakhshi to Bakhtshi, and as Ghazi Khan's first title was Qazi Khan, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other Ghazi Khans have been mentioned above, on pp. 367, 384.

Ghazi Khan's name was Qazi Nizam. He had studied law and Hadis under Mullal' Iyamuddin Ibrahim, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the murid of Shaikh Husain of Khwaraizm, a renowned Cufi. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaiman, king of Badakhshan (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of Qazi Khan. At the death of Humayun, Sulaiman wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kabul and besieged Mun'im (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaiman sent Qazi Khan 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 Badakhshis cannot enjoy even in peaceful times. The good dinners made such an impression on Qazi Khan, that he advised Sulaiman to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaiman thereupon returned to Badakhshan.

Subsequently, Qazi Khan left his master, and went to India. At Khapur, he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpur (Akbar, III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed Purvanchali 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 Ghazi Khan, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghazi Khan commanded the left wing of Mán Singh's corps in the war with the Rana. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as fagir, and distinguished himself in Bihur against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultan Khwajah died (No. 108).

Ghazi Khan is the author of several works (vide Badãoni III, 153). The sijdah, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the court, was his invention (vide p. 159, note).

His son Husamuddin. Akbar made him a commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khan Khanan (No. 29) to the Dakhin. Suddenly a change came over Husam, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as fagir at the tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya in Dihli. The

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1 The MSS. of the Akbarnama call him Bartab Bár Firingi, or Partab Firingi.
441

Khán Khanán 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 bazaars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husám lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihlí. Khwájah Báqí Billah (born at Kábúl and buried at Dihlí) conferred on him power of ‘guiding travellers on the road of piety.’ He died in 1084. His wife was Abulfazl’s sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwíshes, and fixed an annual sum of 12000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. Vide Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farhat Khán’n, Mihtar Sakáí, a slave of Humáýún.

The MSS. have Sakáí and Sakáhi. Farhat Khán is first mentioned in the war between Humáýún and Mírzá Kámrán, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bábá of Koláb lifted up his sword to strike Humáýún from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat and put to flight. When Humáýún left Láhór on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khán was, Farhat was appointed Sháqídar of Láhór. Subsequently, Mír Sháh Abú Mál’álí was appointed Governor of Láhór. 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 Tayyúddár of Korrah. He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husain Mírzá near Ahmadábád. When the Mírzá 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 10th year, he served in Bihár and was made jágirddár of Arah. In the 21st year (984), Gajpati (p. 400) devastated the district. Fahrán 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. Bu’mí Khán’n, Ustád Jalábí (?), of Rúm.

He is not mentioned in the Tabaqát and the Madsir, and not rarely in the Akbarnamáh. In the 20th year, he and Bábí Khán (No. 60) and ‘Abdurráháín Beg (No. 185) accompanied a party of Begúms from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begum, Salímáng Sultán Begum, Hájí Begum, Gul’sáhr Begum, Sultán Begum (wife of Mírzá ‘Askari), Umm Kuleámb Begum (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begum), Gujúr Agá (one of Bábí’s wives), Bábí Cáhíyab, Bábí Sarw i Sahi and Sháhám Agá (wives of Humáýún), and Salímáng Khánúm (daughter of Khízir Khwájah). They left in Rajáb, 983.

Rúmí Khán has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Sama’ñí Khán’n Qaughtu’ji’. Vide No. 100.

He was a grandee of Humáýún. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The Tabaqát says, he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2000. In the same work, he is called a Mughul.

1 Akbarnamáh I, 416. At the same time, Mír Bábí (No. 73) was appointed Sháqídar of the Panjáb, Mírzá Sháh Sultán was made Amín, and Mihtar Jauhar, treasurer.

Humáýún was on the 29th Muhamarram, 962, at Bigrám, crossed the Indus on the 5th Čafar, when Bairám arrived from Kábúl, was at Láhór on the 2nd Rabi’ II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajáb.

56
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 Sārangpur. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qásim Khán in Nisháhpúr (No. 40) and pursued 'Abdulláh Khán Uzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Asāraf Khán Mír Munshí (No. 74), to go to Rāntambúr and suppress the disturbances created by Mírzá Muhammad Husain in Málwah. Later, he held a jángír in Arah. He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 30th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the Akbarnáwáh (III, 156) we see that he also served in the 21st year under Khán Jahan (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 Dak’hín corps. Two years later, he served under Shiháb Khán (No. 26) against Rájáh Maháhukár.


His name is not given in the Madsír and the Šabáqát. Amír Beg, a Páñçádí under Sháhjáhán, appears to be his son.

149. Mírzá Husain Khá’n, brother of Mírzá Naját Khán (side No. 142).

150. Hákí’m Zaíníl, brother of Mírzá Muhammad Źáib of Sabzívár.

Záiníl means ‘a basket.’ In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hákím Zaíníl Beg. Badaóní says, he was a muqarríb, or personal attendant on the emperor.*

151. Khudáwán Khá’n i Dak’híni’.

Khudáwán Khán was a Nizámsháhí Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called Maškhád. He was of course a Shí’áh.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well-known for his personal courage. When Khwájah Mírak of Iṣfahán, who had the title of Chingiz Khán, was the Vákil of Murtzá Nizám Shíh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barár as jángír. The Moujíd of Rohánk’herah* was built by him.

In 993, when Mír Murtzá of Sabzívár (No. 162) commanded the army of Barár, and was no longer able to withstand Qalábát Khán Chirýq in the Dak’hín, Kh. accompanied M. Murtzá to Hindústán. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Pátan in Gujrát as Šáyíl.

He was married to Abúlfażí’s sister, and died in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (Badaóní II, 372, where in the Tárikh of his death the word Dak’híni must be written without a h).

* The Madsír has Awadh. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Júgírdár of the Arah District (Akbarnáwáh, III, 244).

* The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badaóní (III, 104) calls him wrongly Hákím Zínl Shírází. Zínl is the reading of bad MSS., and Sabzhírá is often altered to Shírází. Other bad MSS. have Rambel.

* Rohánk’herah lies in West Barár, in the district of Buldánah. In Abúlfażí’s list of parganahs in Sírkár Talingnah, there is one called Qirýqát i Khudáwán Khán.
Once Abulfazl had invited several grandees, Khudāwand 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 Abulfazl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindustāni custom, Kh. disliked Abulfazl, and never went again to his house. ‘Hence Dakhinins are notorious in Hindustān for stupidity.’

The Tabqāt puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The Masa'ir has 997.

152. Mirzādah 'Āli Khān, son of Muhtarim Beg.

He served in the 9th year in Mālvah during the expedition against 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrat war under the Khān i Kalān (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qasim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghanis ravaged the frontiers of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shabbāz Khān in the war with Rānā Partāb. He then served in Bihār under Khān i A'zam (26th year) and in Bengal under Shabbāz Khān (vide No. 134, p. 436). In the 30th year (993), he was present in the fight with Qutb Khān near Mangalkot (Bardwan). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qasim Khān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kaşmir. Not long after, in 996 (32nd year), he was killed in a fight with the Kašmiris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān (No. 189).

Badāonī (III, p. 326) says, he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. Sa'īdat Mirzā, son of Khizr Khwājah Khān (p. 365, note 2).

154. Shima'ī Khān Chelāh.

Chelāh means 'a slave.' The Tabqāt says he was a Qurchi, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a Hasard, and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwājah Mu'azzam. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandr Sen, during which Jalāl Khān (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Ahmad (No. 91) and Shabbāz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānah.

155. Shah Ghazvī Khān, a Sayyid from Ṭabriz.

The Tabqāt calls him a Turkman, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served, in the 19th year with Mirzādah 'Āli Khān (No. 152) against Qasim Khān Kāsū.

He may be the Shāh Ghāzī Khān mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fażl Khān, son of Khān i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 322.

157. Ma‘oum Khān, son of Mu‘īn uddīn Ahmad Farangkhuḍī (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Ma‘ūm Khān i Kābul (p. 431, note).

Ma‘ūm was made a Hasard on the death of his father, and received Ghazpūr as tayyūl. He joined Todar Mall in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (p. 361).

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1 He is also called Mirzād 'Āli Khān.
2 His father, Muhtarim Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court.
3 Generally called in the Histories Edad Kīkād.
Not long afterwards, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjáb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Mír Bahá’u’lláh thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpur and drove away Tarzón Khán’s men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpur and accepted Awadh as tughúl. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Sháh Qáli Muharram and Rájáh Bír Búr had failed to bring him to his senses, Sháh Bahár Khán, 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 Zumindárs 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 Maqúdí joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahráich. Vázír Khán (No. 41) and others moved from Hájípur against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muhammádábáb, he resolved to surprise Jaunpur, when the tughúlás of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. ‘Ázíz Khán (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Parganah Míhísí, Sírkár Chamápurán, as tughúl. But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. ‘Ázíz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Agrah, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar’s mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbár, 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 Bihár rebels.

158. Tolak Khán Qu’chín.

Tolak commenced to serve under Bábár. He joined Humáyún on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Khábul, and M. Khámrání came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humáyún’s grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zabákh (زابان) and Bámíyán, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Khábul, to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbaní.

Tolak accompanied Humáyún 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 Mír Sháh Abúl Mú’áli. Afterwards, T. went to Khábul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar’s reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghání Khán, son of Mún’im Khán (No. 11), who was in charge of Khábul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Tábá Kháftún, his jagirdár, collecting men to take revenge on Ghání. A favourable opportunity presented itself, when Ghání one day had left Khábul for a place called Khwájah Sáyáárán (خواجه سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Bálkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Kháhn fell upon them. Ghání, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwájah Awásh (خواجه اوش), a place two kos distant from Khábul. But he
was opposed by Fasıl Beg (Mun'îm's brother) and his son Abulfeth (called wrongly Abdul Fath, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghâni go. Ghâni immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindústán. Ghâni overtook him near the Ab i Ghorband, and killed Bábâ Qâchín and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Iftândiyâr managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jágîr in Mâlâwâh, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under the Kân Khânân (No. 29) in Mâlâwâh and Gojrat, and defeated Sayyid Daulat in Kambhâit. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Quilj Khân (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahroch. 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 Mán Singh against the Afgâns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

169. Khwâjah Shamsuddîn Khwâfî'

Khwâfî means 'coming from Khwâf,' which is a district and town in Khurâsân. Our maps have 'Khâfî' or 'Khâtî,' due west of Harât, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the Mu'allûbul'dân, 'Khwâf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishâpûr. Near it lies on one side Bâshânj which belongs to the district of Harât, and on the other Zûzan. Khwâf contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjân, Sirâwând, and Kharjard).’ Amin Râzî in his excellent Haft Iglîm says that the district of Khwâf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Al i Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fâris and Shîrâz, were Khwâfîs. The author of the Zakhîratulkhawâdînîs says that the people of Khwâf were known to be bigoted Sunnis. When Shâh 'Abbâs i Çaâfî, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khwâf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shî'ahs, the companions of the Prophet (sâbb i şûkhâb); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Maqâdî. Although then no one

¹ They succumbed to Timur. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from A. H. 741 to 798.

Amin Râzî mentions also several learned men and vazîrs besides those mentioned in the Mu'jam, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khwâf.

The number of Khwâfîs in the service of the Mughul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maâsîr has notes on the following—Mirzâ 'IJazat (under Jahângîr); Mirzâ Ahmad, and Mu'tamid Khân Muhammad Çâlih (under Shâhjâhân); Sayyid Amir Khân, Shaikh Mîr, Khwâjah Mîr Khwâfî Çâlihát Khân, 'Inyât Khân, and Muqtafî Khân (under Aurangzîb). The lists of grandees in the Pa'dishâhânamah mention several other Khwâfîs. In later times we have the name of 'Abdurrâzzaq Çimçâm uddaulah Aurangâbâdî, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mîr Kamâluddîn Khwâfî, had served under Akbar.

For Khwâfîs, some MSS. have Khâfî. The Historian Muhammad Hâshim Khâfî Khân has also been supposed to be a Khwâfî, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as 'Râm Khân, Ghwmâin Khân, Habshî Khân. The authors of the Pa'dishâhânamah and the Maâsîr never use the form Khâfî.
was converted, the Khawāfs are now as stanch Shi‘ahs as they were formerly bigoted Sunnis.

Khwājah Shamsuddīn was the son of Khwājah 'Alî uddīn, who was a man much respected in Khowāf. 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 Kābul had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of 'Arab Bahādur he was let off and placed under 'Arab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrām, Rājah of K‘harukpūr (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 (262h), to superintend the building of Fort Aṭāk on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.

After this, Shams was for some time Dīwān of Kābul. In the 39th year, when Qulī Khān (No. 42) after the death of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) was made Cuḥdār of Kābul, Shams was made Dīwān of the empire (Dīwān i kūl), vice Qulī. When Akbar, in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Agra, to proceed to the Dak‘hin, the Begums with Prince Khurrām (Shahjahān) 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 Khawāfīpurah.

1 Singrām later fought with Shahrāz 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 Qulī 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 'Rājah Roz-afzūn,' was confirmed in his zamindāris, and reached under Jahāngīr the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shahjahān, he served with Mahābat Khān in Balḵ, against Jhujār Singh Bundelāh, in the siege of Parenthā, and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rājah Bihrūz served in Qandahār, in the war between Aurangzīb and Shāh Shujā‘ī, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Fālāmāu (4th year of Aurangzīb). Rājah Bihrūz died in the 8th year of Aurangzīb's reign. Vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for December, 1870.

2 The author of the Madāsī reports Abulfazl's etymology of the name 'Aṭāk,' which was given on p. 374, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindī 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 Rājūpūts there; and during the reign of Shahjahān, the Rājūpūts distinguished themselves in the conquest of Balḵ 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 (111, 335).

* The twelve Dīwāns, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Čūbās, were under his orders. Dīwān i kūl is the same as Vastīr i Kūl, or Vastīr Muṭlaq, or merely Vastīr.
He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Ike Shakh Fard i Bukhârf (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwâjah Mûmin Khawâfiz, was made, on his death, Diwân of the Panjâb. Mûmin’s son, ’Abdul Khâliq, was a favourite of Aqâf Khân IV. (p. 369). He was killed by Mahâbat Khân, when Aqâf had been removed by Mahâbat from Fort Akâ and imprisoned.


Kunwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mirzâ Ja’far Aqâf Khân (No. 98) against Râjâh Bâshâ, zamindâr of Mau and Paštân (Nûrpûr, N. E., Panjâb). In the 44th year (1008), when Akbar moved to Mâlwa, and Prince Salim (Jâhângir) was ordered to move against Rânâ Amr Singh, Mân Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal as adâb of his father. While still at Agra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.’s daughter, vide p. 310 and No. 175.

Mahâ Singh, Jagat’s younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghâns under ‘Usmân and Shujâwal Khân to attack them. They defeated him and Partâb Singh, son of Râjâh Bhaqâwân Dâs, (No. 386), near Bhidak in Orisâ (45th year). Mân Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afghâns near Sherpûr ‘Atâî, between Shiûrf (Sooree) in Bîrbhûm and Murhabîbâd, recovered Lower Bengal and Orisâ.

Mahâ Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. Naqi’b Kha’n, son of Mir ‘Abdullahtif of Qazwin.

Naqi’b Khâ’n is the title of Mir Ghiasuddân ‘Alî. His family belongs to the Sa’î Sayyids of Qazwin, who were known in Irân for their Sunnî tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahyâ 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 Yahyâ was patronized by Shâh Tahmâsp i Çafawi, who called him Yahyâ Ma’amûn, 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 ‘Abdullahtif, were the leading men among the Sunnis of Qazwin. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Azarbâijân, to order Mir Yahyâ and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Iqfahân. At that time, his second son, ‘Alî-uddûnanâh was in Azarbâijân, and sent off a special messenger to convey this intelligence to his father. Mir Yahyâ being too old and infirm to fly, accompanied the king’s messenger to Iqfahân, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A. H. 962, at the age of 77 years.’

1 I. e. exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.
2 Mir Yahyâ is the author of a historical compendium, called Lubbattawdâ­rikh, composed in 1541. Vide Elliot’s Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ‘Alî-uddûnanâh
Mir 'Abdullāḥīf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's communication, fled to Gilān, and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humāyūn went to Hindūstān, 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 Hāfīz. The Mir 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 Bārūm Khān had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Agra and proceeded to Awar, with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjāb, the emperor sent the Mir to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign. Elliot, Inter., l.c.

Mir 'Abdullāḥīf died at Sīkri on the 5th Rajab, 981, and was buried at Ajmīr near the Dargāh of Mir Sayyid Husain Khing-Suwār.

'Abdullāḥīf had several sons. The following are mentioned—1. Naqīb Khān; 2. Qamar Khān; 3. Mir Muhammad Sharīf. The last was killed in 984 at Fathpur by a fall from his horse while playing hockey with the emperor (Bād. II., 230). For Qamar Khān, vide No. 243.

Naqīb Khān arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjāb (Akbar., II., 23), and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II., 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khān Zāmān, for whom Mun'im Khān had interceded (II., 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patān and Ahmadābād (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 Mālwā or Gujrāt, at the appointment of Shihāb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengāl, N. with his brother Qamar Khān served under Todar Māl and Qādir Khān in Bihār against Ma'ṣūm i Kābulī (III., 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqīb Khān. Though during the reign of Akbar, he did not wrote under the political name of Kāmī, and is the author of the Naṣīls ul Mādāsīr, a 'tsuzkīrāh,' or work on literature. Bādānī (III., 97) says he composed a Qaṣīdah in which, according to the manner of Shī'ahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnis, and among the latter his father and elder brother ('Abdullāḥīf), whom he used to call Hāzrat i Aqā, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mīr Yahyā's death two years earlier.

The MSS. of the Madāsīr have جمال كيلانط; so also Bādānī, l.c.

He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of pulḳ i kul, 'peace with all,' the Persian term which Abul-Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abul-Fazl (Akbar., II., 23) says that 'Abdullāḥīf was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindūstān of being a Shī'ah.

Elliot has by mistake 971. The Thrīkh of his death in the Madāsīr and Bādānī (III., p. 99) is ṭukhr i dī i Ṭā'i-Sūn, 'the pride of descendants of Yā'sīn (the Prophet)'=981, if the long alif i dī be not counted 2, but 1.

Kewal Ram, according to Elliot, says in the Tsuzkīrat ul Umard that the title was conferred on Naqīb Khān in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Ma'ṣūm Khān i Kābulī on the Imperialists under Todar Māl and Qādir Khān. This night attack is related in the Akbarndmahā (III., 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Gya; but Abul-Fazl says nothing of Naqīb's 'gallant conduct;' he does not even mention his name.
rise above the rank of a Ḥaḍrā', 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 Tūrīkh-i Ḵos̄rāv also (p. 106) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāzī Ṭāṣ, who had come from Irān to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Shāh Ghāzi Khān (vide No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakinah Bānū Begum, sister of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakim (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāzī Ṭāṣ had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb's consins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, N. was made a Commander of 1600 (Tusuk, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1029) at Ajmūr, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Mu'in-i Chishti's tomb (Tusuk, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mir Mahmūd, Munshī 'ulamādīk, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Badānī III., 321).

Naqīb's son, 'Abdullāhī, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35), and died insane.

Naqīb Khān, like his grandfather, excelled in history. It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the Rauṣat'uppāḏī by heart. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badānī, 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. Mīr Murtaza' Khān, a Sabzwārī Seyyid.

Mīr Murtaza Khān was at first in the service of 'Adīl Shāh of Bijāpūr. Murtazā Nizām Shāh called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amirul Umarā. He successfully invaded, at Nizām Shāh's order, 'Adīl Shāh's dominions. But Nizām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakīl, Shāh Quli Čalābat Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the tuzūlārs of Barār, were disatisfied. Čalābat Khān being bent on ruining them, Mīr Murtaza, Khudāwānd Khān (No. 161), Jamshed Khān i Shīrāz, and others, marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar. Čalābat Khān and Shāhzādah Mīrān Husain surprised them and routed them. Mīr Murtaza lost all his property, and unable to resist Čalābat Khān, he went with Khudāwānd Khān to Akbar, who made him a Commander of One Thousand.

M. M.: distinguished himself under Shāh Murād in the Dakhin invasion. When the Prince left Ahmadnagar, Čādiq Khān (No. 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barār), and M. M. in Ilichpūr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gāwīl, near Ilichpūr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajihuddin and Biswās Rāo, to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Dāyūr, and received a higher Manṣur, as also a flag and a naqqārādār.

Mīr Murtaza is not to be confounded with the learned Mīr Murtaza Sharif i Shīrāzī (Badānī III., 320), or the Mīr Murtaza mentioned by Badānī, III., 279.
163. Shamsi', son of Khán i A'zam Mírzá Kokah (No. 21).
He was mentioned above on pp. 327 and 328. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsi' was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahángír's reign, he received the title of Jahángír Quli Khán, vacant by the death of Jahángír Quli Khán Lálah Beg, Governor of Bihár, and was sent to Gujrát as nád of his father. Mírzá 'Azíz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Cúlah; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsí was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaúmpúr. Whilst there, Prince Sháhjáhán had taken possession of Bengál, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending 'Abdulláh Khán Firúz-Jáng and Rájah Bhíhm in advance towards Iláhábád. On their arrival at Chausá, Shamsí left Jaúmpúr, and joined Mírzá Rustam (No. 9), Governor of the Cúlah of Iláhábád.

On Sháhjáhán's accession, Shamsí was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mánáb. A short time after, he was appointed to Súrat and Júnágaq, vice Beglar Khán. He died there in the 6th year of Sháhjáhán's reign (1041).

Shámsí's son, Bahrám, was made by Sháhjáhán a Commander of 1000, 500 horse (Pádís'háh. I., b. 309), and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrát, he built a place called after him Bahrámpúrak. He died in the 18th year of Sháhjáhán's reign (Pádís'háh. II., p. 733).

164. Mír Jamálu'ddín Husain, an Injú Sáyyid.

From a remark in the Waqést it appears that a part of Shíráz was called Injú; vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1808, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mír Jamálu'ddín Injú belongs to the Sáyyids of Shíráz, who trace their descent to Qásim arrási ibn i Hasan ibn i Ibráhím Ţabáţibá i Hussainí. Mír Sháh Mahmúd and Mír Sháh Abú Turáb, two later members of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Sháh Ţáhmásp i Čafawi, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mír Shamsuddín Asadullah of Shushtar, the first as Shaikhul Islám of Persia, and the second as Qáiz-Iqzát. Mír Jamálu'ddín is one of their cousins.

Mír Jamálu'ddín went to the Dák'hin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injús. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrát 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 (Akbaránáh, III., p. 255). In the 30th year (993), he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, A'zam Khán (No. 21) on his expedition to Gağhá and Ráisán (Akbarán. III., 472). In the 36th year, he had a jágír in Málwah, and served under A'zam Khán in the Dák'hin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazárí took place in the 40th year. When in the 46th year the fort of Asfí had been conquered, 'Aḑil Sháh, king of Bijaúpúr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dánýá. To settle matters, Akbar despatched the Mír in 1009 (Akbarán. III., 846) to the Dák'hin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firíshtháh, he went to Agráh, in order to lay before the emperor 'such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dák'hin.'

1 Shamsí is an abbreviation for Shamsuddín.
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 naggárah and a flag. When Khurásaù rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khurásaù the kingdom of Kábúl 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, Hassan Beg (No. 167), Khurásaù's principal agent, told Jahángír that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamáluddín had only a short time ago asked him (Hassan Beg) to promise him an appointment as Panjhasári. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirzá 'Azíz Kókah (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Hassan 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. Jahángír consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihár. In the 11th year, Mir Jamál received the title of Azadoddáuláh. On this occasion, he presented the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bijaúpúr. 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, Jahángír pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees per mensem. The highest rank that he had reached, was that of a brevet Panjhasári with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahángír's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled Farhang i Jahángír, 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 Bahráích, Mir Jamál returned to Agra, where he died.

Mir Jamáluddín had two sons. 1. Mir Aminuddín. He served with his father, and married a daughter of 'Abdurrahím Khán Khánán (No. 29). He died when young.

2. Mir Husámuddín. He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khán, brother's son of Ibrahimí Khan Fath-Jang (Núr Jahán's brother). Jahángír made him Governor of Asir, which fort he handed over to Prince Sháhjáhán during his rebellion. On Sháhjáhán's accession, he was made a Commander of 4000, with 3000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of Murtazá Khán. He was also made Governor of That'hab, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mir Husám's sons—1. Çimásmuddáuláh. He was made Díwán of Sháh Shujá' in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Ófzá with a command of 1500, and 600 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. Núrulláh. He is mentioned in the Faddishdáhímá (1., b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

1 Regarding the Farhang i Jahángír, vide Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868, pp. 12 to 16, 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 Mán Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannáth (No. 69), against the Ránu. While serving under the latter, Raju commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Ránu's troops. In the 30th year, Jagannáth and Raju attacked the Ránu in his residence; but he escaped.

Later, Raju served under Prince Murád, Governor of Málwah, whom, in the 38th year, he accompanied in the war with Rájah Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Málwah, 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. Mír Sharíf 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 Kábul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mír Sharif was appointed Amín and Çádr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mán Singh in Kábul. In the 36th year, he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihár and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmír as aqtá', and the Parganah of Mohán near Lak'hnau as tuqá'il. 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 Mohán. 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.

Jahángír in his memoirs (Tuzuk, p. 22) praises him very much.

The Tabaqát says, 'Mír Sharíf belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with qáfám, and is at present (1001) in Bihár.'

Note on the Nuqtsawiah Sect (تقطیریه).

It was mentioned above (p. 177) that Mír Sharíf spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmúd of Basákhwán. The curious sect which Mahmúd founded, goes by the name of Nuqtsawiah, or Wáhidiyah, or Nuqtsawiyah, or Umand. Mahmúd

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1 The Lucknow edition of the Akbar-námah (III., p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mír Sharíf was at Jahángír's accession a Commander of 2500 (Tuzuk, p. 22).

2 Badáoni (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has Basákhwán; the MSS. of the Mánsir Basákhwán (with a long penultimate) and on other places Basákhán, without a w; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistán (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer's Translation have Masajudán,—a shifting of the diacritical points.

The name nuqtesh is evidently used by Badáoni, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have Nabáti, which was given on p. 176. For Umand, Shea's translation of the Dabistán has Umand; but um (umand) is, no doubt, the plural of amín.
called himself "Shakir i Wāhid," or 'the individual,' and professed to be the Imám Mahdi, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistan and Shea's Translation, he lived about 600 A. H.; but the MSS. of the Māḍṣir have A. H. 800, which also agrees with Badā'un's statement that Mahmūd lived at the time of Timur. The sect found numerous adherents in Irán, but was extinguished by Sháh 'Abbás i Māζi,¹ who killed them or drove them into exile.

Mahmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Qurán (Sur. XVII., 81), 'as an yab'asaka rabbuka maqáman mahmúdan, 'Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (mahmúd) station.' He maintained that the human body (jinsád) 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 Qurán, 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 khâk, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term nuqtah i khâk has given rise to their name Nuqtawins. For other of Mahmūd's tenets, vide Shea's translation of the Dabistan, vol. III., pp. 12 to 26.

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 Mīr Sharif i Amulī 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 Aráí Sikandarī, as the Mādsir says, mentions Mīr Sharif i Amulī under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Sháh 'Abbás i Máζi'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 Sháh 'Abbás, Jaláluddín Muhammad of Tabriz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, proposed that Sháh 'Abbás 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 Yáuš the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusrav of Qazwín, was raised to the throne. He reigned for three days, and was then killed. Soon after, Darwish Khusrav 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 Nuqtawins belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mīr Sayyid Ahmad of Káshán, whom 'Abbás 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. Mīr Sharif i Amulī, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrábd to Hindustán.

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the Mādsir remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mīr Sharif was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dīpālpúr in Málwa; and besides, Sharif i Amulī was mentioned in no Taszkirah as a poet.

¹ Māζi (مژی), i. e., who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Sháh 'Abbás I. of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahángir.
187. Hasan Beg [Kha'n i Badakhsh'i'] Shaikh 'Umarì.1

Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar, after his stay in Kashmir, marched to Zábulistán, and passed through the district of Pak'hali, 'which is 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmir.' In Pak'hali, Sultán Husain Khá i Pak'haliwál (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamúndár belonged to the descendants of the Qárlyghs (قراچی), whom Timur on his return from India to Turán had left in Pak'hali as garrison. After following Akbar's Court for a few days, Sultán Husain Khá withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pak'hali (Akbarúnámah III, 591, 508). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg's temporary absence at Court, Sultán Husain Khá again rebelled, assumed the title of Sultán Naqiruddín, and drove away Hasan Beg's men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 40th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangush, and was put, towards the end of Akbar's reign, in charge of Kábul, receiving Fort Rohtáś (in the Panjab) as jáfgrī.

In the beginning of Jahángir's reign, he was called from Kábul to Court. On his way, at Mat'hrú (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusrú, who had fled from Agra on Sunday, the 8th Zí Hajjah, 1014.2 From distrust as to the motives of the emperor which led to his recall from Kábul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshí," he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshí troopers, received the title of Kháán Bábá, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusrú, was 'Abdurrahím, Diwán of Láhór. After the defeat near Bhairowál on the Bihár,3 the Afghán 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 lazes of rupees in Rohtáś, which were at the Prince's service. Hasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtáś, Khusrú was captured on the Chanáb. On the 3rd Çafár 1015, the Prince, Hasan Beg, and 'Abdurrahím, were taken before Jahángir in the Bág i Mírzá Kámrán, a villa near Láhór, Khusrú himself, according to Chingiz's law (batorah i Chingî), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Hasan Beg after making a useless attempt to injurinmate others (p. 551), was put into a cow-hide, and 'Abdurrahím into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the harsa.

1 Badakhshí is the adjective formed from Badakhshán, as Káshí from Káshídán. The words Shaikh 'Umarí are to be taken as an adjective formed like Akbarsákhi, Jahángíri, &c., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus Shaikh 'Umarí would mean 'belonging to the servants of Shaikh 'Umar,' and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the Bábarídán, or 'nobles of Bábá's Court.'

Hasan Beg is often wrongly called Husain Beg. Thus in the Tuzuk, p. 25, ff.; Pádisháhn. I, p. 306; Akbarí III, 598.

2 Generally spelt رومناس. The fort in Bihár is spelt without sved, وهنالس, though both are identical.

3 So the Tuzuk. The Madsír has the 20th, instead of the 8th. Mss. continually confound بست and پست. But Jahángír on his pursuit reached Hódal on the 10th Zí Hajjah, and the Tuzuk is correct.

4 Vide p. 414, note. There is another Bhairowál between Wazírábád and Sálkoj, south of the Chanáb.
'As cow-hides get sooner dry than donkey-skins,' Hasan died after a few hours from suffocation; but 'Abdurrāhīm was after 2½ hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon. The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusrau were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bāgh i Mīrzā Kāmrān to the Fort of Lāhor, and Khusrau, seated on a sorry elephant, was led along that way. People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusrau, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do you homage."

Hasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 346. His son 'Īs̱fandiyār Khān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (Pādīshāhīn, I., 476; I., b., 304) The 'Arik Beg i Shaikh 'Umārī mentioned in the Pādīshāhīn. (I., b., 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Sheroyah Khān, son of Sher Afkan Khān.

Sher Afkan Khān was the son of Qūch Beg. Qūch Beg served under Humāyūn, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several grandees to save Maryam Makānī, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausā (vide No. 96, p. 410). When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kābul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Irān, and was made governor of Qalāt. Later he received Zahāk-Bāmīyān as jagir, but went again over to Kāmrān. Humāyūn, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroyah Khān served at first under Munīm (No. 11) in Bengal and Oṛīsā. In the 26th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād to Kābul. In the 28th year, he served under 'Abdurrāhīm (No. 29) in Gujrat, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (Akbarnāmah III., 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Māṭlah Khān (No. 83) against Jalālah Tāriski (p. 403). In the 39th year, he was made a Khān, and was appointed to Ajmir. According to the Tābagāt, he was a Hazārī in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Akbarnāmah (III., p. 500) says, 'On the same day Nazar Be, and his sons Qanbar Be, Shādi Be (No. 367), and Bāqi Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor.'

Shādi Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Māṭlah Khān (No. 83) against the Tāriskis. He may be the Shādi Khān Shādi Beg, mentioned in the Pādīshāhīn (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. Jalāl Khān, son of Muhammad Khān, son of Sūltān 'Adam, the Gakk'har.

171. Mubārak Khān, son of Kamal Khān, the Gakk'har.

The Gakk'har are a tribe inhabiting, according to the Madāsir, the hilly districts.
between the Bahut and the Indus. At the time of Zainul-ābidin, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznavin noble of the name of Malik Kid (مکی, or مکی), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kábul, took away these districts from the Kashmíris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Níláb (Indus) and the Sawálikas and the frontier of modern Kashmír. 2 Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kálaun, and Malik Kálaun by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Suľtán Tatár, who rendered Bábar valuable service, especially in the war with Rána Sánká. Suľtán Tatár had two sons, Suľtán Sárang, and Suľtán Adam. Sárang fought a great deal with Sher Sháh and Salím Sháh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghan. The Fort Rohtáwas commenced by Sher Sháh with the special object of keeping the Gakk’hars in check. Sher Sháh in the end captured Suľtán Sárang and killed him, and confined his son Kamal Khán in Gwailár, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Suľtán Adam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghan. Once Salím Sháh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwailár Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamal Khán, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamal went to his kinsfolk; but as Suľtán Adam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely with his brother Sa‘íd Khán, avoiding to come in conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar’s accession, however, Kamal paid his respects to the emperor at Jálindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hmú, and during the siege of Mánkot. In the 3rd year, he was sent against the Miyánah Afghan, who had revolted near Sároñj (Máwah), and was made on his return jagirdár of Karah and Fathpur Huswah. In the 6th year, he served under Khán Zamán (No. 13) against the Afghan under the son of Múbaríz Khán ‘Adlí (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamal Khán begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakk’har district, which was still in the hands

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1 Mr. J. E. Delmerick informs me that the Gakk’har inhabited the hilly parts of the Ráwal Píndí and Jhelum districts from Khánpúr on the borders of the Haźrah district along the lower range of hills skirting the Taqíla of Ráwal Píndí, Kuhútta, and Gújar Khán, as far as Dómar in the Jhelum district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwáláh, Suťánpúr, and Dangálí. They declare that they are descended from the Kaianian kings of Irán. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kashmír, and took possession of half of it. The Gakk’hars then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmír. The 16th descendant, Zain Sháh fled to Afghanistán, where he died. His son, Gakkâr Sháh, came to the Panjáh with Mahmúd of Ghaznú, and was made lord of the Sind Ságar Dúáb. Malik Bir is said to have been the grandfather of Tatár, whose father was Malik Píld. Víde Mr. Delmerick’s History of the Gakk’har, Journ. A. S. I., 1871.

2 The Moṣábir says, he subjected the tribes called جوز (Qús), نجوم (Nújum), میکر (Mikr), and نجوم (Nújum), and Mr. Delmerick says, the Khata:n inhabit the western parts of the Ráwal Píndí district. The second tribe is that of the این (Ain), who inhabit the Sal Range. The third, ار (Ar), are found in the southern parts of the Ráwal Píndí and the Jhelum districts; their tract is called Awdánkárí to this day. The fourth, he says, may be the Jodhára (جوديرا), a great clan about Píndí Gheb. The fifth, he believes is intended for the Kukhairn (ککهیارن), a tribe of some importance in Pínd Dádán Khán. The sixth and the eighth are the Chibh (چب) and Mangarár (مگارار), large tribes in Jammu. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for پاد (Pad) or hill tribes, which were the Dúnds (دوند) and Sattís (ساتی).
of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) and other Panjábi grandsires, 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 'Qaṣbah of Hiláp. Sultán Adam and his son Laškari were handed over to Kamál Khán, who was put in possession of the district. Kamál Khán killed Laškari, and put Sultán Adam into prison, where he soon after died. (Akbarnáma, II, 240ff.)

It is stated in the Ţabaqát that Kamál Khán was a commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972.

Mubárák Khan and Jalál Khán served in the 30th year under Mírzá Sháhruch, Bhráwán Dáí, and Sháh Qulí Mahram, in Kashmir (Akbarnáma, III, 488). The Ţabqát calls both, as also Sa‘íd Khán, commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Sa‘íd Khán was married to Prince Salím; vide No. 225, note.

Tásh Beg Khan ‘Mughul, [Táj Khán].

Tásh Beg served at first under Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, king of Kábul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar’s service. He received a jágr in the Panjáb. According to the Akbarnáma (III, 489), he went with Bir Bay (No. 85) to Sháwíd and Bíjor, and distinguished himself under ‘Abdul Mášib (No. 83) against the Tárikhs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the ‘Isá Khail Afghán, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Açaf Khán (No. 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Táj Kha’dá. When Bájah Bésú again rebelled (47th year), Khulájá Sulaimán, Bakhshí of the Panjáb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulí Khán (No. 42), Hussain Beg i Sháh ‘Umar (No. 167), Ahmad Beg i Kábul (No. 191), and Táj Khán. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Pašhán. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamil Beg, T. Kh.’s son, received news of Bésú’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’ha, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

Sháh ‘Abdulláb, son of Sháh Muhammad Ghaus [of Gwálíár].

Sháh ‘Abdulláh at first lived and attained considerable wealth, 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 Ziduláh lived as Faqir, and studied during the lifetime of his...
father under the renowned saint Wajihuddin in Gujrat, who himself was a pupil of Muhammad Ghaus.

Biographies of Muhammad Ghaus (died 1707 at Agrah, buried in Gwáliár) will be found in the Ma'asir, Budóvat (III, p. 4), and the Khazinaultakhibid (p. 963). He was disliked by Ibnusin Khan, Shaikh Gudrí, and Shaikh Mubarak, Abulfazl’s father. 

Yield also Ma’asir i’l-’Ilmugfiri, p. 166.

174. Rájáh Rajsingh, son of Rájáh Askaran, the Kachhwáhah.

Rájáh Askaran is a brother of Rájáh Bihári Mall (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with Qátíq Khan (No. 43) against Rájáh Madhukar of Umdehah, and in the 35th year under Tociar Mall in Bihári. In the 30th year, he was made a commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under ‘Aziz Kukah (No. 21) in the Dakhín. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each qálab, Askaran and Shaikh Ibrahim (No. 82) were appointed to Agrah. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rájáh Madhukar under Shihab Khan (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abulfazl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Tabaqát says he was a commander of Three Thousand.

Ráj Singh, his son, received the title of Rájáh after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakhín, and was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwáliár. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Asir. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Ráj Ráyá Pat Díás (No. 196), the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundelk, who at Jhahángir’s instigation had murdered Abulfazl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundelk clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year, the rank of a commandant of 4000, 3000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jhahángir’s reign, he served in the Dakhín, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

Rájm Díás, his son, was a Commander of 1000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rájáh, and was made, in the same year, a commander of 1500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prautum Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 6th year of Sháhjahán’s reign, and received the name of ‘Ibádatmand.

175. Ráj Bhoj, son of Ráj Surjan Jádá (No. 96).

When Bündí, in the 22nd year, was taken from Dáuda, elder brother of Ráj Bhoj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhoj served under Mán Singh against the Afghans of Orísá, and under Shaikh Abulfazl in the Dakhín (Akbarn. III., 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jhahángir wished to marry Jagat Singh’s daughter. Ráj Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jhahángir resolved to punish him on his return from Kábül. But Ráj Bhoj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rábi’ I, 1017, (Tuzuk, pp. 68, 69).

1 Umdehah is generally spelt on our maps Óverah. It lies near Jhánsi on the left bank of the Betwah. The name of the river ‘Dasthár,’ mentioned on p. 356, is differently spelt in the MSS. In one place the Ma’asir has Sátahárád.

2 Regarding the Kachhwáhahs 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 Hádá princess was ever married to a Timuride.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwájah.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itáwah. His mother was a Naqshbandi (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’id Kháán Chaghtái (No. 25) against the Yúsufzáí, and afterwards under Sultán Murúd in the Dak’hin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent him with a corps to Pátan, where he distinguished himself against Ikhláq Kháán. He continued to serve in the Dak’hin under Abúlfázl. In the engagement near Bérbé 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 Bérbé; 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 Kháán near the Baháh had taken possession of Jahángír’s person. After Jahángír’s death, he served with Aqáf Kháán against Shahryár in Láhor.

In the 1st year of Sháhjahán’s reign, he was made a commander of 4000, with 1000 horse, and received the title of Khwájah Bágy Kháán. He was also appointed governor of Thátháb, vice Mírzá ‘Isá Tarkhán (p. 363). He died on his way to his province in 1037. Pádisháhán., I., 181, 200.

His son Khwájah Háshím was made a commander of 500 (Pádisháhánmah, I., b., 327). Another son, Anádulláh, is mentioned as a commander of 900, 300 horse, (Pádisháhán., II., 738).

177. Mírzá Khurram, son of Kháán i A’zam Mírzá ‘Azíz Kokáh (No. 21). He has been mentioned above, p. 328.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraish Sulta’n, son of ‘Abdurrazísh Kháán, king of Káshghar.

182. Sulta’n ‘Abdullah, brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sultán.

310. Sha’h Muhammád, son of Quraish Sultán.

Quraish Sultán is a descendant of Chingiz Kháán. His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarnámah (III., 584) and the Túrikh i Ráshídí as follows:

1. Chingiz Kháán.
2. Chaghtái Kháán.

Chingiz Kháán, in the histories, is often called Qáán i Buxgír.
460

4. Y]ar 'uq Khán (called after his conversion Sultán Ghiyáš-ud-dín).

5. Dáwá Khán.¹

6. Ablúq, or Abáíq, Khán.

   2. (a.) Muhammád Khájí ..., (b.) Shámí Khájí Khán ... (c.) Naqíb Khájí Khán.

8. Tughluq Timúr Khán.


11. Sultán 'Abdús Khájí, known as Álánchah Khájí.

12. 'Abdurrashíd Khájí.

13. 'Abdul Karím Khájí.


15. Sultán 'Abdullák (No. 178).


17. Khudábandah.

After the death of 'Abdurrashíd Khájí (16.), 'Abdulkarím Khájí, elder brother of Quraisí Sultán, succeeded to the throne of Káshghár. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father’s wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudábandah, son of Quraisí Sultán, quarrelled with Muhammád Khájí, his uncle, and Khudábandah occupied the town of Túrán. 'Abdulkarím, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraisí Sultán to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshan and Balkh, and lastly, with the permission of 'Abdullák Khájí of Túrán, to Hindústán. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Sháhábuddín-púr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashshfír, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraisí died in the 37th year, (1000) at Hájípúr.

179. Qar` Bahád`ur, son of Mirzá Mahmúd, who is the paternal uncle of Mirzá Haidar [Gurgání].

Like the preceding, Qar` Bahád`ur belonged to the royal family of Káshghár. Mirzá Haidar’s father, Muhammád Husain, was the son of Bábar’s maternal aunt.

Mirzá Haidar,² during his stay in Káshghár, had accompanied the son of Sultán Gurgání, the Mughul term for the Persian dDámd, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called Gurgání.

¹ Dáwá invaded India during the reign of ‘Aláddín; vide Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.
² His daughter is called Tukul Khájí um Khálí’ al Khán. It is said that Timur after the marriage received the title of Aburrashíd, in honor of Abdurrashíd.
Abū Sa'īd on several expeditions to Kashmir, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshan to India, and arrived at Lābor, where Mīrzā Kāmrān made him his aide during his absence on an expedition to Qundahār, which the Shāh of Persia had taken from Khwājā Kalān Beg. M. Haidar afterwards accompanied Kāmrān to Agra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humāyūn, to take possession of Kashmir. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shāh retreated to Lābor, 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 kāshfbaḥ to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humāyūn’s name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris.

The father of Qūr Bahādur was Mīrzā Mahmūd; 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 Bājor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghāzī Khān, who had usurped the throne of Kashmir. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mālwah, and was appointed, on Akbar’s return, governor of Mandū. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qūr Bahādur, see No. 183.

180. Mūsaffar Husain Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Husainī Mīrzā, [son of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā].

Mūsaffar Husain Mīrzā is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:—

‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā (second son of Timur),

Mīrzā Bāiqrā.

Mīrzā Manṣūr.

M. Bāiqrā.

Wāis Mīrzā.

Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā.


king of Kāshghar. The villa known as Bāgh-i-Čafā was erected by him. Akbarndmah III., 586.

The MS. of the Tārīkh i Rashīdī 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 Yārkand. The Tārīkh commences with the reign of Tughlug Timur Khān, who was converted to Islam by Maulānā Arshaduddin, and goes down to the reign of ‘Abd-urrahīm. The second dafīr contains the Memoirs of Mīrzā Haidar. The style is elegant.
The mother of Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ was the daughter of the renowned Sultan Husain Mirzâ, king of Khurasan, at whose court Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ held a place of distinction. After Sultan Husain's death, Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ went to Bâbâar, who treated him with every distinction. Humâyûn also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mirzâ and Sháh Mirzâ, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mirzâ was killed in the expedition against the Hazârahs, and Sháh Muhammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mirzâ had two sons, Sikandar Mirzâ and Mahmûd Sultan Mirzâ; but Humâyûn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mirzâ, and Mahmûd Sultan Mirzâ that of Sháh Mirzâ.

As Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (taklîf-i bâr), and gave him the parganah of A'zânpûr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Sháh Mirzâ. At A'zânpûr, in his old age, Muhammad Sultan M. had four other sons born to him—

In the 11th year of Akbar's reign, Mirzâ Muhammad Hakîm, king of Kábul, invaded India and besieged Lâhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Sháh M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrâhîm Husain M. and Muhammad Husain M. The rebellious Mirzâs went plundering from Sambhal to Khán Zaman (No. 13) at Jâmpûr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dâli, and from there invaded Mâlwa, the governor of which, Muhammad Qâli Khán Bârlâs (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ. He died a short time after in his prison at Bânâh. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khán Zaman, and conquered Chitor, he made Sháhâb Khán (No. 26) governor of Mâlwa, and ordered him to punish the Mirzâs.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mirzâs unable to withstand Sháhâb Khán, fled to Chingiz Khán (p. 380), who then ruled over a portion of Gujûrât. Chingiz Khán was at war with Tûnâd Khán (No. 67) of Ahmadâbâd; and as the Mirzâs had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahâroch as jâgîr. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel, that Chingiz Khán had to send a corps against them. Though the Mirzâs defeated his troops, they withdrew to Khândesh, and re-entered Mâlwa. They were vigorously attacked by Ashra' Khán (No. 74), Çâdîq Khán (No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantambhûr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narhadâ, where many soldiers of the Mirzâs perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khán had been murdered by Jhûjûr Khán, and as Gujûrât was in a state of disorder, the Mirzâs, with little fighting, occupied Champânîr, Bahâroch, and Sûrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujûrât and occupied Ahmadâbâd. Dissensions having broken out among the Mirzâs, Ibrâhîm Husain M. left Bahâroch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp. Most of Akbar's Amir had the day before been sent away towards Sûrat in search of Muhammad Husain M. Hearing of Ibrâhîm Husain's arrival, the emperor despatched Shâhâb Khán (No. 80) after the Amir, whilst he himself marched to the Mahindrî River, where it flows past the town of
Sarnál. 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 Kánrán, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muzaaffar Husain Mirzá, from Súrat to the Daḵín.

Akbar now resolved to invest Suṭrát, and left M. 'Azíz Kokáh (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadábád, ordering at the same time Qutbuddín (No. 28) to join 'Azíz with the Málwáh 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. 396). Muhammad Husain M. then withdrew to the Daḵín.

Ibráhím Husain M. and his younger brother Mas'úd Husain M. having met with resistance at Nágor (p. 357), invaded the Panjáb. The governor, Husain Qulí Khán (No. 24), at that time besieged Nagarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mirzá, made peace with the Rájah, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Mas'úd. Ibráhím Husain fled towards Multán, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balúchis. He then fell into the hands of Sa'id Khán (No. 25), and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Agra, Muhammad Husain Mirzá left the Daḵín, invaded Gujrát, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambháit 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 Kokáh. 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 Bīr Bār, 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 Subráb 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 Mirzá had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaaffar Husain Mirzá, whom his mother had taken to the Daḵín, entered Gujrát and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rájah Todar Mall and Vazír Khán (p. 353), and fled to Júnágaḍh. When the Rájah had gone, Muzaaffar besieged Vazír in Ahmadábád. During the siege he managed to attach Vazír'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 Muzaaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaaffar, that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazáráb. 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 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultán Khánun. He also gave him Sirkár Qańauq as tayúl. Muzaffár, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the tayúl, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Āsír, he sent Muzaffár to besiege Fort Lāng. But he quarrelled with Khwájah Fathullah, and one day, he decamped for Gujrát. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Súrāt and Baghrán, when he was caught by Khwájah Waísī 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, Núrúnisā, was married to Princé Salīm (vide No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begum, Muzaffár's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahángir at Ajmír.

181. Qundúq Khán, brother of the well-known Bāírám Oghlán.

The Akbarnámah (I., 411) mentions a Qundúq Sultán, who accompanied Humáyún on his march to India.

For Qundúq, some MSS. read Qundúz. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Mú'mīn, and died at Gaur (p. 376).

182. Sultán 'Abdulláh, brother (by another mother) of Quraish Sultán (No. 178).

183. Mírzá 'Abdurrahmán, son of Mírzá Haidar's brother (vide No. 179).

184. Qiyyá Khán, son of Cábíb Khán.

In the Tabaqát and the Akbarnámah he is generally called قییا صاحب حسین, which may mean 'Qiyyá, the beautiful;' or 'Qiyyá, son of Cábíb Hasan.' Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izáfát.1 It looks as if the reading صاحب خان of the Afn MSS. was a mistake. The words صاحب حسین are intended to distinguish him from Qiyyá Gung (No. 33).

Qiyyá served under Shamsuddín Atgah against Bāírám (p. 317). He was also present in the battle of Sáranqgír (vide No. 120).

185. Darbár Khán, 'Ináyat [ullah], son of Takaltú Khán, the Reader.

Darbár's father was Sháh Táhmasp'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 Rantánbhúr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'ín i Chishti in Ajmír, Darbár Khán took sick leave, and died on his arrival at A'grah.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the Madsír—he was buried in the mausoleum of one Akbar's dogs, which he had built. The dog had shewn great attachment to its imperial master.

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1 Thus you say هلاگروی ملیمون, for هلاگروی ملیمون, the accused Hulágú.
186. 'Abdurrahma’n, son of Muayyid Duldai.

The name Duldai had been explained above on p. 388. 'Abdurrahmán’s great grandfather, Mir Sháh Malik, had served under Timur. 'Abdurrahmán was killed in a fight with the Bihár rebel Dalpat. Vide under his son Barkhurstár, 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), Qásím ‘Alí Khán held Gházípúr. 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 Mum’im. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujá’at Khán (No. 51) a prisoner to Mum’im, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Çádîq (No. 43) against Madhukar Bundelah, and in the 25th year, under ‘Azíz Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár. In the 28th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Hájí Begum, daughter of the brother of Humáyún’s mother (taghád i súdáh i wádídah i Jannat-ús-sádáh) who after her return from Makáh (p. 441) had been put in charge of Humáyún’s tomb in Dúbú, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each qilíb, Q. A. and Fath Khán Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khairábád to Court, and soon after received Kálpi as jágir. ‘Nothing also is known of him.’ Madáir. For his brother, vide No. 390.

188. Bu’s Baha’dur, son of Sharíf Khán (No. 63).

Vide above p. 383.

189. Sayyid ‘Abdullah Khá’/n, son of Mir Khwánandah.

Some MSS. have ‘Khwánd’ instead of ‘Khwánandah.’ Sayyid ‘Abdullah had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of Abúlkhán Uzbek. In the 17th year, he was with the Khán i Kalán (No. 16) in the first Gujrat war. Later, he served under Mum’im in Bengal, and was with Khán ‘Alam (No. 58) in the battle of Takáruf (p. 375). In 984, he brought the news of Dádís defeat and death at Agmahall (p. 331) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mirzá ‘Azíz (No. 21) and under Sháhás Khán (No. 80), chiefly against Ma’ám’i Faránghúdú (No. 167). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qásím Khán (No. 59) in Káshmir. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Káshmiris, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. Dha’re, son of Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39).

Vide above p. 352.

191. Ahmad Beg i Ka’bulli’.

Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ghiásuddin Tarkhán, a Chaghtáí noble who served under Timur. Like Sháh Beg (No. 57), Táj Khán (No. 172), Abul Qásim (No. 199), Ma’ám’ Khán (p. 481, note 1), and Takhtah Beg (No. 186), 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 Yusuf Khán i Razáwí (No. 35), a jágir in Káshmir. He married the sister of Ja’far Beg Aşaf Khán (No. 98).

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1 Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk mentions a Qásím ‘Alí on p. 68, l. 2 from below; but according to the Madáir, we have there to read Qásim Beg for Qásim ‘Alí.
During the reign of Jahángir, he rose to the post of a commander of 3000, and received the title of Khán, and also a flag. 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 Jahángir, was made a commander of 2000, and held Pasháwar as jágír. In the second year, he was ordered to punish the Afgán 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 Khán (No. 42), he was called to court, and confined in Fort Rantambhúr (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 Táríks. His son, Ardishér, was a commander of 1000, 600 horse, and died in the 18th year of Sháhjáhán's reign.

2. Sa'íd Khán Bahádur Zafar-jung (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 C hãr, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khánahzâd Khán and Lutfulláh, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'íd also was severely wounded. Two other sons, 'Abdulláh and Fathulláh, rose to high commands.

3. Muhdíqulláh Khán, I'tíkhâr Khán. He rose under Sháhjáhán to a command of 2000, 1000 horse, and was Faujdár of Jammí (Pádishaín. I., p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Sháhjáhán's reign.

4. Abúl Baqá. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'íd, under whom he served. He was thánahdár of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahár expedition, he got the title of I'tíkhâr Khán, at the same time that his elder brother received that of Zafar-jung, and was made a commander of 1500, 1000 horse.


'Alí came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (muládám) and friend of Akbar. One the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, 'Alí correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to 'Alí '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, Hakím 'Alí constructed the wonderful reservoir (Háraz), which is so often mentioned by Mughul 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 Malik Barid of Bedar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mástáná Razá of Mashhad, poetically styled Razáí, found the táríkh of his death in the words Sháh i jahan ehad shahid (888), '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 luxurious, 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 Jūlinūs uzamadīnī, '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 Khusraru at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahāngīr) had an elephant of the name of Girīshbābīr, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of Abru, one of Khusraru'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 tabdīchak, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurrum (Shāh-jahān) sat at a window, whilst Salīm and Khusraru were on horseback in the arena. Girīshbābīr completely worsted Abru, and as he mauled him too severely, the tabdīchak elephant was sent off to Abru'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 Khurrum 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 Khurrum, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girīshbābīr, 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 Khusraru 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 Khusraru'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 5th Muharram, 1018. Jahāngīr says of him (Tuzuk, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the Qānūn. "But his subtility 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 Badāuni (III., 166) says that 'Ali was the son of the sister of Hakim ul Mulk of Gilān and learned medicine and science under Shāh Fathulah of Shirāz. He was a rabid Shī'ah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he
He had a son, known as Hakim 'Abdulwahháb. He held a manṣūb. In the 16th year of Jahángir’s reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lábor 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 Qizí 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. Jahángír ordered Aṣraf Kháán (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 Aṣraf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported 'Abdulwahháb, and the emperor deprived him of his manṣūb and jāgír. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favor; for in the Pádisháhnamáh (I, 6., 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, 50 horse.

193. Gujár Khán, son of Qutbuddín Kháán Aftgáh (No. 28).

He was mentioned above on p. 334.

194. Sadr Jaha’n Muftí/.

Mírán Çádr Jahán was born in Pihání, a village near Qánauj.1 Through the influence of Shaikh 'Abdunnábi he was made Muftí. When 'Abdullah Kháán Uzbák, king of Túrán, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islám, Mírán Çádr and Hakim Humáín (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,

قَيِّلٌ إِنَّ اللَّهَ ذَرَّ وَلْدَهُ إِنَّ الرَّسُولَ قَدْ كَانَ
ما نَفَأُ اللَّهُ وَالرَّسُولُ مَعَا مُتَّقِينَ آنَاء

"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 Çádr (vide p. 274). In the 35th year, at the feast of Abánnáh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Çádr 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 Háfiž—

در دور بانکیا خطاطیم جریم برقص حافظ نقابه کش شد و نقیب بیان فرش
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 manṣūb of 2000 (vide p. 208).

During the reign of Jahángír, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4000, and received Qánauj as tugál. As Çádr under Jahángír 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 harisah | 1 So Badánmí. The Madsir says, Píhání lies near Lakhnau.

(vide p. 33, note).
composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Bādānī, he repented and gave up poetry as against the spirit of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons:

1. Mīr Bādār i 'Alam. He lived a retired life.

2. Sayyīd Nīzām Muḥtadī Khān. His mother was a Brāhman woman, of whom his father had been so enamoured, that he married her; hence Nīzām 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 Shāhjahān's reign, he was a promoted to command of 3000, and received, on the death of Mūrtazā Khān Injū (p. 451) the title of Mūrtazā Khān. He served a long time in the Dakhān. His tāyūl was the Parganah of Dalamau, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Faujdar of Lak'bnu. In the 24th year of Shāhj.'s reign, he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms per annum out of the revenue of Pihmān, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons 'Abdūl Muḥtadīr and 'Abdūlulah were appointed to manṣūbs, and received as tāyūl the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihmān. 'Abdūl Muḥtadīr rose to a command of 1000, 600 horse, and was Faujdar of Khāirābād.

195. Takhtah Beg i Kābulī [Sardār Khān].

He was at first in the service of M. Muhammad Hakīm, 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 Mān Singh and Zain Kōkah against the Yūsufzāis. As Thānāhādar of Pashāwar he punished on several occasions the Tārikhs. In the 49th year, he was made a Khās.

After Jahāngīr's accession, he was made a commander of 2000, and received the title of Sardār Khās. He was sent with Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān (p. 363), to relieve Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57) in Qandahār. As Shāh Beg was appointed governor of Kābul, Takhtah was made governor of Qandahār, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Pashāwar, called the Bāgh i Sardār Khān. His two sons Hayāt Khān and Hīdāyatullah got low manṣūbs.

196. Rai Patr Da'us, [Rājah Bikramājī], a Khatrī.

Patr Dās was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (mushkīf) of the elephant stables, and had the title of Rājī Bāyān. He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chītor. In the 24th year, he and Mīr Aḥmad were made joint diwāns 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 diwān of Bihār. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bāndhū (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 diwān of Kābul, but was in the following year again sent to Bāndhū. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3000. When Aḥlālza, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bīr Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bīr Singh in several engagements, and shut him up in Yīch. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bīr 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 Rújáh Bikramájít.

After Jahángír’s accession, he was made Mír Atásch, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (topchtí) with a train of 3000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganahs being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (Tuzuk, p. 10).

When the sons of Muzaffar of Gujrat created disturbances, and Yátim Bahádur had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadábád with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted, up to commands of Yúzbáshís, or recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the emperor.

‘The year of his death is not known.’ Mádsír.

The Ráí Mohán Dás mentioned occasionally in the Akbarnámah and the Tuzuk p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaikh ‘Abdurráhi’s, of Lak‘hnau.

He belongs to the Shaikhzúdahs of Lak‘hnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamál Bakhtyár (No. 119), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard, that he got frequently insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjáb, ‘Abdurráhirí wounded himself in a fit whilst at Súlkoští in Hakím Abúlúthí’s dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brúhmán woman of the name of Kishná. 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 pánjkázárí to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

‘Abdurráhirí was mentioned above on p. 338.

198. Mední ‘Ráí Chauha’n.

From the Akbarnámah we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrat. Nizámuddín Akbá, who was with him in Gujrat, says in the Tabaqát:—

‘Mední Ráí is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i. e., in 1001) a commander of 1000.’

199. Mír Abúl Qá’ím Namaki’n, [Qásim Khán].

The MSS. have almost invariably Tumkín (تومکین), instead of Namákín. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mír Abúl Qá’ím was a Sayyid of Haráht. He was at first in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother and king of Kábul. But he left Kábul, and on entering Akbar’s service, he received Bhírāh and Khusháb in the Panjáb as jágir. As his lands lay within the Namaksár,1 or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (namak-kaldálit) with a plate and

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1 The namaksár, or salt-range, says the Mádsír, is a district 20 kos long, and belongs to the Sind Ságar Duáb, between the Baháth 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 and the latter 1/4 of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dám to two dáms (one rupee = 40 dáms) per man, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 mansa. The salt is also often made into ornaments.
a cup made of salt (namákín), from which circumstance he received the nickname of Namákín.

Abul Qásim served in the war with Dádd of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kábul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismá'íl Qulí Khán (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balúchis. In the 32nd year, the Afgán chiefs of Sawád and Bajor, and Teráh, waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abul Qásim Krorí and Panjdar of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afgánistán. 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 Qázi of the imperial camp (sirdár). But Abul Qásim, 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, Ḍadr 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 Qázi, stating that there were no complainants, and 'Abdul Hai tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qází should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the emperor.

Abul Qásim was, soon after, made a Khán, got a higher mancáb, and received Gujrát in the Panjáb as taydíl. 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 Khusrau has been mentioned above (p. 414, note 2, where Tamkín is to be altered to Namákín). 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 Loharí, near the branch of the river called Kuhármátri (کهارمتری), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of Çáfán i Çáfá (the dais 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 Qasim Namakin (settled at Bhakkar in 1015).

(died 1057 A. H.)

A son.

M. Abul Wafá. Abul Khair Khán.
(end of Aurang- (under Farrukh Siyar) zib's reign)

*Mir Abul Baqíá Amír Khán* rose under Jahangir to a command of 2600, 1600 horse. Through the influence of Yaminuddaulah he was made governor of Multán, and in the 2nd year of Sháhjahán, he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse, and appointed to That'hah, vice Murtaza i Injú deceased (p. 451). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyúldár of Bir in the Dak'hin, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Swistán vice Qarã Khán. In the following year, he was again appointed to That'hah, where in 1057 (20th year) he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahangir he was generally called Mir Khán. Sháhjahán gave him the title of Amír Khán.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murád Bakhtah, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of Shahnawáz Khán i Çañwí.² Amír Khán had a large family. His eldest son, Mír 'Abdurrazzaq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Sháhjahán's reign. His second son, Ziáuddin Yusuf, was made a Khán, and held under Sháhjahán a mançáb of 1000, 600 horse. Ziú's grandson, Abul Wafá was in the end of Aurangzib's reign in charge of his majesty's prayer room (darogháh i já-namáds). Amír Khán's youngest son, Mír 'Abdulkarím, was a personal friend of Aurangzib. He received in succession the titles of Multáft 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 (bungád) at Gwálíûr. After the death of Muhammad A'zam in the battle of Saráí Jájú,² Bahádur Sháh made him a commander of 3500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh's death, his son ruled.

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¹ Shahnawáz Khán i Çañwí is the title of Mirzá Badruzzamán, alias Mirzá Dak'hiní, son of Mirzá Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Díras Bání Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Aurangzib. Another was married, in 1062, to Prince Murád Bakhtah. Elphinstone (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawáz Khán by mistake the brother of Sháistah Khán; but Sháistah is the son of Yaminuddaulah Aqaf Khán, elder brother of Núr Jahán.

² Saráí Jájú, near Dholpúr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabí I, 1119, and Muhammad A'zam was killed with his two sons Bedár Bakht and Wálíjáh.
the Bárha brothers made Amr Khán čâdar of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abulkhair, was made a Khán by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no man-
çabs, but lived on their zamindáris.

2. Mîrzá Kashmírî was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusrav. As the
associates were to be punished in an unusual way (sideat i ghair-mukarrar, Tuzuk,
p. 32), Jâhângîr ordered his penis to be cut off.

3. Mîrza Husân-muddín. He held a mançab, but died young.

4. Mîrza Zâdulláh. He was in the service of Khán Jahánu Lodí.

300. Wazîr Beg Jâmîl.'

Wazír Jamîl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar's reign
against 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak, and in the war with Khán Zamán (No. 13). In the
final battle, when Bahádur 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 Bahádur,
aman in the service of Majám Khán (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahádur prisoner.
Afterwards, he received a jâgir in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the
expeditions to Bengal and Orísá under Mun'im Khán. At the outbreak of
the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qâsháls; but when they separated from
Ma'qúm i Kábulí (p. 431, note) and tendered their submission, W. J. also was par-
doned. In the 29th year, he came to court, and served in the following year under
Jâgnâth (No. 69) against the Ráns. He seems to have lived a long time. Jâhângîr
on his accession made him a commander of 3000 (Tuzuk, p. 8).

He is not to be confounded with the Jâmîl Beg mentioned under No. 172.

201. Tâ'hír, [son of] Saifül-mulûk.

The Tabaqât says that Tâhir was the son of Sháh Muhammad Saifül-mulúk.
His father was governor of Gharjâtan in Khorásán, and was killed by Sháh Tablás
of Persia. Tâhir went to India, was made an Amir at Akbar's Court, and served in
Bengal, where he was when the author of the Tabaqât wrote (1001).

He is also mentioned in Dowson's Edition of Elliot's Historians, I., pp. 241, 242.

202. Ba'bu' Manklí'.

Regarding the name 'Manklí,' vide p. 370, note. The Tabaqât says that Bábú
Manklí was an Afghán, and a commander of 1000.

He was at first in Dáud's service, and occupied G'horâg'hát at the time when
Mun'im 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'horâg'hát (Akbars. III., 470), and took part, in the 35th year, in the operations
against Qutlú Khán. Two years later, he accompanied Mân Singh's expedition to
Orísá.

He may have lived under Jâhângîr; 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,
Hátím. Another son, Mahmúd, appears to have been a commander of 500, 300 horse
under Sháhjâhan (Pâdsháhs. I., b., p. 333), though the text edition of the Bibl. Indica
calls him son of Yâbú Mâtkálí (بابو متكلي يابو متكلي) for

a Jamîl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindústán.

60
XI. Commanders of Six Hundred.

203. Muhammad Quli Khan Turkman [Afshar, 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 Mán Singh to Kábul, where he greatly distinguished himself. In the 30th 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, rice Yúsuf Khán (No. 35, and p. 411). In the 4th year, a party of Kashmíriis tried to set up Anbá 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 Kashmír. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Saifillah (No. 262) from Láhor. In the 49th year, Anbá 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 Kashmír. Hamzah Beg was in the 19th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 1000.

204. Bakhtyá'r Beg Gurd i Sháh Mansú'r.

The Îzídát most likely means that he was the son of Sháh Mançú'r, in which case the word gurd (athlete) would be Bakhtyá'r's epithet. Two MSS. have the word pídar (son) instead of gurd.

The Tabúdáq says, 'Bakhtyá'r Beg Turknán in an Amfr, and governs at present (1001) Siwistán.' In the 32nd year, he served against the Táriká.

205. Hákím Humám,² son of Mir 'Abdurrazzáq of Gilán.

Regarding his family connection, vide No. 112, p. 424. Humám's real name is Húmáyún. When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Húmáyún Qúlí, or 'slave of Húmáyún'; but soon afterwards, Akbar gave him the name of Humám. 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 Çádér Jahán (No. 194) to Túrán as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humám's absence. He returned to India, about a month after his brother's death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabi' I, 1004. Rádáoní (II., p. 406) says, the day after Humám's death, Kámulá (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.

Humám had two sons—

1. Hákím Hádíq (Đáîq). He was born at Fathpúr Sikrí, and was a young man when his father died. At Sháhjáhán'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 mançúr was cancelled, and he lived at Agra on a pension of 20,000 rupees per annum, which is the 18th

³ The MSS. have qúl. The Tarakí mentions 'a Kashmiri of royal blood,' of the name of qúl. He was killed by Sher Aftán (vide No. 394) at Bardwán, on the 3rd Čáfir, 1016.

² "Humám, not Hammám, is the Indian pronunciation."
year, was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068). He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of Ḥāsiq. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his diwan 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 Bakhshī of the Daḵhin.

206. Miʿrās Afanwar, son of Khān i Aʿzam Mirzā Kokah (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on p. 328.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Bāltu 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. Miḥrak Bahaʾdur Arghūn.

The Tabaqāt says, he reached a command of 2000, and died. From the Akbar-nāmah (II., 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwah (vide No. 129), and in the pursuit of Sharaflūdīn Husain (No. 17).

209. Laʾl Khān Kolaʾbī.

He is also called Laʾl Khān Badakhshī (vide p. 438), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (Akbarnāmah, I., 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū. Later, he served under Muʿīm in Bengal and Orīsā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 376).

210. Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh Salīm.

He is the second (miyāz) son of Shaikh Salīm of Fathpūr Sīkri. He served at court with Shaikh Ibrāhīm (No. 82), and died in the 221st year (985).

211. Iskandar Beg i Badakhshī.

He is mentioned in the Akbar-nāmah (II., 251), as having served in the pursuit of Abūl Maʿālī (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nuʿrīn Khān Quʾchīn.

He served under Muʿizzul Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khairābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under Ḥusayn Māḥīl (No. 83) and Ẓādīq Khān (No. 43) against the Tārīkhīs.

The Tabaqāt says he was a commander of 1000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jalāʾ Khān Quʾchīn.

Akbar was much attached to him. In the 5th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagełah (No. 89) with the request to allow Tānṣīn 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

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1 The Mādsīr says that the author of the Mir-dāt ul Aʿlam mentions 1080 as the year of his death; but my MS. of the Mir-dāt (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humāyūn to Aʿrūngāib) mentions no year.
restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwánah, and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rájah Chandr Sen of Márwár. During the expedition Rájpút introduced himself to him, who pretended to be Déři Dás, who had been killed at Mírthá, evidently with the view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kalliá, son of Rám Ráí and brother’s son to Ch. S., and a detach-ment of imperialists was sent to Kalliá’s palace. Kalliá 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 Khán’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 Jalá, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, Akbarn. III., 140).

It was Jalá who introduced the historian Badáoni at Court.

214. Parma’and, the Khatrí.

He is mentioned in Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I., p. 244.

215. Timur Khán Yakkah.

He served under Mun’im (No. 11) in Kábul, and, in the 10th year, against Khán Zánám (Akbarn., II., 236, 326).

The Timur i Badakhshí mentioned several times in the Akbarnámah (III., 165, 174) appears to be another officer. Vide No. 142.

216. Sa’ín’ Khán of Harát.

He was born at Harát, and belonged to the Arlát (w.7j) clan. According to the Akbarnámah (I., 379), Mauláná Sání, ‘who is now called Sání Khán’, was in the service of Mírzá Hindál; but after the Mírzá’s death (21st Zí Qa’dah, 958) he was taken on by Humáyún. He served in the wars with Khán Zámán.

Badáoni (III., 206) says that his real name was ‘Ali Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Táshbíbih of Káshán, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nu’átawi doctrines (p. 462). 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 Zámán.

218. Jaga’mí, the Puñwár.

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 Batáni.¹

The Tábaqát classes him among the commanders of 1000. He was at first in the service of the Bengál king Sulaimán, and was present with Sulaimán Mankli (p. 370) and Khál Pahár at the interview between Mun’im and Khán Zámán (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). Akbarn., II., 325.

Hasan was killed with Bir Bár in the Khaibar Pass; vide p. 204. MSS. often call him wrongly Husain instead of Hasan.

¹ Batáni is the name of an Afghan tribe, N. W. of Déřá Ismá’il Khán.
221. Sayyid Chhajhun,1 of Báhá. 

The Tahqát 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 Báhá family it appears that S. Ch. was a Kánníkí. His tomb still exists at Majherah, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Munisíf Khá'n, Sultán Muhammad of Harát.

223. Qa'í'n Khá'n Bakhshí. 

Some MSS. have Badakshí instead of Bakhshí. Vide No. 144. On p. 383, l. 10, we have to read No. 144 for No. 223.

224. Hájí Yu'suf Khá'n.

He was at first in Kámrán's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyá Khá'n (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yu'suf Khá'n, whom Khá'n Zamán (No. 13) besieged in Qanaí. In the 17th year, he operated under Khá'n 'Alám (No. 68) against M. Ibráhím Húsain, and was present in the battle of Sarnál. In the 19th year, he went with Mun'im to Bengal and Órásá, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 376).

225. Há'wul Bhím of Jaisalmir.

The Tuzuk says (p. 169).—"On the 9th Khurshíd (middle of 1026), Kályán of Jaisalmir was introduced at court by Rájá Kishn Dás, whom I had sent to him. Kályán's elder brother was Ráwul Bhím, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhím's daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of Malikáh i Jahán. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhím's brother to court, invested him with the tází, and made him Há'wul."4

For Kályán, vide under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahángir's reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 103).

226. Há'ashím Beg, son of Qáeim Khá'n (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulj Khá'n (No. 42), the new governor of Kábul, Há'ashím returned to court. In the 41st year, he served

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1 The spelling 'Chhajhú' is preferable to 'Chhajhú.'

2 The list of Jahángir's wives on p. 310, may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malikáh i Jahán, daughter of Ráwul Bhím of Jaisalmir. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zain Kokah, mentioned on p. 345. There is a curious discrepancy between Tuzuk, p. 8, and Akbarnamáh, III, 594: Jahángir says that Parwiz was his son by Zain Kokah's daughter, and Abulfázl says that Parwiz's mother was the daughter of Khwájah Hassan, Zain Khá'n's uncle (vide also p. 344); but there is no doubt that Parwiz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Abán, 997, whilst Jahángir, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zain Khá'n's daughter (p. 345). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad's text of Tuzuk, p. 8, be correct, that Jahángir had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son. (3) Núr-unnísá Begum, sister of Mírzá Musaffár Húsain, p. 464. (4) A daughter of the king of Khándesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar's reign. (5) Khá'ilhá Khá'n, daughter of Qáfn Khá'n, p. 371. (6) A daughter of Khwájah Jahán i Kábulí (Dost Muhammad). (7) A daughter of Sa'd Khá'n Gakk'hár. Her daughter, 'Iffat Bá'nú, is mentioned, Akbarnamáh, III, 561. (8) The mother of Daulát Násí, Akbar, III, 567. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mírzá Sanjar, son of Khízr Khá'n Hazáráh; Akbar, III, 607. (10) A daughter of Rá'n Chand Bundelas (No. 248), married in 1018; Tuzuk, p. 77.
under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bású and other rebellious zamindárs in the northeastern part of the Panjáb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mán. In the 44th year, he served under Fárid i Bakhárá (No. 99) before Asir. Later, he went with Sa’ádat Khán to Násik.¹ After the conquest of Tiranbuk, he returned to court (48th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1500.

In the first year of Jhângír’s reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 1500 horse. In the 2nd year, his mansáb 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 Husain (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orísá. His successor in Orísá was Rájáh Kalyán, brother of Bhím (No. 225).

Háshím’s son is the renowned Muhammad Qásim Khán Mir Atísh. He was, in the 18th year of Shâhjâhán, a commander of 1000, 500 horse, Dároghah of the Topkhánah and Kótvâl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Bâlk, Andkhúd, received the title of Mu’tamid Khán, and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2000, 1000 horse, and Aklhatá Bégí. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3000, and also got the title of Qásim Khán. He then served under Aurângzíb in Quddâlahár, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4000, 2500 horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sántúr (संतूर), which the ruler of Sirnagar had repaired. Later, he was made Dárá Shíkoh a commander of 5000, 5000 sibâpsah-duâspah, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadábâd (Gujrát), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Máiwah. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Murád Bakhish in check. When the Prince left Gujrát, the two commanders marched against him viah Bâgsâráh; but when approaching Khâchrod, Murád suddenly retreated 18 kos, and joined, seven kos from Ujjain, the army of Aurângzíb. The two chiefs had received no information of Aurângzíb’s march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Aurângzíb and Dárá, at Samogár,² Qásim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murâdábâd as tyyût, as Rustam Khán i Dakhfíní, the former jâfírídár, had fallen at Samogár. Qásim was then charged with the capture of Sulaimân Shíkoh. In the 3rd year of Aurângzíb’s reign, he was appointed to Mathurá. 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 Aurângzíb’s order.

227. Mîrza Fârîdu’dún, son of Muhammad Qulí Khán Bârlás (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 342. His death took place at Udaipúr in 1023 (Tuzuk, p. 131).

228. Yu’suf Khâ’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 changin (p. 297), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (peh-kohah i zîn). On his death, Yúsuf was raised to the throne (Akbarnâmah, III., 237). He first surrounded the palace of his uncle Abdál,

¹ This Sa’ádat Khán had first been in the service of the Dakhán kings as commander of the Forts of Gâlnâh and Tiranbuk; 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 Mubárak to the throne, and in a fight which
took place on the maidán of Srinagar, where the 'Id prayer is said, Yúsuf 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 Mu-
bárak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yúsuf’s uncle, had been made
king. In the 25th year, (Akbar, III., 288), the emperor ordered several Panjáb
nobles to reinstate Yúsuf. When the imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmiris
sued for mercy, and Yúsuf, 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, Gálib Diwánah reported to the emperor how firmly and independ-
ently Yúsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaikh Ya’qúb i Kashmirí, a
trusted servant, with his son Húdar to Kashmir, to remind Yúsuf of the obligations
under which he lay to the emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yúsuf 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
hitherto been with the emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The emperor then
sent Hákím ‘Alí (No. 192) and Baháuddín Kambú to Yúsuf, 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 Mirzá (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The imperial
army marched over Pak’ilí, and was not far from Bárah Múlah, when Yúsuf sub-
mitted and surrendered himself (Akbar, III., 492). Sháhrukh was on the point of
returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yúsuf being kept
a prisoner, the Kashmiris raised Aulád Hussín, and, soon after, Ya’qúb, Yúsuf’s son,
to the throne; but he was every where defeated. Information of Yúsuf’s submission
and the defeat of the Kashmiris was sent to court, and at Srinagar the khutbah was
read, and coins were struck, in Akbar’s name. The cultivation of za’farán (p. 84) and
silk, and the right of hunting, were made imperial monopolies (p. 411). On the approach
of the cold season, the army returned with Yúsuf Kháán, and arrived, in the 31st year, at
court. Todar Mál was made responsible for Yúsuf’s person.

As Ya’qúb Kháán and a large party of Kashmiris 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 occurrences defeated.

In the 32nd year, Yúsuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jágir 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 Jhápíkand and Kokráh* (Chutía Nángpúr) to Mednápúr (Akbar, III., 641).

1 The Akbarnámah (III., 492) calls the pass near Bárah Múlah, where Yúsuf
surrendered, یوڑا. The Madsír has 
رذج. It is evidently the same place
which the Tuzuk (p. 202) calls یوڑا

e Š adj. 2) kos from Bárah Múlah. The
Tuzuk says that Bárah Múlah means

place of the boar (bárdí), which is one of
the avatárs.

* Regarding the cultivation of za’farán (saffron) vide also Tuzuk, p. 45.
* Kokráh was mentioned above on p. 401. It is the old name of Chutía Nángpúr, one of the parganahs of which is still called Kokrahl, or Khukra, as spelt
Ya'qūb Khān, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 31st year, the court had gone to Kashmīr (p. 380). Yūsuf Khān is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nu'r Qulīj, son of Altān Qulīj.

Altān or altan is Turkish, and means 'gold.'

Nūr Qulīj was a relation of Qulī Khān (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to ʿIdar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 1st year, from Aμjūr to Gogudnah. In the fight with the zamīndār of ʿIdar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sūltān Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulī Khān, who had been made governor of Gujrat. He continued to serve there under the Khānkhānān (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to court.


The Taʿbāqāt calls him Khvādja ‘Abdūl Hai, and says that he was an Amīr. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468,471. 231. Shāh Qulī Khān Naʿzanji.'

Abūfazl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kūrd from near Baghdād. He was an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he served under Khīr Khān (p. 365, note 2) in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bārām. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gaḍha, when Mālīd Qisīm Khān (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The Taʿbāqāt calls him a commander of 1000.

His son, Pādīshāh Qulī, was a poet, and wrote under the name of Jazbā. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Fārrukh Khān, son of Khān i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned on pp. 323 and 357. According to the Taʿbāqāt, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Shādīmān, son of Khān i Aʿzam Kokāh (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 328.

234. Hākīm 'Ainul Mulḵ, of Shīrāz.

He is not to be confounded with Hakīm Al Mulḵ; vide below among the Physicians of the court.


The Rājāh of Kokrah who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 401), is called Mādūhū. In the 37th year, Mādūhū and Lākʰmī Ṛāi of Kokrah served in Yūsuf Khān’s detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrām Singh Shāh Khān of Kharakpur (p. 448, and Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Pūran Mall of Gidhor belonged (Akbarnāmah, III., 641).

Kokrah is again mentioned in the Tuzuk i Jahāngiri (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihār and the Dakhtān. It was run over, in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-jang, governor of Bihār, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rājāhs sent him as tribute. The then Rājāh was called Durjun Sālī. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihār.

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 Dawlawi. The Historian Badáni 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'timád Khán (No. 67) and Mir Ábú 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 'Ádil Khán of Bijápuír, from where, in 985, he returned to court (Baddóni, II., 250). He was then made Faujdár of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahádur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Barelí, 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 Çúbah of Agra. He was then attached to the Dakhín corps of 'Azíz Kokáh (No. 21), and received Handiah as jágir. When 'Azíz, for some reason, cancelled his jágir, 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 (Badáni, II., 403).

The Mirzáf Masjíd, also called Pádísáhi Masjíd, in Old Barelí, Mirzáf Mahallah, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Hakím was Faujdár of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the takhallus of Dawál.


Jánish Bahádur was mentioned on p. 345. He was at first in the service of Mirzá 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 Kokáh (No. 34) against the Yúsufzáis, and saved Zain's life in the Khaibar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khánkhánán in That'has, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to court. Later, he served in the Dakhín. He died in the 46th year (1009). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, Shujá'at Khán Shiddi Beg. He was made, in the 7th year of Sháhjahán's 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 Quli Khán. Afterwards, on the death of Ghairat Khán, he was made governor of That'has, and a commander of 2000. In the 19th year, he was with Prince Murád Baksh in Balkh and Badakhshán. In the 21st year, he was appointed governor of Kábul, vide Siwá Rám, and held, in the following year, an important command under Aurangzib 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 Sháhjahán's arrival in Kábul, a commander of 3500, 3000 horse, with the title of Shujá'at Khán. In the 26th year, he served under Dárk Shikoh before Qandahár, and with Rustam Khán Bahádur at Búst. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muhammad Sa'id.
236 Mir Taahir i Miswār.

He is not to be confused with Nasir ud Din and Ali. According to the Tabārī, Mir Taahir is "the bearer of Mirza Yūsuf's letters. N. 125, and was murdered for his bravery." It would thus appear that Alishah makes no difference between the terms Kruz and Mirza i Ḍilāl under N. 26.


He is mentioned in the Akbarānāmā among the generals who accompanied Mumtāz to Bengal and Orissa, and took part in the battle of Thārā (p. 47). After the overthrow of the Bengal Mughals revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by M. Zaki, M. Kār, Sāhibu, Bābur, and Kā'īn Yāsīn. He went over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned and Mir Za'īr'San was executed. Akbarānāmā, III, 262.

His pocket 'Alishahī is not clear to me.

He must not be confused with the more illustrious Mirza '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 Alishahī. In the 30th year, he commanded the Ahādis on Shahrukh's expedition to Kashmir (p. 47).

Later, he served under Prince Murād in the Dakhīn. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Čādiq Khān (No. 46) occupied Mahārā. But new disturbances broke out under the Dakhīn leaders Aziz Khān and 'Ain Khān, against whom Čādiq sent a corps under M. 'Ali Beg. He suddenly fell over them, and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (maz'mim i akhārāh).

In consequence of this defeat, Khudāwānd Khān and other Amir of the Nikāmah marched against the imperialists with 10,000 horse, but Čādīq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Bāhūtarah (Bhāhūtarah) near Daulatabad, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Patan on the Godāvarī, and took Fort Lobard. "Both forts," says the author of the Ma'āsid, "have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (nismād i shudah), and are so to this day." Later, M. A. B. served under Abūl'azīz, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar. In the 40th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khānikhānān, in the Dakhīn.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 4,000, jāigārdār of Sambhāl, and governor of Kashmir. He served in the pursuit of Khuṣrau (Tuzuk, p. 30). Later, he received a tughīl 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 Shahbāz Khān (p. 401), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed, "Oh! he was an old friend of mine." The same moment, he fell forward a corpse, and was buried at the same spot (22nd Rabi' I, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servantes, 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).

1 The Tuzuk (p. 11) says, he belonged to the ulema i Dīkhi, a very doubtful term, as he belonged to Badakhshān. Perhaps we have to read ulema i dudai (p. 388).
238. Ra'm Dâ's, the Kachwâhah.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordât (وردات), and lived at Lûnî (or Baunli, vide p. 398). Râm Dâs was at first in the service of Râi Sâl Darbârî (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 Munîm in Bihâr, he was made his adâb 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 A'grah near Hâtîâ-pul, he lived in the guard house, 'always watching with his 200 Râjpûts, 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. Jahângîr, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 8th year, with 'Abdullah Khân to Gujrat and the Dak'him, and gave him the title of Râjâh and a flag, Rantambûr being assigned to him as jâgîr (Tuzuk, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of Râjâh Karan. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahângîr wished to make an example of the Amîrs 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 Amîr right royally. Looking at Râm Dâs's portrait, he said, 'Now, when thou wert in Râi Sâl's service, thou hadst a tankah per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amîr. Do not Râjpûts think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Râjâh Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith.' Râm Dâs was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jahângîr heard of his death, he said, 'My curse has come true; for the Hindûs 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, Nâman Dâs, in the 48th year of Akbar's reign, left the court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Shâh Quli Khân's men were to bring him back to court by force. But Nâman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Râm Dâs was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, Dalap Dâs, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the Tuzuk (p. 312), a villa near a spring called Inch (اچ), between Bânîpûr and Kâkâpûr in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Râm Dâs. Vide also Tuzuk, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Khâ'n Niya'zî'.

Abûl Fazîl ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahângîr, he rose to a command of 2000. Like Mirzâ Rustâm Çâfawî and Abûl Hasan Turbatî, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shâh-bâz Khân (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shâh-bâz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees per annum. Later, he served under the Khân-khânân in the conquest of That'hab, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzâ Jânî
Beg (No. 47) near Lak‘hi‘, where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnum-
bered by the enemies. From that time, the Khánkhánán was his friend.

Under Jahángír, he took a leading part in the Dak‘híns, especially in the
fights with Malik‘ Ambar near Kharkí, a famous battle field (vide note to No. 255),
and continued to serve there under Prince Sháhjáhán.

He died in 1037. 'The táríkh of his death is Muhammad
Khán, the saint, is dead.' He was a man of great piety. His day was carefulliy
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 (wuzu) prescribed by
the law. People told many miraculous stories (khwa‘wíríq) of him.

During his long stay in the Dak‘híns, 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 Mudásír, "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 namáad kih rashde dáshtah báskad)."

He was buried in Ashtí. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niýáíí Afgháns. If one of them died,
he gave a mouth’s pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month’s pay
to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khán Niýáíí, was in the 20th year of Sháhjáhán’s reign a com-
mander of 2500 (Padisháhnánámah, II., 386, 725).

240. Abul Musáffár, son of Ashraf Khán (No. 74).

From the Akbarnánáh (III., 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was
stationed in Chanderi and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihár

1 Vide Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s
2 The emperor Jahángír gave the
Ashtí, Amner, Dauáír, and Tilígánw (Ilárá)n pargauhas in jágir to Muhammad
Khán Niýáíí. 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 work
manship. The two stand side by side
within an enclosure, and are the sights of
Ashtí. They are indeed striking monu
ments of art to find in such a remote
spot as this. After the death of Ahmad
Khán, the power of the Niýáíís gradu
ally 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. Lately, in consideration of
the past history of the family, and the
local respect which it commands, the
Government conferred on Nawáb Wáhir
Khán, one of its representatives in Ashtí,
the powers of an honorary magistrate.

"Karañjá. A small octroi town in
the Arví tahcîl of the Wardah district. It
was founded some 200 years by Nawáb
Muhammad Khán Niýáíí of Ashtí." Ex-
tracts from C. Grant’s Gazetteer of the
Central Provinces of India, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.
rebel (III., 273). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrat (III., 423, and Badam' II., (323). Vide also p. 389.

241. Khwa'jagi Muhammad Husain, Mir Barra.

He is the younger brother of Qasim Khan (No. 59), and had the title of Mir Barra, 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 Ghanzi Khan, Mun'im's son, and Haidar Muhammad Khan Akhtahbegi (No. 66), whom Mun'im had left as his mubis in Kabul, Haidar was called to court, and Abul Fath, son of Mun'im's brother, was sent there to assist Ghanzi. Muhammad Husain 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 Bakshwal (master of the imperial kitchen), and was also a commander of 1000.

In the 6th year of Jahangir, he officiated for Hahim (No. 236) as governor of Kashmir. On Hahim'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 Qasim, brother of 'Abdul Qadir Akhund.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. Badam (II., 323) calls him a native of Tabriz, and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (akhund). In 991, Abul Qasim was made Divan of Gujrat.

243. Qamar Khân, son of Mir 'Abdullahtif of Qazwin (No. 161).

He served under Mundim (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takaroi (p. 375). In the 22nd year, he served under Shihab in Gujrat (Akbar's, III., 190), and in the 24th year, under Todar Mal in Bihar. In the 25th year, he took part in the battle near Sultangur Bilhar (p. 400, and Akbar's, III., 305).

His son, Kaukab, fell under Jahangir 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, ) sons of Raja Mân Singh (No. 30).
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 Bhao Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1000, and was gradually promoted, during Jahangir's reign, to a manzub of 5000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the Tuzuk.

The Lucknow edition of the Akbar-namah (III., 642) has also Durjan, and (by mistake) Sul for Sabal Singh. The Subhan Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Mân Singh.

* Abul Fath, who on p. 318 has erroneously been called Abdul Fath, was the son of Fazil Beg, Mun'im's brother. Badami II., 56 has Fazil Beg, but the Akbar-namah and the Madars have Fazil.
Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Orísá. Sakat Singh, in the 36th year (1689), had served in Kábul. They died before their father.

Himmát Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afgháns.

Col. J. C. Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXV, 1868) mentions six sons of Mán Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmát, Sakat, Bhím, and Kalyán Singh. The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians; nor are Bháo and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. *Vide ‘A Chapter from Muhammadan History,’* in the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

### 246. Mustafa Ghílzí

A Sayyid Muṣtáfa is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrát, and was present in the battle near Maisánah, 18 kos S. E. of Pátañ, in which Sher Khán Fúládí was defeated.

### 247. Nazar Khán, son of Sa‘íd Khán, the Gakk'har

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 332. *Vide* Nos. 170, 171.

The Ṭabaqát calls him Nazar Beg, son of Sa‘íd Khán, and says that in 1001, he was a Hazári.

Mughul Historians give the following tree of the Gakk'har chiefs—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Sultán Sárang</th>
<th>2. Sultán Ádam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kamál Khán</td>
<td>2. Sa‘íd Khán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Múbárák Khán (No. 171)</td>
<td>1. Nazar Khán (No. 247)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sháh Muhammad (No. 332)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jalál Khán was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Qál, who then served at Kángráh, was made a commander of 1000, and sent to Bangash (Tuzuk, pp. 307, 308).

Jahángír, after the suppression of Khusrú's revolt passed on his way to Kábul through the Gakk'har district (Tuzuk, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahá (1st Muharrám, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtáš, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000,000 dáms, 'which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindústání money, or 120,000 Persian tumáns, or 1 ᵗ⁄₅, 2,175,000 silver Hális of Turání money.' After a march of 4½ kos, he came to Tílah, tílah in the Gakk'har dialect meaning 'a hill.' He then came to Dib Bhakrálah, bhakrā meaning 'forest.' The way from Tílah to Bhakrá passes along the bed of the Kábañ river, the banks of which are full karänd flowers. He then came to Hatiá, which was built by a Gakk'har of the name of Háti (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's *History of the Gakk'har*, Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1871). The district from Márgulâh to Hatiá is called Poṭ'hwár; and from Rohtáš to Hatiá
dwell the Bhágáls, a tribe related to the Gakk’hars. From Hatiá, he marched 4½ kos and reached Pakkáh, so called because it has a gucca saráí. Four and a half kos further on, he came to Kuraq, which means in the Gakk’har dialect ‘rugged.’ He then went to Ráwalpínqí, which is said to have been built by a Hindú of the name Ráwal, pinda meaning ‘a village,’ and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Ráwalpínqí he went to Kharbuzah, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (kharbuzah). The Gakk’hars used formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kálápání, and to the Márgaláh pass, mdōr meaning ‘killing,’ and gulan ‘a carawan.’ ‘Here ends the country of the Gakk’hars. They are a brutal race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not.’

The Pádiakhánmah (II., 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakk’har chiefs—

1. Akbar Quli Sultán, a commander of 1500, 1500 horse, died in the 18th year of Sháhjahan’s reign. His son Murád Quli Sultán, was under Sháhjahan a commander of 1500, 1000 horse (Pádiakhán, II., 410, 485, 512, 623, 665, 685, 655, 730).
2. Jabbár Quli, (brother of Jalál Khán),* 1000, 800 horse.
3. Khizr Sultán, (son of Nazar Khán),* 800, 600 horse, died in the 12th year Sháhj’s reign.

The Pádiakhánmah (I., p. 432) mentions Gakk’hars’ mules as famous.

The Madir 4 ‘Alamgírí (p. 155) also mentions Murád Quli and his son Allah Quli. Allah Quli’s daughter was married to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzeb, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

248. Ram Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundelah].

He is also called Ram Sáh, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Çádiq Khán (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmír (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, Bám Chand’s younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by Abuláh Khán, who moved from Kalíp, his jágír, to Uñçchah. On the 27th Zi Qa’dah 1015, Bám Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahángír had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honor, and handed him over to Rájah Bású of Dhamerí. ‘He never thought that he would be treated so kindly’ (Tuzuk, p. 42). But Uñçchah was handed over to Bir Singh Deo as reward for the murder of Abúfázl.

* For the geographical details of this passage I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The Tuzuk has Pílaq of Tilaq; Bhákra for Bhakrála, and the Persian word khdámah for Khán (خان), the name of the river near Bhakrála—a most extraordinary mistake; kór for Kuraq or Gúrá, a village near Manikyálah; Ponáhár for Pothád. Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near Hatiá, or Hátchán, is called KáAL, and that near Ráwalpínqí is the Lahí, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohan. Sarál Khár-buzah is also called Sarál Mádhú.

On the same page of Sáyíd Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk, we have to read: Khattár and Diláh-zák for Khar and Diláh-záka. The Khattárs occupy the district called Khátár, and the Diláh-záks are found in the Ch’hách valley of the Indus. Po’chwár is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohan; but Jahángír extends it to the Márgaláh pass from Hatiá (30 miles from the Jhelam).

* So according to Mr. Delmerick.
In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahángir married Rám 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 Bhárát Singh.

Muhammadan Historians give the following tree of the Upáoá Bundeláhs—

Rájah Partáb, founds Upáoá in 1531, A. D.

| 1. Bhárát Chand,          | 2. Madhukar Singh,  |
| (dies childless)          | (dies 1000).       |

1. Rám Chand, (dies 1021).


3. Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazi (dies 1036).

A son.

Bhárát.

Debi Singh.


The Madáisir contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. Vide also Thornton's Gazetteer, under Oorcha.

Bení Dás and Bhágwán Dás were killed by a Rájpút in the 13th year of Sháh-jahán's reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1500, 800 horse.

Vide Pádisháhuámah I., 172 (where another Bundeláh of the name of Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 308, 372, 425; II., 731, 734.

The Madáisir i 'Alámírí mentions several Bundeláhs, as Satr Sáí, Jásawát Singh, Indarman (died 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champát (l. c., pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). Vide also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abulfazi, in often called in bad MSS. Náír Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the Tuzuk, the 1st volume of Pádisháhuámah, the 'Alámígríñámah, &c., and in Elphinstone's History. The temples which he built in Mat'horá at a cost of 33 lacs of Rupees, were destroyed by Aurangzib in 1080. (Madáisir i 'Alámírí, p. 95).1

249. Rájah Mukatman, the Bhadauríah.

Bhadáwar is the name of a district S. E. of Agrab; its chief town is Hatkášt'h (vide p. 323, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadauríahs. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief tramplied 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 (Akbarnámah III., 423, 438).

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1 The Dutch traveller DeLaët has an interesting passage regarding Abulfazi's death (De Imperio Magni Mogul-
489

Under Jahángir, 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 Jahángir and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk (p. 108) mentions a Bhadauriah chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangah; but the name is doubtful.

Under Sháhjáhán, the head of the Bhadauriah clan was Rájah Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahábat Khán against Jhujhár 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 Bhonsla. He died in the 17th year (1053).

In the Pádishekhándmáh (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,¹ grandson of Kishn’s uncle. He was made 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. Sháhjáhán rewarded the bravery of the Rájah with a khílát, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 laces, which was the assessment of the Bhadáwar district. In the 22nd year, he was made a commander of 1500. In the 25th year, he served under Aurangzib, 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 mancab of 1000, 800 horse. He served in the 26th year in Kábul. After Dárá’s defeat, he paid his respect to Aurangzib, in whose reign he served, against the Bundelah rebels. In the 10th year, he served under Kámil Khán against the Yúsufzaís. He died in the 26th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (vide Maásir i 'Alamgríf, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bibl. Ind. edition has wrong Búdar Singh for Odat S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dak'hin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chitor (I. c., p. 186).

250. Rájah Bám Chandr, zamíndár of Orísá.

Regarding him vide Stirling’s report on Orísá, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV. His name occurs often in the narrative of Mán Singh’s conquest of Orísá (37th year of Akbar’s reign).

The province of Khurdah (South Orísá) was conquered and annexed to the Dihlí empire by Mukarram Khán (vide No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahángir’s reign (Tuzuk, p. 215).

251. Sayyid Ábul Qa’sim, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihár, and in the battle of Sultán̤pur Bilhart; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yúsufzaís.

¹ So Pádishekhándmáh, II., 732. The Maásir calls him Bud Singh or Bud Singh.
The Tārīkh Maʿqūmī (Dawson, Elliot's Historians I., p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mīr 'Adl, viz. his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazān, 983, and his death there, 8th Sha'bān, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abulfazl, who is not mentioned in the Ain. On the 9th Zilhajjah, 985 (Feb. 1578), I'timād (No. 119) arrived at Bhakkar.

252. Dalpat, son of Rāi Rāi Singh.
He has been mentioned above, p. 359.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.

253. Shaikh Faizī, son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nágor.

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abul Faiz. Faizī is his takhalluş. Towards the end of his life, in imitation of the form of the takhalluş of his brother 'Allūmī, he assumed the name of Faizī.

Faizī was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nágor. Shaikh Mubārak (vide pp. 169, 185, 198, 209) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrah had settled in Siwistān, where he married. In the 10th century, Mubārak's father went to Hindūstān, and settled at Nágor. Several of his children having died one after the other, he called his next child Mubārak. He was born in 911. When a young man, Mubārak went to Gujrat, and studied under Khaṣīb Abulfazl of Kāzarūn and Maulānā 'Ijmād of Lāristān. In 950, Mubārak settled at Agra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islem Shāh, he was a Mahālāwī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shi'iism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Faizī and Abulfazl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shews that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaikh Mubārak wrote a commentary to the Qurān, in four volumes, entitled Manbaʿul-i ragūn,1 and another work of the title of Jawāmiʿ uktālam. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhār, on the 17th Zī Qa'dah, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The tārīkh of his death will be found in the words Shaikh i kdmīl.

Shaikh Faizī 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 'Abdunnāb, the Caṭar, (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 Faizī'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. Faizī's bigoted enemies in Agra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge, and warned the governor of the town, not to let Faizī escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak's house; but accidentally Faizī was absent from home. Mubārak was ill-treated, and when Faizī at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most

1 Badāonī (III., 74) calls it Manbaʿu nafdas-īl i ragūn.
favorably, and Faizi, in a short time, became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaikh 'Abdunnabi.

In the 30th year, he planned a _khamsah_, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsha of Nizami. The first, _Markaz uladuwdr_, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be a _jauhd_ (imitation) of Nizami's _Makhtug ulasrdr_; the _Salaimun o Bilqis_ and the _Naf Damam_ were to consist of 4000 verses each, and were to be _jauh_ of the Khurram Shirin and Laili Majnuin respectively; and the _Haft Paikar_ and the _Akbaramaham_, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond to the _Haft Paikar_ and the _Sikandaranmah._ In the 33rd year, he was made Malikshahshu'zar, or Poet Laureate (Akbar, III., 569). Though he had composed portions of the Khamsha, 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_. Faizi thereupon finished the poem, and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Faizi suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th _Čafar_ 1004 (40th year). The _tārikh_ of his death is _Fayyds_ i 'Ajam. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the _Sawdā'ī_ _ul_I ḫām, and the _Mawādir ul_kilām, regarding which _vide_ below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4300 choice MSS., was embodied with the imperial library.

Faizi had been employed as teacher to the princes; sometimes, he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badoun, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

_Vide_ also pp. 106, 106, 183, 186, 197, 207, 209; and Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakim Miṣrī.

According to Badouni (III., 165), Hakim Miṣrī was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwājah Shamsuddin Khwāfī (No. 159). He died in Burhānpūr, and was buried there.

Miṣrī is mentioned in the _Akbaramaham_, III., p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abufazl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abufazl's date with Badouni's statement; for Badouni died in 1004 (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1869, p. 143). But both Abufazl and Badouni speak of the Hakim as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Iyūr, son of Mirzā Khānkhanān (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahangir, he was made Cūbahdār of Barār and Ahmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik 'Ambar, especially at K'harki, for which victories he was

1024, a canal was dug from K'harki to Daulatabād. Its name was _Chahdurmahr_, and the _tārikh_ of its completion is _khair _i jāri (pr. a running benefit). Later Aurangzib changed the name of K'harki to Aurangābād, 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 Sháhjáhán 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 Sháhjáhán. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahán-afroz, was born at Agra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhánpur, at the age of 1 year, 9 months (Pádsháh-náma). According to Grant's Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Irij's tomb is at Burhánpur. "The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure." The statement of the Gazetteer that Irij, towards the end of his life, "lived as a recluse" at Burhánpur, 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 mançab of 400, which Abúfazl 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 Kokah (No. 21).

Vide p. 328.

It was stated (p. 328) on the authority of the Maásir that he received the title of Sarşád Khán, which had become vacant by the death of Takháh Beg (No. 196). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of Sarfarás Khán. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Maásir; for the title of Sarşád Khán was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwájah Yádgár, brother of 'Abdullah Khán Firúz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116), when 'Abdullah Sarfarás Khán was still alive.

The Maásir also says that 'Abdullah accompanied his father to Gwálír (p. 317); but the Tuzuk (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Kántanhúr, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

258. 'Ali' Muhammad Aasp.

Bádáoni says (II., p. 57) that "Ali Muhammad Aasp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jájak Begom, killed Abúl Fath Beg (p. 318)." In the 9th year, he was in the service of Mírzá Muhammad Hákím, king of Kábul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989), he served under Prince Murád against his former master (Akbarámah, III., 345); in the 30th year (993), he served in Kábul (III., 487, 490). In the 32nd year, he distinguished himself under 'Abdul Maţlá (No. 83) against the Tarikís (III., p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the Akbarámah, he is wrongly called 'Ali Muhammad Alíf.

259. Mírzá Muhammad.

A Mírzá Muhammad was mentioned on p. 370.

260. Shaikh Bâyazid [Múazzam Khán], grandson of Shaikh Salim of Fathpur Sikri.

Báyazid's mother nursed Prince Salim (Jahangír) 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 manapah of 3000, and the title of Mu'azzam Khán. Soon after, he was made Çubahdár of Dihlí (l. c., p. 37), and in the 3rd year, a commander of 4000, 2000 horse. On his death, he was buried at Fathpur Sikri (l. c., p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khán was son-in-law to Islám Khán Shaikh 'Aláuddin (another grandson of Shaikh Salím), under whom he served in Bengal. He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kúch Hájú, and brought the zamindár Paríchhat before the governor. At the death of his father-in-law, Muhtashim Khán Shaikh Qásim, brother of Islám Khán, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khán continued for one year in his office as governor of Kúch Hájú; but as he could not agree with Qásim, he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Oiyáś, and conquered the province of Khurdah (l. c., pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3000, 2000 horse. He seems to have remained in Oiyáś till the 11th year (1029), when Hasan 'Alí Turkán was sent there as governor (Tuzuk, p. 306). In the 16th year, M. Kh. came to court, and was made Çubahdár of Dihlí and Faujdár of Mewát (l. c., p. 332).

In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as governor, vice Khánaházát Khán. 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. Ghasnín Khán, of Jálór.

Ghasnín Khán was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the Padshahhádmáh (I., 167) as having served during the reign of Jahangir against the Bánáhs. Bird in his History of Gujrat (pp. 124, 405) calls him Ghasnávi Khán and Ghasnín Khán, and says, he was the son of Malik Khanji Jálóri. Ghasnín Khán seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sultán Muzaffar. The Khán-khánán, on the 9th Muharram, 998, sent a detachment against Jálóri; but perceiving

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1 Islám Khán was married to a sister of Abu'fazal, by whom he had a son called Hoosang. Islám Khán died as governor of Bengal on the 6th Rajab, 1023. Tuzuk, p. 128.
2 The Padshahhádmáh (II., 64), where Mukarram Khán's expedition is related, distinguishes between Kúch Hájú and Kúch Bihár. The former was in the beginning of Jahangir's reign under Paríchhat, the latter under Láchmi Nárán. Hájú is the name of a famous leader of the Kúch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachárí and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise jura regalia in Kúch Bihár Proper. Materials for a history of Kúch Bihár will be found in the Akbarhádmáh (Lucknow Edition, III., p. 206, annals of the 41st year); in the Tuzuk i Jahangiri (pp. 147, 220, 221, 223); in the Padshahhádmáh I., 406; II., 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the Fath i 'Asháh; vide also Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. VII; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 96; and above, pp. 316, 340, 343.

Ghasnín's jádhr before Akbar's conquest of Gujrat, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nágór and Mírtha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abu'fazal, in his description of Çubah Ajmír, IIIrd book, mentions 3½ lacs of rupees, with 2000 horse, as the jama' of Jálóri and Sáychor (S. W. of Jálóri).
that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznīn 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 Dīh Qāziyān,
near Ujain, 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." (Cafer,
1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznīn Khān is Nizám, who died in the 6th year of Shāhjahān's
reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (Pādīshāhīn, I., b., 313).

Ghaznīn's brother Fīrūz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the
4th year (Pādīshāhīn, I., b, 319).

The Pādīshāhīnāmah (II., 739) mentions also a Mujahid of Jālor, who in the 20th
year of Shāhjahān's reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.

262. Kijāk Khwājah, son of Khwājah 'Abdullah.

The first volume of the Akbarnāmah (p. 411) mentions a Kijāk Khwājah among
the grandees who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The third volume of the same
work (p. 470) mentions a Kijāk Khwājah, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohār

263. Sher Khān Mughul.

264. Fathullah, son of Muhammad Wafī.

He appears to be the Fathullah mentioned in the Akbarnāmah (III., 825) as the
sharbatdar of the emperor. Akbar made him an Amir. For some fault he was
sent to the Dakhān; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered, and went on
sick leave to Mūndū, where he died (1008).

265. Rā'ī Manohar, son of Rājah Lokārān.

Rājah Lokārān belonged to the Shakhawat branch of the Kachhwāhahs. He
served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh against the Rānā, and went in the
same year with Rājah Bir Bār to Dongarpūr, the zamindār of which wished to
send his daughter to Akbar's harem. In the 24th year, he served under Todar Māl
in Bihār, and in the 24th year, under the Khān Khānān in Gujrat.

Manohar, 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 mounds of stone. Akbar encouraged him to rebuild it, and laid the foundation
himself. The new settlement was called Māl Manoharnagar. In the 45th year,

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* The word dongar which occurs in
the names of places from Surath to Māl-
wah and Central India, is a Gond word
meaning a forest. There are many
Dongarpūr, Dongargāwā, Dongartālā,
Dongara, &c. Similarly, the word bir
in Mundārī signifies a jungle, whence
Birbhūm (Western Bengal). Thus also

Jhārkand, or jungle region, the general
name of Chutia Nāgpūr. The abovemen-
tioned Dongarpūr lies on the N. W.
frontier of Gujrat (Akbarnāmah, III., 189,
170, 477).

* The maps give a Manoharpūr, north
of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20'.
he was appointed with Ráí Durgá Lál (No. 103) to pursue Muzaffar Husain Mírzá (p. 464), who was caught by Khwájah Waisf.

In the 1st year of Jahángír's reign, he served under Prince Parwíz against the Bána, 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 Pri'hi Chánd received after the death of his father the title of Ráí, and was made a commander of 650, 300 horse (l. c., p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mírzá Manohar; vide my article A chapter from Muhammedan History, Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

265. Khwájah 'Abdu'l-samad, Shirin-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwájah 'Abdu'l-samad was a Shírázi. His father Khwájah Nizámul Mulk was Vážir to Sháh Shujá' of Shíráz. Before Humáyu'n left Irán, he went to Tabríz, where 'Abdu'l-samad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as painter and calligraphist. Humáyu'n invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kábul.

Under Akbar, 'A. was a commander of 400; but low as his mančáb was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year, he was in charge of the mint at Fathpúr Sikrí (Abánrámdah, III., 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several yúbahs, he was appointed Díwán of Multán.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the Súratul-khálíq (Qurán, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (áunak i khaskhdsh). Vide p. 107.

For his son vide No. 351.

266. Silhádî', son of Rájáh Bihárí Mall (No. 23).

268. Rá'm Chand Kachhwáhah.

Vide p. 387.

[Rs'm Chand Chauhán]. The Músir 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 Hakím, king of Kábul. In the 28th year, he was under M. Sháhiru'kh in the Dák'hin. In the fight, in which Rájáh 'Alí 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. Bahá'dur Kha'n Qádím.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrát (Abánrámdah, III., 26), in the 26th in Kábul (l. c., 333), and in the siege of Asir (1008).

The Pádshákhánmdah (1, b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abábakr and 'Usámán, sons of Bahá'dur Ká'n Qarbeh, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Sháhjáhán.

270. Ba'nsk, the Kachhwáhah.

He served in the 26th year in Kábul (Abánrámdah, III., 333). His son Haríd Rá'm was under Sháhjáhán a commander of 1500, 1000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.
271. Mirza' Abu Sa'id, sons of Sultan Husain Mirza.

272. Mirza Sanjar.

They were mentioned above on p. 314: Mirza Sanjar is not to be confused with the Mirza Sanjar mentioned on p. 477, note 2.

273. 'Ali Mardan Bahadar.

The Tabaqat mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Quli Khan (No. 42) at Idar, who was to go to Gujrat to see the ships off which under Sultan Khwaja (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khan Khurram in Sind, and in the 41st year, in the Dakhin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talinganah corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Fathpur to assist Sher Khwaja (No. 176), when he heard that Bahadar Khan Gilani, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talinganah, 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, Abdal made peace, and 'Ali Mardan was set at liberty. In the 47th year, he served with distinction under Mirza Irij (No. 255) against Malik Ambar.

In the 7th year of Jahangir's reign, he was attached to the corps commanded by Abdullah Khan Firuz-Jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrat army over Nasik into the Dakhin, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khan Jahhan Lodi. Abdullah 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 Ambar, 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 Jahangir (Tuzuk, p. 269), and was under Shahjahans a commander of 1000, 1000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Ogdin, and died in the 21st year of Shahjahan's reign.

274. Rasul Quili, son of Khan Jahan (No. 24).

Vide above p. 331.

275. Shakh Khubu [Quabuddin Khan i Chishti] of Fathpuri Sikri.

His father was a Shaikhzada of Badson, and his mother a daughter of Shakh Salim. Khubu was a foster-brother of Jahangir. When the prince was at Ilahabad in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khubu the title of Quabuddin Khan, and made him Cabeerdar of Bihar. On his accession, he made him Cabeerdar of Bengal, vice Man Singh (9th Jumada I, 1015; Tuzuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afsan 'Ali Quili Istajlid (vide No. 394) was tayyiddar of Bardwan, and as his wife Mihrunnis [Nur Jahhan] was coveted by the emperor, Quab was ordered to send Sher Afsan to court, who, however, refused to go. Quab, therefore, went to Bardwan, sending Ghiasa, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afsan that no harm would be done to him. When Quab arrived, Sher Afsan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his

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1 Vide Dowson, Elliot's Historians, I., p. 248.

2 Jahangir says that Khubu'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. Qubh waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Qubh's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Qubh, and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Qubh was a stout man, and seizing his protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the soundrel. Ambah Khan, a Kashmír 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 I). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Qubhuddin was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiasá 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 Fathpúr Sikri and buried.

In 1013, he built the Jami' mosque of Badáon.

His son, Shaikh Ibráhím, was, in 1015, a commander of 1000, 300 horse, and had the title of Kishwár Khán. He was for some time governor of Rohtá, and served in the beginning of 1021 against 'Usmán.

Ihabdiah, son of Kishwár Khán, is mentioned in the Pádísákhdnámah (I., b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Zia'-ul Mulk, of Káshán.

The Akbarnámah (III, 490, 628) and the Tuzuk (p. 11) mention a Ziauddín.

The Hakim Ziauddín of Káshán, who under Sháhjáhán held the title of Rahmat Khán, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hamsah Beg Ghatra'ghali.

He may be the brother of No. 303. The Akbarnámah (III, 255) mentions also a Husain Beg Ghatraghali.

278. Mukhtar Beg, son of Aghá Mulla.

Mukhtar Beg served under A'zam Khán Kokah (No. 21) in Bihár, Gaštá-Rásín (Akbar., III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultan Murád in Málwah.

Naqrullah, son of Mukhtar Beg, was under Sháhjáhán a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fathullah, son of Naqrullah, was under Sháhjáhán a commander of 500, 50 horse (Pádísákhdnámah, I., b., 318; II., 752).

Abulfazl calls Mukhtar Beg the son of Aghá Mulla. This would seem to be the Aghá Mulla Dáwátádár, mentioned on p. 368. If so, Mukhtar Beg would be the brother of Ghíasuddín 'Alí (No. 126). The Aghá Mulla mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Aqaf Khán III. (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Badruzamán, who under Sháhjáhán was a commander of 500, 100 horse (Pád., I., b., 327; II., 761). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.


He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghánistán (Akbar., III., 540, 543).

280. Peshtsrú Kha'n [Mihtár Sa'ádat].

Mihtár Sa'ádat had been brought up in Tabríz, and was in the service of Sháh Ẓáhírás, who gave him as a present to Humáyún. After Humáyún's death, he was
promoted, and got the title of *Peshrau Khan*. In the 19th year, Akbar sent him on a mission to Bilhár, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpati, the great zamindar (p. 309, note 2). When Jagiespúr, the stronghold of the Rájah, was conquered, Gájpati 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 it, fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute 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 kalávah (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 Gajpati (Akbar., III., 163). In the 25th year, he served in Bengal (I. e., p. 289). Later he was sent to Nizâmumulk of the Dakhín, and afterwards to Bahádur Khán, son of Rayáh 'Alí Khán of Khándesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Asirá. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Maligadžh.

Jahángir made him a commander of 2000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the Fárrásh-khánah (Quarter-Master).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahángir 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 Ridáyat is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the Fárrásh-khánah."

281. Qa'zí Hasan Qazwíní.

In the 32nd year (995), he served in Gujrat (Akbar., III., 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qa'zi Husain), and later in the siege of Asirá (I. e., III., 825).

282. Mi'r Murád i Juwainí.

He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 364.

Juwain is the Arabic form of the Persian Gúján, the name of a small town, is Khuráán, on the road between Bistám and Nishápúr. It lies, according to the *Másír*, in the district of Baidán, of which Sabzwár is the capital, and is renowned as the birth-place of many learned men and poets.

Mir Murád belongs to the Sayyids of Juwain. As he had been long in the Dakhín, he was also called *Dakhíni*. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshí of Lahor. He had two sons, Qásim Khán and Háshím Khán.

Qásim Khán was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islam Khán, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the gūbah. Later, he married

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1 Gajpati's brother, Birí Sál, had been killed (Akbar., III., 162).

2 Vide Wüstenfeld's Yacut, II., 164.
Manijah Begum, sister of Nūr Jahán, and thus became a friend of Jahángír. An example of a happy repastee is given. Once Jahángír 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 Qásim, J. said (metre Ramal)—

"کاسه نازک بون آب آرام نگرست کون"

The cup was lovely, and the water lost its rest—when Qásim, completing the verse, replied:

"ديد حامل را ومچیش ضبط شک خون تکریر"

It saw my love grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was چیفدار of Agrab, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Sháhjáhán left the Dakhín, Qásim paid his respects in the Bágh i Dahrah (Agrab), which in honor of Jahángír had been called نور مانسیل, and was soon after made a commander of 5000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, vice Fidáí Khán.

As Sháhjáhán 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 Qásim to destroy their settlement at Húgli. In the 5th year, in Sha'ban, 1041, or February, 1632, A. D. (Pédisháhán, I., 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ináyatullah and Allah Yár Khán to Húgli. 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 Musalmanas died as martyrs for their religion.1

Three days after the conquest of Húgli, Qásim died (i. c., p. 444). The Jámi'i Masjíd in the Agrab Bázár of Agrab was built by him.

283. Mir Qásim Badakhshi.

He served in the Dakhín (Akbarh., III., 630).


Maidání is the name of an Afghan clan; vide No. 317. Bandah 'Ali served in the 9th year with Muhammad Hakim of Kábul, who was attacked by Mirzá Sulaimán of Badakhshán (No. 5), and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years, he served in Kábul (Akbarh., II., 209; III., 477, 540).

The Akbarnámah (II., 209) also mentions a Bandah 'Ali Qurbegí.


He was mentioned above on pp. 359, 464. He served in the 30th year under Mírzá 'Ask Kók (No. 21). Akbarh., III., 473.

286. Za'hid

287. Dost [Muhammad] sons of Cidiq Khán (No. 43).

288. Ya'r [Muhammad]

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1 The siege of Húgli commenced on the 2nd Zí Hájí, 1041, or 11th June, 1632, and the town was taken on the 14th Rabí 'I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Haldípur, mentioned in the Pédisháhánámah as having for some time been the head quarters of the Mogul army, is called on our maps Holodpur, and lies N. W. of Húgli.

The Portuguese church at Bandel (a corruption of bandar?) bears the year 1699 on its keystone.
They have been mentioned above on p. 357. Zühid, in the end of 1015, served against Dālat (No. 252).

Regarding Zühid, vide also a passage from the Tūrīkh i Muḥamēd, translated in Dawson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I., 246.

289. ʿIzzatullah Ghūjduwānī.

Ghūjduwānī is a small town in Bukhārā.

The Akbarnāmah (III., 548) mentions a Qāżī ʿIzzatullah, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afgānīstān.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. Aḥtuʿn Qulīj.

291. Jāʿn Qulīj.

Two MSS. have Aḥtuʿn Qulīj, son of Khān Qulīj, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulīj Khān. They are not the sons of Qulīj Khān (No. 42), vide Nos. 292 and 293.

Aḥtuʿn Qulīj is mentioned in the Akbarnāmah (III., 554) as having served in Baghānāh with Bhrjī, the Rūjāh, who was hard pressed in Fort Mōhler by his relations. Bhrjī died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. Saifullāh [Qulījullāh]

293. Chiʿn Qulīj,

Saif is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish qulīj, a sword. Saifullāh was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year, he served under Cādīq Khān (No. 43) in Afgānīstān.

Regarding Mīrzā Chīn Qulīj, the Madāṣir says that he was an educated, liberal, man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullā Muṣṭafā of Jaunpūr, and was for a long time Faujdār of Jaunpūr and Banārās.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mīrzā Lāḥaurī, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chīn Qulīj in Jaunpūr. He had not been long there, when he interfered in government matters, and caused disturbances, during which Chīn Qulīj 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 Jāhāngīr was in Ajmīr, he summoned Mullā Muṣṭafā, who had been the Mīrzā’s teacher, with the intention of doing him harm. While at court, he got acquainted with Mullā Muhammad of Thāḥah, a teacher in the employ of Aḥṣafāḥ (or Aḥṣaf Khān IV.; vide p. 369), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muṣṭafā was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mīrzā Lāḥaurī was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (gānmiyyah). He had a house in Agrāb, near the Jamnā, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The Madāṣir 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 Láhor, he disturbed a Hindú 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 Čubahdár of Láhor.

The other sons of Qulij Kháń, as Qulijullah, Chín Qulij, Báljá Q., Bairam Q., Ján Q., held mostly respectable mančábs.

The Tuzuk i Jahángírí relates the story differently. Both M. Chín Qulij and M. Láhaurí are described as wicked men. Chín Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Čufar, 1023; Tuzuk, p. 127), and received Jaúmpár as jágír. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Láhaurí, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Ahadí to Jaúmpár to bring him to court, when Chín Qulij fled with him to several Zamíndárs. The men of Jahángír Qulí Kháń, governor of Bihár, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chín died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahángír Qulí Kháń, who sent it with his family and property to Ilahábád. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamíndárs (1024; Tuzuk, p. 148).

294. Abúl Fattáh Aţ'áliq,

295. Sayyid Ba'ýazád of Bárha.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat (Akbarn., III., 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahángír's reign (1031), he received the title of Mučšáf Kháń (Tuzuk, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Sháíjaháán's reign, he was made a commander of 2000, 700 horse (Padd., I., 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the Pádiszáh-námah.

296. Balbhadr, the Ráthor.

297. Abúl Ma'âli', son of Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl (No. 140).

298. Ba'qír Ančári.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year, he served under Mán Singh in the expedition to Čúsak (Akbarn., III., 267, 641).

299. Ba'ýazád Beg Turkmán.

He was at first in Múnim's service (Akbarn., II., 238, 253). The Pádiszáh-námah (I., b., 328) mentions Mahmúd Beg, son of Báyazíd Beg. Vide No. 335.

300. Shaikh Daulat Bakhtyár.

301. Husain, the Pak'hiliwál.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qárlíqs under Timur (vide p. 454) is given in the Tuzuk (p. 290). Jahángír adds, “but they do not know who was then their chief. At present, they are common Panjábí (Láhaurí s mákáh), and speak Panjábí. This is also the case with Dhandur” (vide No. 398).

Sultán Husain, as he called himself, is the son of Sultán Mahmúd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above, on p. 454. When Jahángír 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 Jahángír promoted him to a mančáb of 600, 350 horse.
Husain died in the 18th year (end of 1032: *Tuzuk*, p. 367). His command and the district of Pakhlí were given to his son Shádmán.

Shádmán served under Dárá Shikoh in Qandahár (beginning of 1052), and was in the 21st year of Sháhljáhán’s reign a commander of 1000, 900 horse. *Pádisháh-námáh*, II., 293, 733.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhlí, and has a remark on the thick, strong beer which the inhabitants make from bread and rice.

302. Kesu’ Da’á, son of Jai Mall.

*Vide* No. 408. One MS. has *Jait Mall*, instead of *Jai Mall*. The *Pádisháh-námáh* (I., b., 310) mentions a Rájáh Girdhar, son of Kesu Dás, grandson of Jat Mall of Mirtha. The *Tuzuk* frequently mentions a Kesu Dás Márú (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mitrá’ Kha’án of Nishápúr. One MS. has Jún for Khán.

304. Muzaffar, brother of Khán ‘Alam (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly Khán i A’zam, for Khán ‘Alam.

305. Tulsi Da’á Já’don.

He served in 992 against Sultán Muzaffar of Gujrat (*Akbarin*, III., 422).

The Akbarnámah (III., 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jádon, Rájáh Gopál. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the *Tábaqát* as a commander of 200.


*Masnád i ‘Alí* is an Afghán title, as *Majís ul Majídís, Majís i Ikhtiyárd*, &c. It was the title of Fattú Khán, or Fath Khán, a courtier of Islam Sháh, who afterwards joined Akbar’s service. He served under Husain Qul Khán Jahán (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (*Badáíni* II, 161). The *Tábaqát* makes him a commander of 2000. He seems to be the same Fath Khán whom Sulaimán Karáshá had put in charge of Rohtás in Bihár (*Badáíni*, II., 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (*Akbarin*, III., 599).

A Rahmat Khán served in the 45th year in the Dakhín. Rahmat Khán’s brother, Sháh Muhammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qasim Kokáh.

He served in 993 against the Yúsufzáfí, and in 996, under Cádíq Khán, against the Táríká (*Akbarín*, III., 490, 5:2).

The *Tuzuk* (p. 159) mentions a Yár Beg, son of A. Q.’s brother.

308. Bahá’udur Gohlot.

309. Daulat Kha’án Lodí.

He was a Lodí Afghán of the Sháhú-khail clan, and was at first in the service of ‘Azíz Kokáh (No. 21). When ‘Abdurrahím (No. 29) married the daughter of ‘Azíz, Daulat Khán was transferred to ‘Abdurrahím’s service, and ‘Azíz in sending him to his son-in-law, said, “Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (KhánKhánán).” Daulát distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrat (p. 335, l., 1, where for Dost Khán, as given in the *Masáir*, we have to read Daulat Khán), in Thatêhah, and the Dakhín. His courage was proverbial. In his master’s contingent he held a command of 1000. Sultán Dányaúl won him over, and made him a commander of 2000.
He died in the end of the 46th year (Sha‘bān, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (Akbarā, 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 Khān Sūr died.”

Daulat Khān’s eldest son, whom the Maāsir calls Mahmūd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolīs near Pāl, and perished.

Daulat’s second son is the renowned Pir Khān, or Pirū, better known in history under his title Khān Jahān Lodi. If Akbar’s presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

* Pir Khān, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the Maāsir here calls Muhammad Khān, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh. Muhammad Khān died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sulṭān Dānyāl, who treated him like a friend and called him ‘son.’ On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahāngīr’s service, was made in the second year a commander of 3000, and received the title of Čalābat Khān (Tuzuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a manṣab of 6000, and received the title of Khān Jahān, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khān Khānān. Although Jahāngīr treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khān Jahān never forgot his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwiz, Rājah Mān Singh and Sharif Khān (No. 351) were sent to the Dak’hin to reinforce the Khān Khānān, and matters took an unfavorable turn, Khān Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahāngīr 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 Burbānpūr, Kh. J. moved to Bāljāghāt, where the imperial army was. At Mulkāpur, a great fight took place with Malik ‘Ambar, and the imperialists, unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dak’hins, lost heavily. The Khān Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bāljāghāt. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dak’hin corps, and ‘Abdullah Khān the Gujārīt army, upon Daulatābād (p. 496). Malik ‘Ambar afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khān Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafārmagar; and ‘Abdullah, 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 Burbānpūr.

Kh. J. accused the Khān Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bījāpūr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30000 men and absolute power. This Jahāngīr agreed to, and the Khān i Ā’zam (No. 21) and Khān Ālam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khān Khānān 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 Khān i Ā’zam, and Kh. J. received Thālīn as jāgīr, and was ordered to remain at Ilichpur. 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 Qandahār, Kh. J. was made governor of Multān. Two years later, in the 17th year, Shāh ‘Abbās took Qandahār
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 Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahâr, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multân, to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afgânh 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 Icfahân, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jâhângîr would kill him, if he heard of the attachment of the Afgâhân to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Shâlahjâhân 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 Agra and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khân i A'zân, he was made governor of Gujârât, and when Mahâbât Khân was sent to Bengal, he was appointed atâlıq to Prince Parviz, whom he joined at Burhânpur.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parviz died, and the Dak'hîn was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khân, son of Malik 'Ambar, to Bâlâghât. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Hamûd Khân Habshî, the minister of the Nizâm Shâh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacis of hûns, though the revenue was 55 kors of dáms (Pâdischâhn., I., 271), and ordered the imperial Faujdârs and Thânahdârs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizâm Shâh and repair to Burhânpur. Only Sipahdâr Khân who stood in Ahmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the Emperor.

Soon after, Mahâbât Khân joined Shâlahjâhân at Junâr, and was honored with the title of Sipahsâlîr. On the death of Jâhângîr, which took place immediately afterwards, Shâlahjâhân 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'hîn; 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 Daryâ Khân Rohilah and Fâzîl Khân, the Diwân of the Dak'hîn: Dâwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shâhryâr had proclaimed himself in Lâhâr, whilst Shâhjî had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsâlîr 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 Burhânpur, he moved with several Amîrs to Mândû, and deposed the governor Muzaffâr 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 Açaî 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 Jhójír Sing, 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 Ágrah, and several parganahs of his jágirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbár, Mírzá Laahár, son of Múkhíl 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 Isláám Khán to his house to enquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an amán-námah, 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 Aqás 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 Çafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Ágrah. When passing the Khatápul 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, Aqás 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 Muzaffár Khán Bárha. After capturing at Síronj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundelá Rañah. But Jagráj Bikramájít, son of Jhójír Sing, fell upon his rear (17th Jamáda II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryá Khán (a commander of 4000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (Pádisháhn., I., 339; II., b., 296.)

On arriving in Bhándér, Kh. J. met Sayyíd Muzáffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1000 men. During the fight Mahmúd Khán, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kálinjar, he was opposed by Sayyíd Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Hasan Khán, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehojád, 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. Muzáffar, and was mortally wounded by Mádhú Singh with a spear. Before Muzáffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son 'Aías to pieces (Pádisháhn. I., 361). Their
heads were sent to Shāhjahān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Daulat Khān, Kh. J.’s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7000 (Pādiskhān., I., b. 293).

Several of Kh. J.’s sons, as Husain, ‘Azmat, Mahmūd, and Hasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Açulat Khán, a commander of 3000, died during the rebellion at Daulatābād, and Muzaffar had left his father, and gone to court. Farid and Jān Jahān were captured; ‘Alam and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. ‘But none of his sons ever prospered.’

The historical work entitled Makhzan i Afgānī, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khán Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called Tārib i Khán Jahān Lodi.

310. Sha’īn Muḥammad, son of Quraish Sultān (No. 178).

311. Ḥasan Kha’n Miyānah.

He was at first a servant of Čádīq Khán (No. 43), but later he received a maṇṣāb. He died in the Dāk’in war.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is Buḥūl Khán. He rose to a maṇṣāb of 1500 under Jahāngīr (L.c., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of Sarbalanand Khán. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwānah.

At the accession of Shāhjahān, B. was made a commander of 4000, 3000 horse and jāgirār of Bālāpūr. He joined Khán Jahān Lodi on his march from Gondwānah to Bālāgūt. When he saw that Khán Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizām Shāh.

A grandson of Buḥūl, Abū Muḥammad, came in the 12th year of Aurangzēb’s reign to court, was made a commander of 5000, 4000, and got the title of İkkīīṣ Khān (Movs. ‘Alamgīrī, p. 81).

For other Miyānah Afghāns, vide Pādiskhān., I., 241; Movs. ‘Alamgīrī, p. 225.

312. Ta’hîr Beg, son of the Khán i Kālān (No. 16).

313. Kishn Da’s Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahāngīr accountant (muṣḥīf) 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 Rājā (Tuzuk, p. 110).

314. Ma’n Singh Kachhwāhah.

The Akbarnāmah (111., 333, 335) mentions a Mān Singh Darbārī.

315. Mi’r Gada’t’, son of Mir Abū Turāb.

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmī Sayyida of Shīrāz. His grandfather, Mi’r Ghiāsuddīn, had come to Gujrāt during the reign of Qutbuddīn, grandson of Sultān Ahmad (the founder of Ahmadābād); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Shāh Ismā’īl i Čafawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrāt, where he arrived during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Bu’īnrah.1 He settled with his son Kamaluddīn (Abū Turāb’s father) in Champānī-

1 This word is generally pronounced ٍبیق ٍم، and is said to mean having conquered two forts (gārā), because Mahmūd’s army conquered on one day the forts of Champānī and Jūnāqār. But Jahāngīr in his ‘Memoirs’
Mahmudabad, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (darsiyah kitab). Kamaluddin also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family had for a long time been attached to the Salasalah i Maghribiyyah, or Maghribi (Western) Sect, the “lamp” of which was the saintly Shaikh Ahmad i Khattu. The name ‘Salamin Sayyida’ 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 salam, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abu Turab 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’timad Khan (No. 67) from joining, after Akbars departure for Kambhayat, the rebel Ikhtiyar 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 sharf; or qadam i mubarak); vide p. 198. The ‘tarikh’ of his return is khair ul aqdam (A. H. 987), or ‘the best of footprints.’ The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalal i Bukhara at the time of Sultan Firuz had brought to Dhibi. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious favour, and though the stone was received with great dontat, Abu Turab was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When I’timad was made governor of Gujrat, Abu Turab followed him as Amn of the Cibah, accompanied by his sons Mir Mohabbullah and Mir Sharafuddin.

Abu Turab died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadabad.

His third son Mir Gaddai, though he held a mansep, adopted the saintly mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year, he served in the Dakhin.


In MSS, he is often wrongly called Yaa ‘Ali.

The word nadi is an Arabic Imperative, meaning call. It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nadi ‘Aliyan maskara ajadib, Tajidhu ‘unani fti kulli imaqadib.
Kullu kammin wa shamin sayanjali
Binubuwatika ya Muhammad, biwilyitika ya ‘Ali.

Call upon ‘Ali, in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,

saying that burat i bargashtah, *having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,* which Sultan Mahmud is said to have had (Tuzuk, p. 212).

Champainir, according to Bird, is also called Mahmudabadd. The Madesir has Champainir-Muhammadabadd.

1 Born A. H. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwal, 849. Shaikh Ahmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujraati Ahmads, in the foundation of Ahmadabad (founded 7th Zil Qa’dah, 813). Khwairatul Aqdad (Lahor), p. 957.

Khattu, where Shaikh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaikh Is-haq i Maghrib (died 776, A. H.) lies east of Nagor.
Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions.

Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish

Through thy prophethood, 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, Nādi 'Ali served against M. Muhammad Hakím, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kábul, and two years later under Zain Kokah (No. 34) against the Tárikis.

In the 6th year of Jahángir's reign, he was made a commander of 1500, chiefly for his services against the Kábul rebel Abu'd. In the 10th year, he served in Bangash, 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 mancás.

His son Bizan (or Bıızan) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1000, 500 horse (l. c., pp. 307, 309).

The Pādishāhānāmah (I., b., 322) mentions a Muhammad Zamán, son of Nādi 'Ali Arūt, who in the 10th year of Shāhjāhān was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nādi 'Ali is not to be confounded with the Hāфиз Nādi 'Ali, who served under Jahángir as Court Hāfiz (Tuzuk, p. 155, and its Dībājah, p. 19), nor with the Nādi 'Ali who served under Shāhjāhān (Pādishāhān., II., 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.


319. Ghiás’s Beg of Tahrân [Itimád-uddaulah].

His real name is Mírzá Ghiásu’d-Dín Muhammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayás, a corruption of Ghiás, not of Ayás (آیاس).

Ghiás Beg’s father was Khwájah Muhammad Sharif, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of Wāḍī. He was Vazír to Táttár Sulṭán, son of Muhammad Khán Sharafuddín Ughiú Taklú, who held the office of Beglar Beg of Khurásán.

After Táttár Sulṭán’s death, the Khwájah was continued in office by his son Qazáq Khán, and on Qazáq’s death, he was made by Sháh Ẓahmáap Vazír of Yazd.1

Khwájah Muhammad Sharif is said to have died in A. H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwájah Mírzá Ahmad, and Khwájagí Khwájah. The son of Kh. Mírzá Ahmad was the well known Khwájah Amin Ráázi (امین رازی), t. e. of the town of Raž of which he was kaldántar, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled Haft Igüm, A. H. 1002. Khwájagí Khwájah had a son of the name of Khwájah Sháhpír, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiás Beg was married to the daughter of Mírzá Alá-uddaulah, son of 2 Ağha Mullá. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Ghiás fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the

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1 The Dībājah (preface) of the Tuzuk (p. 20) and the Iqblínámah (p. 54) agree verbatim in Ghiás Beg’s history. They do not mention Qazáq Khán. For Yazd of the Madsir, Sayyid Ahmad’s text of the Tuzuk has Mārūn; and the Bibli.

2 Indica edition of the Iqblínámah has 2 Ağha. ‘he made him his own Vazir.’

The words son are not in the Madsir, but in the Tuzuk and the Iqblínámah. Two Ağha Mullás 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 Qandahár, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihrunniszā (‘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’úd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiás Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fathpúr Síkri, Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year, he was made Dīwán of Kábél, and was in course of time promoted to a manṣúr of 1000, and appointed Dīwán i Buqútát.

Regarding Mihrunniszā’s marriage with ‘Alí Qalb, vide No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahángír’s reign, Ghiás Beg received the title of I’timád-ud-da’la’ulah. In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharif† joined a conspiracy, to set Khusrau at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharif was executed, and I’timád 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 Afsán (p. 497), Mihrunniszā was sent to court as a prisoner “for the murder of Qutbuddín,” and was handed over to Ruqayah Sultán Begum,* with whom she lived ‘unnoticed (baddkám) and rejected.’ 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 Makahil, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān.*

Ghiás, in consequence of the marriage, was made Vakīl i kal, 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, Ghiás took ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kánpúr Fórt, 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 Anwarī-

آکه تو مشنی مادرزاد اگر حاضر بود در جهان عالم آرا پس به مند شندي

‘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, (Rabí‘ 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 Mihr, 1030, i.e., 13th Zi Qd’ah, 1030.

Ghiás Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we

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* It is said that Nūr Jahān at her death in 1066 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A. H. 984; hence Ghiás Beg’s flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

* It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nūr Jahān was married by Jahángír (in 1020), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

* Where he had some distant relations, as Ja’far Beg (No. 98).

* Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather; vide p. 497, No. 278.

* The Tuzuk and the Iqbalnámah have Ruqayah Sultán Begum (p. 309). The Mâsâer has Sultán Begum (p. 309). The Iqbalnámah (p. 65) has wrong Qutbuddin for Qutbuddin.

* In accordance with the name of her husband Núruddín Jahángír.
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 musarrat i
yidée. 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.

Nūr Jahán’s power over Jahángir 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 khubk
(prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her
name was invariably mentioned on farmáns, and even on coins. The jágir which
she held, would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30000. A great
portion of her zamindari lay near Rámsir, S. E. of Ajmín (Tuzuk, p. 169). She
provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dái Diliáram, enjoyed much influence,
and held the post of ‘Çadr of the Women’ (Çadr i anda), and when she conferred lands
as sayjirghális, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Çadr of the empire. Nūr
Jahán is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom
she betrothed or gave outfits to, is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to
fashion, and is said to have invented the ‘atr i Jahángirí (a peculiar kind of
rosewater). She possessed much taste in adornning apartments and arranging feasts. For
many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her
Dudamí for peshwáj (gowns), her pánchtolíyah for orhín (veils), her bádláh (brocade),
kindí (lace), and fürsh i chandání, are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahángir’s death and the capture of Shahryáí, fifth
son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afsán), Ládlí
Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahángir. Sháhjáhn allowed her a
pension of two lacs per annum.

She died at Lábor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwál, 1055, and lies buried
near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (Pádišáhán., II., 475). She
composed occasionally Persian poems, and wrote like Salímah Suláman Begum and
Zebunisá Begum under the assumed name of Makhtí.

Ghíá Bég’s sons. The fate of his eldest son Muhammad Sharíf has been alluded
to. His second son, Mírzą Abul Hasan Asáf Khán (IV.), also called Asáfjíh or

1 As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a
deadly poison, so was the cornelian (yídqí) supposed to possess exhilarating proper-
ties. Musarrat means an exhilarative.
2 So the Tuzuk and the Iqbalnámah.
3 Dudamí, weighing two dámás; pánchtolíyah, weighing five toalas. The
latter was mentioned on p. 94. Fürsh i chandání, carpets of sandalwood colour.
4 Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs per mensem. The highest allowance of
begums on record is that of Mumtáz Mahall, viz. 10 lacs per annum. Vide
Pádišáhán., I., 96.
5 In the Pádišáhánámah Nūr Jahán is again called Nūr Mahall.
Aqafyddi, is the father of Mumtaz Mahall (Taji Bibi), the favorite wife of Shahjahan, whom European Historians occasionally call Nusr Jahân II. He received from Shahjahan the title of Yamiasuddaulah and Khân Khánân Sipahsâdar, and was a commander of 9000. He died on the 17th Shabân, 1051, and was buried at Lahor, north of Jahangir's tomb. As commander of 9000 duaaspâh, sikaaspâh troopers, his salary was 16 kroes, 20 lacs of dâmas, or 4,060,000 Rupees, and besides, he had jagirs 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 mohurs, 25 lacs of Rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, &c., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Lahor, which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Darâ Shikoh, and 20 lacs, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his 3 sons and 6 daughters. The rest assigned to the state.

Aqaf Khan was married to a daughter of Mîrzâ Ghiasuddîn 'Ali Aqaf Khân II, p. 369).

His eldest son is the renowned Mîrzâ Abû Tâlib Shâista Khân, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E. I. Company. Shâista was married to a daughter of Irij Shahnavaz Khân (No. 255), son of 'Abdurrahim Khân Khânân, by whom he had however no children. He died at Agra in 1105, the 38th year of Aurangzib's reign. His eldest son, Abû Tâlib, had died before him. His second son was Abul Fath Khan. One of his daughters was married to Buhullah (I.), and another to Zulfaqar Khan Nuqrat-jang.

Aqaf Khan's second son, Bahmanyar, was in the 20th year of Shahjâ, a commander of 2000, 200 horse (Padshahin, II., 728).

Ghiyas Beg's third son is Ibrâhim Khan Fath-jang, who was governor of Bihâr (p. 480, note) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Shahjahan's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Bajmahall, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibrâhim Khân was married to Haji Nur Parvar Khânnum, Nür Jahân's maternal aunt (khâlah). She lived up to the middle of Aurangzib's reign, and held Kol Jalâli as attângkhâ.

An Ahmad Beg Khân is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nusr Jahân's brother. He was with Ibrâhum Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhakâ, where he handed over to Shahjahan 500 elephants and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Shahjâ's accession, he received a high mançab, was made governor of Thât'hah and Siwistân, and later of Multân. He then returned to court, and received as jagir the Pargana of Jâia and Amethi, where he died. In the 20th year of Shahjâ, he was a commander of 2000, 1500 horse (Padshahin, II., 727).

A sister of Nusr Jahân, Manjâh Begum, was mentioned on p. 489.

A fourth sister, Khadijah Begum, was married to Hákim Beg, a nobleman of Jahângir's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable—

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1 Also called Muhammad Tâlib. Vide Padshahin, II., 248.

* It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharif.
1. Khwájah Muhammad Sharif, (d. 984)
2. Khwájah Mírzá Ahmad, (d. 1031)

1. Aghá Muhammad Taáhir, Beg 'Timúd-uddálah.

1. Muhammad Sharif (executed) Ahmad Bég Khán.
2. Mírzá Abú Hasan Ačaf Khán (IV.) (d. 1061.)
3. 4. Two daughters Maníjah and Khadijah.
5. Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang (left.

1. Mírzá Abú Taálib Sháistah Khán (d. 1106.)
2. Bahnahánary.
3. A son.
4. Mumtáz Maháll, wife of Sháh Jàhán (died 1040.)
5. 6. Two daughters.

1. Abú Taálib.

320. Khwájah Ashraf, son of Khwájah 'Abdul Bári.

One MS. has Sharaf for Ashraf. Vide No. 316.

321. Sharaf Beg, of Shiráz.

322. Ibra'hím Quli', son of Ismá'il Quli Khán (No. 46).

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

323. Abú Fath, son of Muzaffar, the Mughul.

324. Beg Muhammad Toqballi.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrat, and was present in the fight near Maisanah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fúldádi was defeated, and also against Muzaffar of Gujrat (Akbarn., III., 423). Regarding Toqballi, vide No. 129.

325. Ima'm Quli' Shágháli.

The Akbarumámah (III., 628) mentions an Imám Quli, who, in the 37th year, served under Sul táh Murád in Málwah.

The meaning of Shágháli is unclear to me. A Muhammad Quli Shágháli played a part in Badakhshán history (Akbarn., III., 132, 249).

326. Safdar Beg, son of Haidar Muhammad Khán Akhtáh Begí (No.66).

A Çáfdr Khán served, in the 21st year, against Dáuíd of Bundí (p. 410).

327. Khwájah Sulaimá'n of Shiráz.

He has been mentioned on pp. 356, 457.

328. Barkhurdár [Mírzá Khán 'Alam], son of 'Abdurrahmán Duldái (No. 186).

Mírzá Barkhurdár was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250.
His father (No. 188) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat. This Bihār Zamindār was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy peskhaste, 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 hand over B. to Dalpat; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As Jahāngīr was fond of him, he released him after his accession, and made him Quāshbegi, or superintendent of the avairy. In the fourth year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khān 'Alam (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Shāh 'Abbās of Persia sent Yādgār 'Ali Sultan Tāliah as ambassador to Agra, 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 'Alamārā i Sikandar the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Harat and Qum, caused by the absence of the Shāh in Azerbāijān on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one half of the suite were sent back. In 1027, the Shāh returned to Qazwin, 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 Kalānūr on his way to Kashmir. Jahāngīr 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 Pādishāhnāmah (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 Shāhjahān's accession, B. was made a commander of 6000, 5000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihār, vice M. Rustam Āfāwī. But as he was given to kōndr (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Shāhj. returned from Burhānpūr to Agra, B. was pensioned off, as he was old

1 Dalpat is called in the Akbarnāmah Ūjjainiaks, for which the MSS. have various readings, as Ūjjainiaks, Ūjjainiaks, &c. Under Shāhjahān, Dalpat's successor was Rājā Pratāb, who in the 1st year received a manseb of 1500, 1000 horse (Pādīshāhān, i., 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the Ujjainiahs Rājahs was Bhojpur, west of Arah and north of Sahnagarām (Sasseram), a pargah in Sirkār Rohtās, Bihār. Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shāhjahān's reign, when 'Abdūllah Khān Firuž-jang besieged and conquered Bhojpur (8th Zī Hilāj, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shāhj.'s order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to 'Abdūllah's grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the Pādīshāhnāmah (I., b., pp. 271 to 274).

The maps show a small place of the name of Pratāb near Bhojpur.

It is said that the Bhojpur Rājahs call themselves Ūjjainiaks, because they claim descent from the ancient Rājahs of Ujjain in Mālwa.

In the 17th year of Shāhjahān, Dharmādhar Ujjiainiah is mentioned to have several in the second expedition against Palīmāu; Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, for 1871, No. II., p. 123.

2 If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāmah, B. could not have been imprisoned for a long time; for in the end of the 44th year of Akbar's reign, he served again at court (Akhb., III., 825).
and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (Pādīshāhu, I., 426). He died a natural death at Agrah. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwājah Barkhurdār, a brother of 'Abdullāh Khān Firúz-jaung.

B.'s brother Mīrzā 'Abdułlūs Subhān (No. 349) was Faujdār of Ilāhābād. He was then sent to Kābul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Airīdīs (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

'Abdułlūs Subhān's son, Sherzād Khān Bahādur, was killed in the last fight with Khān Jāhān Lodī at Sehoydah (p. 505). Pādīshāhu, I., 349.

329. Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar.

Mīr Ma'ṣūm belongs to a family of Tirmizī Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bukhārā, and settled at Qandahār, where his ancestors were mutawallīs (trustees) of the shrine of Bābā Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mīr Sayyid Ǧafārī, settled in Bhakkar, and received favors from Sulṭān Mahmūd (p. 362). He was related by marriage to the Sayyids of Ǧafārī in Swistān. Mīr Ma'ṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under MullāMuhammad of Kingū, Ǧafārī, S. W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrat, where Šaiḥk Is-haqq i Fārūqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, then Diwān of Gujrat. Nizām was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled 'Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī,' and soon became the friend of M. M., who was likewise well versed in history. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān (No. 26), the governor of the province, and was at last recommended to Akbar for a manṣab. In the 40th year, he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him, and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Irān, where he was received with distinction by Shāh 'Abbās.

On his return from Irān, in 1015, Jahāngīr sent him as Amin to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1000.

From the Akbaranāmah (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 Māsīnāb, and in the final expedition against Muzaffār in Kachh.

M. M. is well-known as poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of Nāmī. He composed a Diwan, a Mašnawī entitled Ma'dan-ul-qofkār in the metre of Nizāmī's Makhzan, the Tarīkh i Sindh, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called Mufḍīdāt i Ma'ṣūmī. The author of the Rizāzushshu'ārād says that he composed a Khamsah (p. 491), and the Tazkirah by Taqi (vide under No. 853) says the same, viz. one mašnawī corresponding to the Makhzan, the Ḥusn o Nāz to the Yūsuf Zalikha, the Pari Qurat to the Laili Majmūn, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandar-nāmah. Badānmī (died 1004) only alludes to the 'Husn o Nāz,' though he gives no title (III., 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Rizāzushshu'ārād says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From Indiá to Iṣfahān and Tabrīz, where he was presented to Shāh 'Abbās, there are numerous mosques and public buildings, which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Agrah, on the Jami' Mosque of Fathpār.
515

Sikri, in Fort Mándú (vide p. 372, and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Dibájah, 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 Muḥammad Maʿwūm poetically styled Námí, son of Sayyid Čáfú of Tirmiž, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qálamdar, son of Bábá Ḥasan Abdál, who was born at Sábzwáir and settled at Qandaháir. Dowson, in his edition of Elliot's Historians, mentions Kirmán as the residence of Sayyid Čáfú, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Táríkh-i Sindh regarding the saint Bábá Ḥasan Abdál, who lived under Mírzá Sháhrukh, son of Timur. The town of Ḥasan Abdál in the Panjáb, east of Āṭak, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Súk'har 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 Sátísur (سَتِی‌سُر). “It is one of the wonders of the world, and its Túrthā is contained in the words گندباد درویشی, 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 (muṭaṣazz). 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 Khsáráu's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahángír 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 Chautsañawí, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahángír is said to have left Mír Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakhshi of Qandahár, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Čúbahdárs. 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 Dakhín; 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 Múltán.


His title of Mír Sháh implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 222).

331. Ba'í Ba'm Da's Dī'wa'n. Vide No. 238.

332. Sha'ḥ Muḥammad, son of Sa'īd Khán, the Gak'khar.

For his relations vide under No. 247.

333. Bahá'í Qulí, son of Khán Jahnán (No. 24).

334. Sher Beg, Yasáwulbáshí

Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnámah (III., 623).


XXII. Commanders of two Hundred.

335. Iftikhar Beg, son of Bayazid Beg (No. 299).
   He was alive in the end of 1007 A. H. (Akbarān., III., 804).

336. Pratap Singh, son of Rājāh Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).
   He was mentioned on p. 447, under No. 160.

337. Husain Khān Qazwīnī. Vide No. 281.

338. Ya'qūb Husain, son of Qubul Khān (No. 137).
   He was mentioned on p. 437. In the 31st year, he served under Qasim Khān in Kashmir. The Yādgār Husain mentioned in the Tuzuk (p. 146) may be the same. He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign, to a command of 700, 600 horse, for his services in the Dak'hin. Vide also Pādishāhnāmah I., b., p. 323, 1. 2 from below.

   He is not to be confounded with Khwajah Yādgār, a brother of 'Abdullah Khān Fīrūz-jang.

   He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat and Kachh against Fath Khān, the younger son of Amīn Khān Ghori, and Muẓaffar, and in the 36th year, against Muẓaffar and the Jām. Akbarān., III., 553, 621.

340. Muḥammad Khān Turkmān.

341. Nisamuddīn Ahmad, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān (No. 95).
   He is not to be confounded with the author of the Tahāqāt.

342. Sakat Singh, son of Rājah Mān Singh (No. 30).
   Vide No. 256.

343. 'Imād ul Mulk.
   The Akbarānāmah mentions a Qāzī 'Imād ul Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. Shari'fi Sarmādī.
   He was a poet. Vide below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

345. Qara' Bahri, son of Qarātāq.
   Qarātāq, whose name in the Akbarānāmah is spelled Qardāq, was killed by Gajpatī in the same flight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farhat Khān (No. 145), was slain (p. 441).

346. Ta'ta' Beg, son of 'Ali Muhammad Asp. (No. 258).

   Vide p. 445, note.

   Ardistān is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, 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. Badāoni (III, 169) and the Tuzuk (p. 59), praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

   He served in 988 (28th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzā 'Azīz Kokah (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrat and Kachh. Akbarān., III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahāngīr, 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 Hakím's death reached J. on the 22nd Jumáda I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from garhik i shuh, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (yaktauri) 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.

349. 'Abdussubhana', son of 'Abdurrahman Duldai (No. 186).

He was mentioned under No. 328, p. 514.

350. Qa'im Beg of Tabriz.

He served in the 36th year under Sultan Murad in Málwah, and died on the 23rd Abán, (end of) 1007; vide Akbarn., III., 628, 803. Vide below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. Sharif [Amir ul Umará], son of Khwájah 'Abdučçamad (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 Jahángir, true to his promise, made him Amir ul Umará, Vakil, entrusted him with the great seal (tuzuk) and allowed him to select his jácgr 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 Afgáns from India; but the Khán i Azam (No. 21) warned Jahángir 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 Khurshid's rebellion. But 'Aziz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharif, and invite him to his house. The Khán i Azam did so, and invited him and the other Amirs. 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 'Abdučçamad, 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 Mahábát Khán could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahángir 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, Āṣaf Khán (No. 98, p. 412) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhín, 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 Jahángír was on the point of making him retire, when Kháń Jahán interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dákhín, 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 Díván. His tákhaba’í is Fárisí (Bádáoni, III., 310).

Sh.’s eldest son, Shaḥbáz Kháń, died when young. A Saráí near Lák’hán, abut a kós from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mírzá Gúl and Mírzá Jáurrúlah, used to play with Jahángír at chess and náríḍ; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jáurrúlah was married to Mírísí Bégüm, a daughter of Ázíf Kháń (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Ázíf’s death, Jahángír made him divorce his wife, and married her to Mírza Isákhí (No. 375), son of Mírzá Yúsúf Kháń (p. 317).

Both brothers followed Mahábat Kháń to Kábúl, where they died.

352. Taqíyá’ of Shústári.

Táqíyá is the Tráni form for Táqí. The Táqíqát calls him Táqí Múhammad. Bádáoni (III., 206) has Táqíyúddín, and says that he was a good poet and a well educated man. At Akbar’s order he undertook a prose version of the Báráhánmáh. He is represented as a ‘murid,’ or disciple of Akbar’s Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahángír’s reign (1017), when he received for his attainments the title of Muárrikh Kháń (Túzúk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition we have to read Sháshkári for the meaningless Sháshkári).

Taqíyá is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqíyá of Bálban (a village near Içfáhán), who, according to the Mir-át ul‘Álam came in the beginning of Jahángír’s reign to India. He is the author of the rare Tázikráh, or Lives of Poets, entitled ‘Aráfát ò ‘Aráçát, and of the Dictionary entitled Surmáh i Sulaimánsí, which the lexicographer Muhammad Hussain used for his Burúhán i Qádí.”

353. Khwa jah Abdussamad of Káshán.


He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Bádáoni (III., 189) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. Sher Áfkan \} sons of Saif Kháń Kokáh (No. 38, p. 350).
356. Ámánúlláh \} Amánúlláh died in the 45th year of Akbar’s reign at Burhánpúr. “He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking.” Ákbármámah, III., 835.

357. Salí’im Qúlí \} sons of Ismá’il Qúlí Kháń (No. 46).

He served under Qúsím Kháń (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmír.

360. Beg Múhammad Uíghúr.

361. Mír Kháń Yaásúwúl.

When Akbar during the first Gujrátí war (p. 434, note 2) had left Pátan for Chótánah (Rajáb, 880), it was reported that Múzaffár of Gujrátí had fled from Sher Kháń Fúládí, and was concealed in the neighbourhood; vide p. 386. Akbar, therefore,
sent Mîr Khán the Yasáwul and Farid the Qaráwul, and afterwards Abul Qásim Namákín (No. 199) and Karam 'Ali in search of him. Mîr Khán had not gone far, when he found the châtîr and adîbān (p. 50) which Muzaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Muzaffar himself in a field. Mîr Khán took him to Akbar.

363. Sarmast Kha'n, son of Dastam Khán (No. 79).

363. Sayyid Abul Hasan, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mîr 'Adl (No. 140).

364. Sayyid 'Abdul Wa'cid, son of the Mîr 'Adl's brother.

365. Khwa'jah Beg Mîrza', son of Mâ'qûm Beg.

366. Sakrâ, brother of Rânâ Pratâb.

Sakrâ is the son of Rânâ Udai Singh, son of Rânâ Sánkâ (died 934, A. H.). When his brother Pratâb, also called Rânâ Kikâ, 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 Jahângîr's reign, he got a present of 12000 Rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Parviz against Rânâ Amrâ, Pratâb's successor. In the end of the same year, he served against Dulpât (p. 359), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2500, 1000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a manâch of 3000, 2000 horse.

The Akbarnâmah mentions another son of Udai Singh, of the name of Sakat Singh, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court. The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khán Zamân, when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mîrzâs. He therefore resolved to punish the Rânâ, and on a hunting tour in Farganah Bâri told Sakat Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him. Sakat, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions. This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay. Udaïpûr was invaded, and Chitor surrendered.

367. Sha'dî Be Uusbak  
368. Ba'qi' Be Uusbak  

They have been mentioned above on p. 455. From the Akbarnâmah (III., 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jâgîr in Handiah, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yûna'n Beg, brother of Murád Khán (No. 54).

Some MSS. have Mîrâd Khán for Murád Khán.

370. Shaikh Kabi'r i Chishti' [Shujâ'at Khán, Rustam i Zamân].

The Madârî calls him "an inhabitant of Mau." He was a relation of Islâm Khán (p. 403) i Chishti, and received the title of Shujâ'at Khán from Prince Salim, who on his accession made him a commander of 1000 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He served under Khán Jahán (p. 503) in the Dak'hîn as kârewal, an office which the Sayyids

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1 He is not to be confounded with another Shaikh Kabîr, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbroke of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kábul; and in the 32nd year against the Târikâs under Mâšlay Khán (No. 83). He died in the 38th year, in the war with the Jâm and Muzaffar of Gujûrî (Akbârnm., III., 283, 408, 541, 624, where the Lucknow edition calls him the son of Muke'mi Khán.

2 Khâfi Khán calls him wrongly (I, 273) Shujâ' Khán and Rustam Khán.
of Bārha 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 Afgān chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Wali Khān, ’Usmán’s brother, and Mamrrez Khān, ’Usmán’s son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaikh Kabir, they submitted with their families, and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered, were taken by Sh. K. to Islām Khān in Jahāngīrnagar (Dhākā), 6th Ǧāfār, 1021. Tuzuk, p. 104.

Jaḥāngīr gave him for his bravery the title of Rustam i Zamān. The Mādārī says that Islām Khān did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afgāns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road, they were executed by Abūdullāh Khān 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 Bihār. 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 Islām Khān appointed Sh. K. to Orisā, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Usmān’s relations.

**Note on the death of ’Usmān Lohānī.**

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of ’Usmān. Khwājah ’Usmān, according to the Makhzan i Afgānī, was the second son of Miyyān ’Isā Khān Lohānī, who after the death of Qulī Khān was the leader of the Afgāns in Orisā and Southern Bengal. Qulī left three sons—Naṣīb Shāh, Lodī Khān, Jamāl Khān. ’Isā Khān left five sons, Khwājah Sulaimān, ’Usmān, Wali, Ibrāhīm. Stewart makes ’Usmān a son of Qulī (History of Bengal, p. 133). Sulaimān ‘reigned’ for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Rājāh Mān Singh (vide p. 486, No. 244), held lands near the Brāmmaputra, and subjected the Rājāhs of the adjacent countries. ’Usmān succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Orisā and Śāṅgānw, and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 5 to 6 lacs per annum. His residence is described to have been the Kohistān i Dhākā, or ‘hills of Dhākā’ (Tipārāh?), the vilāyat i Dhākā, or District of Dhākā, and Dhākā itself. The fight with Usmān took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612, 1 at a distance of 100 kos from Dhākā. My MS. of the Makhzan calls the place of the battle Nek Ujāl.2 Stewart (p. 134) places the battle “on the banks of the Subarnārkha river” in Orisā, which is impossible, as Shujā’at Khān arrived again in Dhākā on the 6th Ǧāfār, or 26 days after the battle. According to the Tuzuk, Islām Khān was in Dhākā, when the fight took place, and Wali Khān submitted to Shujā’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 Ujyāls mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Mahmudābād (Bosnāh) and Sirkār Bāzūhā (Mymensing-Bogra).
'Abdussalam, son of Mu'azzam Khan (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Islâm besieged Walf in the Mahalls where 'Usmán used to live, between the battle-field and Dhâkâ, and afterwards in the Fort of Dhâkâ itself. Walf, on his submission, was sent to court, with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from 'Usmán, received a title, a jaqir, and was made a commander of 1000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the Madsir, 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, Islâm 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 Afghân 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 Walf in a litter, and buried on the road. When Shujâ'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 Do Laët (p. 438, note) has the following interesting passage: Rez (Jahângir) cedere tempore missis Theziad ghanum Chiesh zaden (Shujâ'at Khan Shaikhzadal) ad Thalanganum (Islâm Khan) qui Bengalae praecerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae (Opiâs)mitteret. Sed Osmanchana Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Dacek (between Opiâ and Dhâkâ, i. e. the Sunderban) interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentiissimo exercitu advenit, Dacek oppugnaturus. Thalanchanus autem praemissi adversus ipsum (Usmân) Theziad chunam, una cum Mira Isfagger et Ethaman chano (Ifîkhär Khân and Ihtimâm Khân) et alii multii Omerauius, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequeunse, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Oto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Eßfagger et Mierick Zilaiar (Mirak Jalâr— not in the Tuzuk) tam acretion impressionem fecerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman kwaec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emissit, ista ut regii vicissiam cedere cogerentur, et Eßfagger caederetur; Theziad gaunus autem et ipse elephanto insidiae, ut impetus ferocissimae belluae declinarer, e se suo dejeicerit, et cras prefregit, ista ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, et regii passim fugam capsererunt; actumque suisset de regis, nisi inopinus casus proelium restituisset; miles quidem sauciis humi jacens, caru Osman, qui elephanto vehedatur, oculum globus trajectit, e quo vulnera paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius ista fuerunt consernati, ut statim de fuga cogitarer. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restitutis, eventum proelii Thalanchano perscripte: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnam fuerat, et Tzediatgano e vulnera defuncto, magnis itineribus fraterem (Wali Khân) et biduam atque liberam Osmanis assecutus, evis cepit, coque cum elephas et omnibus theauris defuncti, postquam Dacek Bengalae metropolim est reversus, missit ad regem Anno... (the year is left out).

A The Tuzuk (p. 109) mentions Kishwar Khan (p. 497), Ifîkhär Khan, Sayyid Adam Bîrha, Shaikh Ache, brother's son of Muhammad Khân, Mu'tamid Khan, and Ihtimâm Khân, as under Shujâ'at's com-
De Laët says that Shujā’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 Usmán’s elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls Gajpatī, and Stewart Bukhārī (?), 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.


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 Jahāngír (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’ Ahrof, near Fort Aṭāk, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khatars (p. 456, note 2) and Dilāhzāk tribes (p. 487, note). Zafar was appointed to Aṭāk, vīre 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 Jahāngír’s return from Kábul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a mançab 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 500 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 Jahāngír made his son Sa’īdat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Sa’īdat Khán, his son. He served in Kábul, and was at the end of Jahāngír’s reign a commander of 1600, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Sháhjahán’s accession, he was made a commander of 1500, 1000 horse, and was promoted up to the 26th year to a full command of 3000 horse. He again served in Kábul, and under Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshán, was made commandant of Tirmiz, and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhán Qalī Khán, ruler of Bukhárá (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahár wars, was in the 29th year Faujdár 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 Sheherullah.

Mahābat Khán, qūbahdār of Kábul, imprisoned the murderer.


Mīr Samarrqandī was a learned man who came during Bairám’s regency to Agra.

375. Lashkari’, son of Mīrzá Yūsuf Khán (No. 35).

Vide above p. 374, and for his wife under No. 351.

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1 The Māsir has دری; the Tuzuk, دری. I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot.

The Khatars and Dilahzárks are estimated in the Tuzuk at 7 to 8000 families.
376. A'gha' Mulla' Qazwini. Vide No. 278.
Jâm is a place in Khurasan, famous for its Bâbâ Shâhkî melons. It has given
name to the two poets Pûr Bahâ and the renowned 'Abdurrahmân Jâmî.
378. Math'ura' Da'â, the K'hâtrî.
379. Sat'hura' Da'â, his son.
The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sultân Murâd in Kábûl. Akhbar.,
III., 333.
380. Mîr Mura'd, brother of Shâh Beg Kolabî (No. 148). Vide
No. 282.
381. Kalla', the Kachhwâhah.
He served in 989 under Prince Murâd in Kábûl.
382. Sayyid Darwîsh, son of Shams i Bukhârî.
A Shaikh Junaid served under Shihâb Khân (No. 26) in Gujrat. He was killed
in the Khaibar catastrophe (Akhbar., III., 190, 498).
384. Sayyid Abu' Is-ha'q, son of Mirzâ Rafî'u'ddin i Čafawi.
He was mentioned on p. 439. In the 36th year, he served against the Jâm and
Muzaffar of Gujrat.
His father Rafî'u'ddin was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Āgrah in
954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Mu'inuddin, author of a commentary to the
Qorân, entitled Tafsîr i Ma'dâni.
385. Fath Khan, superintendent of the leopards.
In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abulfazl 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 Khân of Akbar's
reign. First, there is Fattâ Khan Afgân. Fattâ is the same as Fath. His title
is Masnad i 'All, and his son was mentioned above, No. 906. Secondly, Fath Khan
Filbân, who when young was Akbar's elephant driver (filbad). He was subsequently
made Amir, and according to my two MSS. of the Tabâqât, died in 990. But Bedâonî
(II, 353) mentions Fath Khân Filbân as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qâsim
Khân (No. 59) on his march to Kashmir; but the Akbarnâmah, in the corresponding
passage (III., 512) calls him Fath Khân Masnad i 'All. Dowson's edition of Elliot's
Historians (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khân Bahádur. A Fath Khân Tughluq
was mentioned under No. 187, p. 466.
386. Muqi'm Khân, son of Shujâ'at Khân (No. 51). Vide p. 371.
He served in the siege of Arîr, and in the 46th year in the Dâk'hin. Akhbar.,
III., 825, 865.
387. Laîlah, son of Râjah Bîr Bâr (No. 85).
The Akbarnâmah (III., 866) calls him the eldest son of Râjah Bîr Bâr. Vide
p. 405.
388. Yu'suf i Kasmîri'. Vide No. 228.
389. Habi' Yass'wul.
Habi is an abbreviation of Habib.
380. Haidar Dost, brother of Qásim 'Alí Khán (No. 187).
381. Dost Muhammad, son of Bábá Dost.
382. Sha’hrukh Dantúrí.

Dantúr, Dhantúr, or Dhandáwar, is a district near the Kashmir front. The Tuzuk (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantúr, during Akbar’s reign, was ruled over by Sha’hrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahángír) by his son Bahádur. Bahádur was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahábat in Bangash.

383. Sher Muhammad.

He served in 993 in the Dak’hin. Akbar., III., 472.

A Sher Muhammad Dívánah 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 Dívánah plundered several places in Pargah Samánah, the faujdár of which was Mullá Núrúddín Tarkhán. The Mullá had left his vakil Mír Dost Muhammad 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 Dámúri 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. Akbar., II., 332.

384. ‘Alí Quli’ [Beg, Istájílú, Sher Aftán Khán].

He was the safa’rí, or table-attendant, of Ismá’íl 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 That'hah. At his recommendation, he received a manzáb. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Míhrunnisá (the future Núr Jahan), daughter of Mírzá Ghías Táhrání (No. 319). Ghías’s wife had access to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salím saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to ‘Ali Quli.

‘Ali Quli accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Ránák, and received from him the title of Sher Aftán Khán. On his accession, he received Bardwán as inqiláb. His hostile encounter with Shaikh Khúbú (No. 275) was related on p. 496. The Madaín says that when he went to meet the Çubahjár, his mother put a helmet (dubálagház) on his head, and said, “My son make his mother cry, before he makes your tree weep,” then kissed him, and let him go.

‘Ali 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.” Kháf Khán (I., p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Núr Jahan’s mother. According to her, Sher Aftán was not killed by Qubuddá努n 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

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 Mihrunnisá 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 Bahrám Saggá (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwán.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Núr Jahán killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tazuk, p. 188), and Núr Jahán requested Jahángrí 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 Núr Jahán is a woman, she is in the array of men a san i sher afkan," i.e. either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (afkan) tigers (sher).

395. Sha‘h Muhammad, son of Masnád i ‘Alí.

Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. Sanwaldá’s Ja’dón.

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patán and Ahmadábád (p. 416, note), and served in 989 under Prince Murád in Kábul. In 992, he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bháti. 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 Rájah Gopál Ja’dón’s brother (vide No. 305), and Abulfazl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. Akbarn., III., 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwá’jah Zahi’ruddín, son of Shaikhl Khalífullah.

He served in the 31st year under Qásim Khá’n (No. 59) in the conquest of Káshmir, and in the 40th year in the Dakhín.

His father is also called Sádá Khalífullah. He served in the 10th year against Khá’n Zamán, and under Mun’ím Khá’n in Bengal and Oirásá, and died in 988 at Gaur of fever (p. 376).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mír Khalífullah of Yazd and his son Mír Zahi’ruddín, who in the 2nd year of Jahángír came as fugitives from Persia to Dákhor. The history of this noble family is given in the Madísír.

398. Mír Abul Qásim of Nishápúr.

399. Haji Muhammad Ardístání.

400. Muhammad Khá’n, son of Tarson Khá’n’s sister (No. 32).

401. Khwá’jah Muqí’m, son of Khwá’jah Mírákí.

He served under ‘Azíz Kókah in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993, he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Táhir Saí’íl Malúk (No. 201) in Fort G’horég’hát by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made Bakhshí. Akbarn., III., 418, 470, 610.

Vide Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I., pp. 248, 251.

402. Qádir Quli’, foster brother of Mirzá Sháhrúkh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrát. Akbarn., III., 621.
403. Fi’ru’zah, a slave of the emperor Humáyún.

Badaoni (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 Ghází Khán i Badakhshí (No. 144).

Badaoni also says that he was a Langá.


He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mán Singh against M. Muhammad Hakím.

406. Mi’r Shari’f of Koláb.

407. Pahár Khán, the Balúch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudá, son of Surjan Hádá (No. 96), and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was tuyúddár of Gházípur, and hunted down Ma’çúm Khán Farankhúdá, after the latter had plundered Muhammedábád (p. 444). In the 28th year, he served in Gujrát, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisanah, S. E. of Patan, in which Sher Khán Fuládí was defeated. Akbarná, III., 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., states in his ‘Memoir of the Ghazepoor District’ (p. 80) that Faujdar Pahár 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 Rái Singh’s brother (No. 44), and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. Sayyid Lá’d Barha.

In 993, Sayyid Lád served with the preceding in Gujrát, and in the 46th year, in the Dák’hin.

410. Nasír Maín.

Main (مئه), or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Rang’háraé República, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Behat Dúb. “The only famous man which this tribe has produced, is ‘Isá Khán Maín. He served under Bahádur Sháhé and Jhándár Sháh.” Madsir.

411. Sa’ngah, the Pujwar.

412. Qa’bíl, son of ‘Atíq.

413. Adwánder Zamindárs of Orísá.

414. Sundár.

415. Nu’ram, foster brother of Mirzá Ibráhím.

He served in the 31st year against the Afgháns on Mount Téráb, and in 1000, under Mán Singh in the expedition to Orísá. Akbarná, 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 Mančabdārs 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 Yūbdshis, ................................... 250  
Do. of 80 ..................................................... 91  
Do. of 60 ..................................................... 204  
Do. of 50 ..................................................... 16  
Do. of 40 ..................................................... 260  
Do. of 30, or Turkashbāds, ................................. 39  
Do. of 20 ..................................................... 250  
Do. of 10 ..................................................... 224

[Total, 1388 Mančabdārs below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mančabs 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 Vakile, or prime-ministers,—

Bairām Khán (No. 10); Mun‘im Khán (No. 11); Atgah Khán (No. 15); Bahádur Khán (No. 22); Khwájah Jahán (No. 110); KhánKhánán Mirzá Khán (No. 29); Khán i A'zman Mirzá Kokah (No. 21).

The following have been Vazírz, or ministers of finances—

Mír ‘Azīzullah Turbatt; Khwájah Jaláluddín Mahmúd* of Khurásán (No. 65); Khwájah Mu'inuddín i Farankhúdī (No. 128); Khwájah 'Abdul Majíd Açaf Khán (No. 49); Vazír Khán (No. 41); Muzaffar Khán (No. 37); Rájah Todar Mall (No. 39); Khwájah Sháh Manṣúr of Shiráz (No. 122); Qulij Khán (No. 42); Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí (No. 159).

* Abulsalī'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 Ţáhir of Sijsitán (No. 111); Mauláná Habi Bihaźádí;* Mauláná Darwish Muhammad of Mashhad; Mauláná ʻIshqí;* Muqím of Khurásán (No. 401); Sultánt Mumhíd of Badakhshán; Lashkar Khán (No. 90); Shahbáz Khán (No. 80); Ráí Puruhkhotam; Shaikh Farid i Buhkárí (No. 99); Qízí ʻAlí of Baghíd; Jaʻfar Beg ʻAsaf Khán (No. 98); Khwájah Nizámuddín Ahmad;* Khwájah Fathullah (No. 258).

The following have been *Čadr*:—

Mír Fathullah; Shaikh Gádlí, son of Shaikh Jamál i Kambú; Khwájah Muhammad ʻÇálih, descendant in the third generation from Khwájah ʻAbdulláh Marwárid; Mauláná ʻAbdul Bání; Shaikh ʻAbdunnábí; Sultán Khwájah (No. 108); Čadr Jahán (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator on Akbar’s *Mançabdárs*.

The principal facts which Abúlfażl’s list of Grandees discloses are, first, that there were very few Hindústání Musulmáns in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghánis; secondly, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindú Ámirs, as among the 415 Mançabdárs there are 51 Hindús.

The Mançabdárs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mír Sháh Abúl Maʻálí; Khwájah Muʻazzam, brother of Akbar’s mother; Bábá Khán Qáqshál; Maʻám i Kábulí (p. 431, note); ʻArab Bahádur; Jabári, &c. But there are also several left out, as Khízir Khwájah (p. 365, note 2), Sultán Husain Jálír (*vide* under No. 64), Kamál Khán the Gakʻkhar (*vide* p. 456), Mír Gesú (p. 421), Naurang Khán, son of Qúshuddín Khán (p. 334), Mirzá Quli (p. 385), Rájah Aškáran (p. 458), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abúlfażl’s list with that in the Tábaqát, or the careful lists of Shahjáhán’s grandees in the Pádisháhnámah, we observe that Abúlfażl has only given the mançáb, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (*tábínín*). In other words, Abúlfażl has merely given the *zátí* rank (p. 241). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizámuddín in the Tábaqát, which

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1 Some MSS. have *Hábi* instead of *Habi* (an abbreviation for *Habíb*).
2 Regarding him *vide* Akbarnámah, III, 210. He was of Ghaznú.
3 The Historian.
4 *Vide* pp. 270 to 274. Regarding Mauláná ʻAbdul Bágí, who was Čadr in the fifth year, *vide* Akbarnámah, Í., 148.
may advantageously be given here. Nizám only gives manşabadârs of higher rank, vis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Ṭabaqât.</th>
<th>In Abulfazl's list.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Mîrzá Shâhrukh, 5000,</td>
<td>7; 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tardâ Beg Khán,</td>
<td>12; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mun'im Khán,</td>
<td>11; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mîrzá Rastam, 5000,</td>
<td>9; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 'Âli Qâlî Khán Zamán,</td>
<td>13; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ahdâm Khán,</td>
<td>19; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Shamsuddîn Muhammad Atgâh Khán,</td>
<td>15; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Muhammad 'Âzîz Kokultash, 5000,</td>
<td>21; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bahâdur Khán, 5000</td>
<td>22; 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mir Muhammad Khán Atgah,</td>
<td>16; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Muhammad Qâlî Khán Barlâs,*</td>
<td>31; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Shâhâbuddîn Ahmad Khán, 5000,</td>
<td>26; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sa'id Khán, 5000,</td>
<td>25; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pir Muhammad Khán,</td>
<td>20; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Râjâh Bihârá Mall,*</td>
<td>23; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Râjâh Bhagwân Dás, 5000,</td>
<td>27; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Mân Singh, 5000,</td>
<td>30; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Khwâjah 'Abdul Majid Aqâf Khán, main-</td>
<td>49; 3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tained 20,000 horse,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. 'Abdullah Khán Uzbak,</td>
<td>14; 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Qiyâ Khán Gung,*</td>
<td>33; 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Yusuf Muhammad Khán Kokah, 5000,</td>
<td>18; 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Zain Khán Kokah, 5000,</td>
<td>34; 4500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Shujâ'at Khán, 5000,</td>
<td>51; 3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Shâh Budâgh Khán,</td>
<td>32; 3000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Ibrâhîm Khán Uzbak, 4000,</td>
<td>64; 2500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Tarson Muhammad Khán, 5000,</td>
<td>32; 5000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 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 Ṭabaqât as belonging to the Umarâ i kibâr, 'the great Amirs,' i. e., probably, the commanders of 5000.

67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Tabagat.</th>
<th>In Abdul's list.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 41; 4000.</td>
<td>33. Vazir Khan, 5000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54; 3000.</td>
<td>34. Muhammad Murad Khan,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74; 2000.</td>
<td>35. Ashraf Khan,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36; 4000.</td>
<td>36. Mahdi Qisim Khan,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40; 4000.</td>
<td>37. Muhammad Qisim Khan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56; 3000.</td>
<td>38. Khwajah Sultan 'Ali,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39; 4000.</td>
<td>39. Raja Todar Mool, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35; 4500.</td>
<td>40. Mirza Yusuf Khan Razawiy, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not in the KIn; vide p. 385.</td>
<td>41. Mirza Quli Khan,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 37; 4000.</td>
<td>42. Muzaffar Khan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66; 2500.</td>
<td>43. Haidar Muhammad Khan, 2000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97; 2000.</td>
<td>44. Shaham Khan Jalair, 2000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72; 2000.</td>
<td>45. Isma'il Sultan Duldai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not in the KIn.</td>
<td>46. Muhammad Khan Jalair,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 58; 3000.</td>
<td>47. Khan i 'Alam, 3000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28; 5000.</td>
<td>48. Quotbuddin Muhammad Khan, maintained 5000 horse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107; 1000.</td>
<td>49. Muhibb 'Ali Khan, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42; 4000.</td>
<td>50. Quli Khan, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43; 4000.</td>
<td>51. Muhammad Cadiq Khan, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47; 3000.</td>
<td>52. Mirza Jani Beg, 3000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46; 3500.</td>
<td>53. Isma'il Quli Khan, 3000,*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67; 2500.</td>
<td>54. I'timad Khan Gujratii, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44; 4000.</td>
<td>55. Raja Rai Singh, of Bikainir and Nagor, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68; 3000.</td>
<td>56. Sharif Muhammad Khan, 3000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88; 2000.</td>
<td>57. Shah Fakhruddin, Naqabat Khan, 1000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133; 1000.</td>
<td>58. Habib 'Ali Khan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45; 3500.</td>
<td>59. Shah Quli Mahram, 1000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not in the KIn; vide p. 422.</td>
<td>60. Muhibb 'Ali Khan Rahtasii, 4000,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 128; 1000.</td>
<td>61. Mu'inuddin Ahmad,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119; 1000.</td>
<td>62. I'timad Khan Khwajahsara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79; 2000.</td>
<td>63. Dastam* Khan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not in the KIn; vide pp. 456, 486.</td>
<td>64. Kamal Khan, the Gakk'har, 5000,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* The MSS. of the Tabagat also have wrong Rustam Khans.

* Mentioned in the Tabagat as belonging to the Umar and kibdr, 'the great Amirs', i.e., probably, the commanders of 6000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Sayyid Hámíd of Bukhárá</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sayyid Mahmúd Khán, Bárha</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sayyid Ahmad Khán, Bárha</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Qarú Bahádur Khán,¹ 4000 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>179 ; 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Báqí Muhammad Khán Kokah</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>60 ; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Mír 'Adl</td>
<td></td>
<td>140 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Ma'áhum Khán Farankhúdí</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>157 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Naúrang Khán</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Sháh Muhammad Khán Atgah, younger brother of Shámu'lláh Atgah,²</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Kín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Matlab Khán</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>82 ; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Shaikh Ibráhím</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>'Alí Qúlí Khán</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>124 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tolak Khán Qáshí</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>165 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Sháh Beg Khán Kábúlí</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>57 ; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fattú Khán Afgánd</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Fath Khán</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Sámá'ín Khán Mughul</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>100 ; 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Bábú Manklí</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>202 ; 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Darwísh Muhammad Uzbak</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>80 ; 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Sháhábáz Khán Kambú</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>94 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Khwájah Ja'bán Khurásání</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>110 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Majnún Khán Qáshí, kept 5000 horse,</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 ; 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Muhammad Qásím Khán,* 3000</td>
<td></td>
<td>40 ; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Mu'áfar Husain Mirzá</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>180 ; 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Rájáh Jagannáth</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>69 ; 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Rájáh Akkáran</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Ráí Lonákar</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Mándhu Singh, “brother of R. Mán Singh,”</td>
<td></td>
<td>104 ; 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Saif Khán Kokah</td>
<td></td>
<td>39 ; 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Ghiásuddín 'Alí Aqá Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td>126 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Páyandah Khán Mughul</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>68 ; 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Mubárák Khán, the Gák'khar, 1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>171 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Báz Balúdur Afgánd</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>120 ; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Mírak Khán Jímkánek (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Kín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Sayyid Qásím Bárha</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>105 ; 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Rájáh Kangár</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>not in the Kín ; vide p. 436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ MS., Bahádur Khán.
² This is probably a mistake of the author of the Tabagát.
³ The same as No. 37 on p. 530.
In the Ṭabaqīt.

102. Muhammad Husain Lashkar Khán, kept
2000 horse, ........................................ No. 90 ; 2000.

103. Husain Khán Tukriyah, 2000, ........................... " 53 ; 3000.

104. Jalāl Khán, the Gakk'har, 1500, .......................... " 170 ; 1000.

105. Sa'id Khán, the Gakk'har, 1500, ........................ not in the Ḵān; 

106. Ṣtibár Khán, the Eunuch, 2000. ..................... No. 84 ; 2000.

107. Khwájah Tāhir Muhammad Tátár Khán, ... " 111 ; 1000.

108. Mot'h Rújah, 1500, ......................................... " 121 ; 1000.


110. Čafdar Khán, Khájah Khail, 2000, ........................ not in the Ḵān.


112. Farhat Khán, Khájah Khail, 2000, .................. " 145 ; 1000.


114. Rái Durgá, 1500, ................................. " 103 ; 1500.

115. Mirák Khán Bahádur,* 2000, ........................ " 208 ; 500.


117. Maqṣúd 'Alí Kor, ........................................ " 136 ; 1000.

118. Ikhlác Khán, the Eunuch, 1000, ................ " 86 ; 2000.

119. Míhr 'Alí Sildoz, 1500, ................................ " 130 ; 1000.

120. Khudáwánd Khán Dák'hiní, 1500, .................. " 151 ; 1000.

121. Mír Murtzá Dák'hiní, 1000, ........................ " 162 ; 1000.

122. Hasan Khán, a Butání Afghán, 1000, .......... " 220 ; 500.

123. Nazar Beg, son of Sa'id, the Gakk'har, 1000, .......... " 247 ; 500.


125. Qiyá Khán, 1000, .................................. No. 184 ; 700.

126. Sayyíd Hášim Bárha, 2000, ........................ " 143 ; 1000.

127. Rázaví Khán, 2000, ................................ " 141 ; 1000.


129. Shaikh Farid i Bukhári, 1500, .................... " 99 ; 1500.


132. Rájah Ṣufáí Bairági, 1500, ........................ " 118 ; 1000.

133. Êzíl Khán, 1500, .................................... " 156 ; 1000.

134. Sháh Quli Khán Náranjí, 1000, .................... " 231 ; 500.


136. La'l Khán Badakhshí, ................................. " 209 ; 500.

¹ MS., 1000.

* He died in the explosion of a miss before Chitor.
In the Tabaqat.

137. Khanjar Beg Chaghtá,
138. Makhcúq Kháán, 2500,
139. Sání Kháán Arlát,
140. Mírzá Husain Kháán,
141. Jagat Singh, 1500,
142. Mírzá Naját Kháán,
143. 'Ali Dost Kháán, 1000,*
144. Sultán Husain Kháán,
145. Khwájah Sháh Mançúr Shírází,
146. Salim Kháán, 1000,
147. Sayyid Chhají Bárhá,
148. Darbár Kháán, 1000,
149. Hájí Muhammad Sístání, 1000 (?)
150. Muhammad Zamán,*
151. Khurrum Kháán, 2000,*
152. Muhammad Qulí Toqbaí, 1000,
153. Mujáhid Kháán, 1000,*
154. Sultán Ibráhím Anbahi,*
155. Sháh Ghází Kháán Turkmán,
156. Sheroyah, 1000,
157. Kákar 'Ali Kháán, 1000,
158. Naqíb Kháán, 1000,
159. Beg Nürín Kháán, 1000,
160. Qutlu Qadám Kháán, 1000,
161. Jalá Kháán Qurchí, 1000,
162. Shimá Kháán Qurchí, 1000,
163. Mírzádáh 'Ali Kháán,
164. Sayyid 'Abduláh Kháán,

* He belongs to the old Ámirí of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well known Maanawi by him, dar báb i askárak, on the subject of dancing girls. Tabaqát. Vide Akbarnámah, II, 92.
* 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 'Ali Dost Kháán Nárajó, the other Bárbáry, an unusual title for the Mughul period.
* Muhammad Zamán is the brother of Mírzá Yúsuf Kháán (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1000, and was killed in Gaḍghá. 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 Mírzá Khurrum (No. 177).
* Mujáhid Kháán was the son of Muqáhib Kháán, one of Humáyún’s courtiers. He was killed at Kumbálmír. Akbarnámah, III., 146, 188.
* He was the kášt, or maternal uncle, of the author of the Tabaqát, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kamboón.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Abul Fanni, 1000</td>
<td>232; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Shaikh `Abdulrahim of Lak'hnau</td>
<td>174; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Muhammad Khan Niyazi</td>
<td>226; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Rumi Dasi Kachhwahah</td>
<td>235; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Mirza Abul Muzaffar</td>
<td>239; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Raj Singh, son of Rajah Askaran</td>
<td>238; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Raj Patr Dasi</td>
<td>233; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Jannish Bahadur, Khan</td>
<td>237; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Muhammad Khan Niyazi</td>
<td>238; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Rumi Dasi Kachhwahah</td>
<td>239; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Mir Abul Qasim</td>
<td>240; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Khwaja Abdul Hai, Mir 'Adil</td>
<td>241; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Shamsuddin Husain, son of A'zam Khan</td>
<td>242; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Khwaja Shamsuddin Khawafi</td>
<td>243; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Mir Jamaluddin Husain Inji, 1000</td>
<td>244; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Shaikh Abdulla Khan, son of Muhammad Ghaus, 1000</td>
<td>245; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Sayyid Raju Bahr, 1000</td>
<td>246; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Medni Razi Chauhan, 1000</td>
<td>247; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Mir Tahir Razawi, brother of M. Yusuf Khan</td>
<td>248; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Tash Beg Kabil, 1000</td>
<td>249; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Ahmad Beg Kabil, keeps 700 horse</td>
<td>250; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Sher Khwaja</td>
<td>251; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Muhammad Quli Turkman</td>
<td>252; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Mirza Ali Alamshahi</td>
<td>253; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Wazir Janil</td>
<td>254; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Rai Bhoj, 1000</td>
<td>255; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Bakhtyar Beg Turkman</td>
<td>256; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Mir Cadr Jahan</td>
<td>257; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Hasan Beg Shaikh 'Umar</td>
<td>258; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Shadmun, son of 'Aziz Kokah</td>
<td>259; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Rajah Mukaftman Bhadurai, not in the Ain</td>
<td>260; 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Nabi Safarhi, son of Tahir Khan Faraghat</td>
<td>261; 1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 One MS. calls his "He belonged to the commanders of 1000, and is now (A. H. 1001) dead."

2 "He is the brother of 'Alamshah, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." Tabaqat. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded on p. 482.
In the Tabsâqât.

In Abulfazl’s list.

199. Farîdân Barîs, .................................. No. 227; 500.
200. Bahadur Khân Qurdâr, a Tarîn Afgân, ... " 269; 400.
201. Shaikh Bâyazid i Chishtî, ...................... " 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abulfazl classes among the commanders of 400. Nizâm, however, adds the following note to his own list—“Let it be known that the title of Amîr is given to all such as hold Mançabs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank.”

The Historian Badâonî has not given a list of Amîrs, 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 Amîrs, as Nizâm 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 Mançabdârs whose names Abulfazl has not given, because the Kîn list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar’s reign, the most famous are Mahâbat Khân, Khân Jahân Lodî (p. 508), and ’Abdullah Khân Firûz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahângrî’s reign; but the Dutch traveller De Laêt, in his work on India (p. 151), has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahângrî’s Mançabdârs, which may be compared with the lists in the Kîn and the Fâdiushâhûnîmah (II., 717). Leaving out the princes, whose mançabs were above 5000, we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders Under Akbar</th>
<th>Under Jahângrî</th>
<th>Under Shâhjahân</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Kîn)</td>
<td>(De Laêt)</td>
<td>(Fâdiushâhûnîmah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>350</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>300</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>250</td>
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<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>245</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>397</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>298</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1388</td>
<td>2064</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Ahadís under Jahángír, De Laët fixes as follows—

- Cháháraspahs, ............ 741
- Sihaspahs, ............... 1322
- Duaspahs, ............... 1428
- Yakaspahs, ............. 950

4441 Ahadís.

Under Sháhjahán, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mançábhs above 5000. There is no Hindú among them.

De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amírs were Hindú. But we may compare the lists of the Aín and the Pádisháhnámah.

We find under Ákbar—

- among 252 mançábhdárs from 5000 to 500 ........ 32 Hindús
- 163 " from 400 to 200 ........ 25 Do.
Under Sháhjahán (20th year of his reign), we have—
among 12 mañcábárs above 5000 ............... no Hindús.
" 580 " from 5000 to 500 ........... 110 Do.
The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the Fúdisháh-
námah. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindús
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 (nañar), 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 Mubárak of Nágór.¹

Vide p. 490. The Ťabaqát also mentions a Shaikh Mubárak of Alwar, and a
Sayyid Mubárak of Gwálíúr.

¹ The notes are taken from the Ťubá-
gát, the third volume of Baddoní, and the Mir-dul 'Ālam.

68
2. Shaikh Nizám.

Abul Fazl either means the renowned Nizámuddín of Amet'hi, near Lakhnaw, of the Chishti sect, who died A. H. 979; or Nizámuddín of Nárnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaikh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtís, and died at Jaunpúr in 970.


Died at Ahmadábād in 998. The Ṭabaqát mentions a contemporary, Shaikh Wajihuddín Gujráti, who died in 995.

5. Shaikh Ruknuddín.

He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddús of Gango. Bdáoni saw him at Dihlí at the time of Bairám's fall.


7. Shaikh Jaláluddín.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (khálifah) of 'Abdul Quddús of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaikh Iláhdiyáh.

Iláhdiyáh is Hindústání for the Persian Iláhídád, 'given (diýd) by God,' 'Theodore.' He lived at Khairábád, and died in 993.


"Mauláná Husámuddín Surkh of Láhor. He differed from the learned of Láhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious." Ṭabaqát.

10. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafrú.

He belongs to A'zampúr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of 'Abdul Quddús. Died in 995.


He was wrongly called Bechú on p. 104, note 2. He died in 969. Bdáoni II, 53.

12. Mauláná Isám'il.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaikh Hussain, who taught in Humayún's Madrasah at Dihlí. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.


15. Nánaín Asram.


17. Damúdar Bhat.

18. Rámtírt'h.

19. Nar Sing.

20. Parmindar.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaikh Ruknuddin Mahmūdī Kamángar (the bow maker).
24. Khwájah 'Abdushshahíd.

He is the son of Khwájah 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 jágir in Parganah جامی, in the Bárr Dúb, where he maintained two thousand poor.


He was a smith (đhàngar), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and was buried at Láhor. The elder brother of Shaikh Salim i Chishtí also was called Shaikh Músá; vide p. 402. Vide also below, No. 102.


The Ṭabaqát calls him Shaikh Yúsuf Harkun Majzúb of Láhor.

29. Shaikh Burhán.

He lived as a recluse in Kálpí, 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 Kipír Majzúb of Gwálíár, a Husainí Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a beschäfté, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

32. Shaikh Dáuíd.

He is called Jhanníwál from Jhanní near Láhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sítpír in Multán, where Dáuíd was born. Badáoni (III., p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

33. Shaikh Salím i Chishti.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Faríd i Shákgánj, 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, 402.

34. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwálíár.

Vide No. 173, p. 467.
35. Rám Bhadr.
36. Jadrúp.

1 Badáoni (III., p. 151) mentions a Zainuddin Mahmúd Kamángar.
Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology:

37. Mir Fathullah of Shiráz.
   Vide pp. 33, 104, 199, 274. His brother was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of Fārīgh; vide Badāwī III., 292. His two sons were Mir Taqī and Mir Sharir.

38. Mir Murtazá.
   He is not to be confounded with Mīr Murtazá, No. 162, p. 419. Mīr Murtazá Sharif of Shiráz died in 974 at Dihlī, and was buried at the side of the poet Khusrav, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the Hadis under the renowned Ibn Hajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dak’hīn to Agraḥ. Vide Akbarnāmah II., 278, 337.

   He came in 968 from Māwarā’-inahr to Agraḥ. Bad. II., 49. He died in Kābul in 970; l.c., III., 152.

40. Háiz of Tushkand.
   He is also called Háiz Kumaki. He came in 977 from Tushkand to India, and was looked upon in Māwarā’-inahr 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 Gujrāt to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazirship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. Vide Badāwī II., 187.

41. Maulānā Shāh Muhammad.
   Vide p. 106; Bad. II., 295, l.l.

42. Maulānā ’Alāuddīn.
   He came from Lāristān, and is hence called Ladrī. He was the son of Maulānā Kamāluddīn Husain, and studied under Maulānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shāhī. He was for some time Akbar’s teacher. Once at a darbār he placed himself before the Khān i A’zam, when the Mir Tozkū 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 bighas as sayyārghāl in Sambhal, where he died.


44. Maulānā Shaikh Husain (of Ajnāf).
   He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Mu’in i Chishti of Ajnāf, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. Badāwī III., 87.

45. Maulānā Mir Kalām.
   He died in 981, and was buried at Agraḥ. He was Jahāngīr’s first teacher. Bad. II., 170.


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1 Ma’rūf o manqīl, pr. that which is based on reason (aql) and traditional testimony (naqīl).
47. Mauláná Čádiq.

He was born in Samargand, came to India, and then went to Kábul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar’s brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Ţabaqát calls him Mullá Čádiq Halwáí. Badáóní (III., 255, where the Ed. Bibl. Indica has wrong Halwáni) puts him among the poets.


Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition. Other Histories only mention one Mauláná of that name.

Fourth Class.—Such as know philosophy (‘aqli kalám’).


50. Mauláná ‘Abdul Báqí.

He was a Čadr; vide pp. 272, 528.

51. Mirzá Muftí.

He was an Uzbak, came from Máwará-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jami’ Masjid of Mu’inuddin Farankhúdár (p. 434) at Agra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. Vide Bad. II., 187.

52. Maulánázídah Shukr.

53. Mauláná Muhammád.

He lived at Lahrí and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badáóní (III., 154) calls him Mauláná Muhammád Muftí.

Abulfażl, however, means perhaps Mauláná Muhammád of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shi‘ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abulfażl, 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. Mir-dát. But Badáóní 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 ‘aqli ’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 repeated” and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawalli of Humáyún’s tomb in Dihlí, where he died.

The Ţabaqát says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Maásir, he was born in Jám in Khurásán, and was educated in Mashhad. He

1 This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abulfażl 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 astrolabe. He went with the emperor to 'Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the takhallus of 'Nūrī.' He is also called 'Nūrī of Saṣ̱idūn,' because he held Saṣ̱idūn for some time as jāgīr. Akbar gave him the title of Khán, and later that of Tarkhán', and appointed him to Sumánah.

56. Nárāín. 64. Bidyá uīwás.
57. Madhū bhat. 65. Goriná't'h.
58. Sībhāt. 66. Gopiná't'h.
59. Bishn Nā't'h. 67. Kishn Pāndit.
60. Rām Kishn. 68. Bhaṭṭāchārj.
62. Bāsūdev Mīsr. 70. Kāshi Nā't'h Bhaṭṭāchārj.
63. Bāman bhat.

Physicians.

72. Hakīm ul Mulk.

His name is Shamsuddīn and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gilán 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 Mīr.

The Tabaqāt calls him Mullā Mīr Tābīb of Harāt, grandson of Mullā 'Abdul Hai Yazdī.

75. Hakīm Zanbil Beg. Vide No. 150, p. 442.
77. Hakīm Hassan.

He also came from Gilán. His knowledge, says Badāonī (III., 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Hakīm Arīstā.
79. Hakīm Fathullah.

He also came from Gilán, 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. 54). The Padishāhnāma (I, b., 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Fathullah, was a doctor at Shāhjahān's court.

\*\* The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; vide p. 364. The Madsīr has some verses made by Nūrī on his empty title.
80. Hakím Masih ul Mulk.

He came from the Dakhân, where he had gone from Shíráz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sulṭán Murád. He died in Málwah.

83. Hakím Saiful Mulk Lang.

Badáoni and the Ṭabaqát call him Saiful Mulik. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of Saiful Hukam, ‘the sword of the doctors.’ He came from Damáwand, and was in Agra during Bairám's regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the takhalluq of 'Shujá'. He is not to be confounded with No. 201, p. 473.

86. Hakím Shifá.

The Mir-dt mentions a Hakím Shifá, who in his poetical writings calls himself 'Muẓafar ibn i Muhammad Al-husaini Al-shifá.' He was born at Ifsháhn, and was a friend of Sháh'Abbás i Ḥafíz. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his Masnawi in the Library of the Asiatic Soc'y. of Bengal (No. 796).

87. Hakím Ni'matullah.
88. Hakím Dawái.

Dawái was also the takhalluq of No. 85.

89. Hakím Ṭaláb 'Alí.
90. Hakím Abdurrahím.
91. Hakím Rúhulláh.
92. Hakím Fakhruddín 'Alí.
93. Hakím Is-háq.
94. Shaikh Hasan and 95. Shaikh Bíná.

Shaikh Hasan of Pánipat, and his son Shaikh Bíná were renowned surgeons. Instead of 'Bíná', the MSS. have various readings. The Maasir has Phaniyád, the Ṭabaqát Bkaniyád.

Shaikh Bíná's son is the well known Shaikh Hasan, or Hassú, who under Jahángír rose to great honours, and received the title of Muqarrab Kháán. 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 Súráth. 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 Sháhjahán’s reign, he was pensioned off, and received Parganah Kairánah, his birthplace, as jágir. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Shamsuddín of Pánipat, 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 Muádír, have since been famous in Díhlí.

Muqarráb’s son, Rízqulláh, was a doctor under Sháhjáhán, and a commander of 800. Aurangzéb made him a Khán. He died in the 10th year of Aurangzéb.

Muqarráb’s adopted son is Masíhá i Kairánawí. His real name was Sa’dulláh. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sítá, Rámchandra’s wife.

96. Mahádev.
97. Bhím Nát’h.
98. Nárán.
99. Siwájí.

Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naqûl).

100. Miýán Hátím.

He lived at Saunbhal. The Historian Bálá önî, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hátím died in 969.


He was Muftí of Díhlí, and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambú.

102. Mau{láná} ‘Abdul Qádír.

He was the pupil of Shaikh Hámid Qádírí (buried at Hámidpúr, near Múltán), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaikh Músá regarding the right of succession. ‘Abdul Qádir used to say the naqûl-prayers* in the audience-hall of Fathpúr Sikri, 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 Qádír 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-át mentions a Mauláná ‘Abdul Qádír of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar’s age.

103. Shaikh Ahmád.

The Tabaqát mentions a Shaikh Hájí Ahmad of Láhór, and a Shaikh Ahmad Hájí Páládí Majzúb of Sind. Vide also pp. 106, 206.


This is the title of Mauláná ‘Abdullah of Sul’tanpúr, author of the ‘Aḵmat i Anbiyá, and a commentary to the Shamáil unnnábí. Humáyún gave him the titles of Makhdúm ul Mulk and Shaikh ul Islám. He was a bigoted Sunní, and looked upon Abulfázl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrát after his return from Makkah.

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* The Tabaqát mentions a few other Hindú doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar’s reign, viz. Bhíraun, Durgá Mái, Chándr Sen (“an excellent surgeon”), and Illí (one MS. has Abí).
* As religious law, Hadís, history, &c.
  * Voluntary prayers.
105. Maulána 'Abduussalám.

The Ţabaqát says, he lived at Láhor and was a learned man.

The Mír-dí mentions another Maulána 'Abduussalám of Láhor, who was a great lawyer (faqíh) and wrote a commentary to Baizáwi. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Sháhjahán's reign.

106. Qázi Čadruddíín.

Qázi Čadruddíín Quraishí 'Abbási 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 Qázi to Bhrónch, where he died. His son, Shaikh Muhammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrát.

107. Maulána Sa'dullah.

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.

108. Maulána Le-háq.

He was the son of Shaikh Kákú, and lived at Láhor. Shaikh Sa'dullah, Shaikh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.


110. Mír Núrullah.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Hakím Abul Fath. He was a Shi'ah, but practised taqiyah among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abú Hanífah. When Shaikh Mu'ín, Qázi of Láhor, retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahángrí's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

111. Maulána 'Abduxl Qádir.

He was Akbar's teacher (dákúnd). Víde No. 242, p. 485.

112. Qázi 'Abdussamáí.

He was a Miyánkálí,¹ and according to Badáoni (II., 314) played chess for money, and drank wine. Akbar made him, in 990, Qázi-lguzát, in place of Qázi Jaláuuddíní Multání (No. 122). Víde Akbarnámah, III., 593.

113. Maulána Qásím.

The Ţabaqát mentions a Mullá Qásím of Qandahárá.


¹ Miyánkálí is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Buhkárá.
115 Muhir Kamil.

The Tabaqat mentions a Shaikh Kamal of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaikh Salim.

116 Shaikh Ya'qub (of Kashmir). *Vide* below among the poets.


He died in 991, and wrote a book, entitled *Fawdikh ulwilayat*. Bad. II, 337.


He was the son of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh 'Abdul Qaddas of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Hadis. When he held the office of Qazi, he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brahman, the details of which are related in Badoni (III, 80), led to the Shaikh's deposition.

Badoni (III, 83) places his death in 991, the *Mir-at* in 992. 'Abbunnabi's family traced their descent from Abu Hanifa.

119 Shaikh Bihik.

The Tabaqat has also 'Bihik', Badoni (III, 24) has 'Bihkan.' Shaikh Bihik lived in Khokan 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 Muhammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawi. He was in Agra at the time of Bairam Khans.

121 Shaikh Bahauddin Mufti.

He lived at Agra, and was a learned and pious man.

122 Qazi Jalaluddin Multani. *Vide* pp. 175, 185.

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhin, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123 Shaikh Ziauddin.

It looks as if Shaikh Ziaullah was intended; *vide* No. 173, p. 457.

124 Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhab.

125 Shaikh 'Umar.


127 Malana Jamal.

The Tabaqat has a Mulla Jamal, a learned man of Multan. Badoni (III, 108) mentions a Maulana Jamal of Sirli, which is said to be a Mahallah of Lahore.

128 Shaikh Ahmad.

Shaikh Ahmad Fayyaz of Amethi, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizamuddin of Amethi (p. 537).
129. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghani. He was born at Badəon and lived afterwards in Dihlı a retired life. The KhánKhánán visited him in 1003.

130. Shaikh 'Abdul Wáhid. He was born in Bilgrám, and is the author of a commentary to the Nuzhat-ul Arwādā, and several treatises on the technical terms (iştıldāt) of the Ġufs, one of which goes by the name of Sandīl.


The Tabaqāt mentions a Mullá Ismá'īl Mufti of Láhor, and a Mullá Ismá'īl of Awadh.

133. Mullá 'Abdul Qádir. This is the historian Badáoní. Abulfazl also calls him Mullá in the Akbarnáma.

134. Mauláná Çadr Jahán. This seems a repetition of No. 131.

135. Shaikh Jauhar.
136. Shaikh Munawwar.

Vide p. 106. He was born at Láhor, and was noted for his memory and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the Masháriqul-amsár (Hadis), the Badī’ul bayān, the Irshād i Qāzd, &c. When the learned were banished from Court, he was imprisoned in Gwáliár, where he died in 1011.

His son, Shaikh Kabir, was also renowned for his learning. He died in 1026, in Ahmadábād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Ahmadábādí saint Sháh 'Alam. Mir-dt.


139. Bijai Sen Sdr.
140. Bhán Chand.

1 Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk, (p. 91, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahángír when a child read the Hadis under “Shaikh 'Abdulghani, whose fate is related in the Akbarnáma.” This as a mistake for 'Abdunnabi (No. 118).
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 diván, or have written a masnawi. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaikh Abul Faiz i 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 Faiz, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fuyázi, as he himself says in his 'Nal Daman'—

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1 I. e., gives men something valuable. 2 Saints perform wonderful actions (kardmdít), prophets perform miracles (mu'jizát). Both are miracles, but the kardmdít are less in degree than the mu'jizát. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "*káránat, káránat," "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" De Laét. 3 Ghazáli of Mashhad (vide below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Faizí got it. Under Jahángir, Tálib of Amul was malik umhrarí, and under Sháhjáhán, Muhammad Ján Qudái and, after him, Abú Tálib Kálím. Aurangzib hated poetry as much as history and music.
Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was 'Faiz.'
But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the 'Fayyaz' 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 Sawadij ul-ilham ("rays
of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the Qur'an in Arabic, in which he only
employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the Qurat ul Ikhlis 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 com-
forted 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 lothiness. 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 phi-
losophy; 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 Faiz is an Arabic word meaning
'abundance'; Faiz would be a man who
has abundance or gives abundantly.
Fayyaz is the intensive form of Faiz,
giving superabundantly. Fayyaz, or-
iginally, is the abstract noun, 'the act of
giving superabundantly,' and then be-
comes a title.
The form of fayyaz agrees with the
form of 'Allami, Abulfazl's takhallup,
and some historians, as Badsoni, have
maintained that the mere form suggested the change of Faiz to Fayyaz.
2 I have not seen a copy of this work.
It is often confounded with the Mawd-
rid ulkilam, because the latter also is
written be nqaf, without the use of dot-
ted letters. The Mawrid was printed
at Calcutta in A. H. 1241, by the profes-
sors of the Madrasah and Maulawi Mu-
hammad 'Ali of Rampur. It contains
sentences, often pithy, on the words Is-
lam, salam, 'ilm ulkalim, Adam, Mu-
hammad, kalarnullah, abulnqaf, &c.,
and possesses little interest. Faiz displays
in it his lexicographical abilities.
3 This is the 112th chapter of the
Qur'an, which commences with the words
Qul hua-ilham akhad. The letters added
give 1002; Faiz, therefore, wrote the
book two years before his death. This
clever turik was found out by Mir
Haidar Mu'ammad of Koshkn, poetically
styled Rafi. Vide below, the 31st poet.
4 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.
5 Tdrak, properly the crown of the
head. Putting the hand upon the crown
of the head is an old form of the sald.
Abulfazl wishes to say that Faiz was
ever mean enough to ask for favours or
presents.
6 Abulfazl kept his promise, and col-
clected, two years after Faiz's death, the
stray leaves of the Markiz uladwr
(p. 491), regarding which the curious
will find a notice by Abulfazl 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 Qasidahs (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.


MSS. of Faizi's Nal Duman are very numerous. His Diwan, exclusive of the Qasidah, was lithographed at Dihli, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubâ'i (by Faizi), which shews that the words Diwan i Faizi contain the tárîkh, i.e., A.H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 964. The Mirât al 'Ajam says that Faizi composed 101 books, Badkhani estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abulfazl at 50,000. The Akbarnamah (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Faizi's works. Daghistâni says in his Eigh unshahârd that Faizi was a pupil of Khwâjah Husain Sanâ'i of Mashhad, and it seems that Abulfazl has for this reason placed Sanâ'i immediately after Faizi. The same writer remarks that Faizi is in Persia often wrongly called Faizi i Dakhiani.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Faizi's works.

1 The same realistic idea will be found in an Alif yakh Qasidah by the old poet Imâmi.
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 (qufrub) 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 (اکسر اکبری).

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1 Literally, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.
2 My text has fitrat; but several MSS. of Faiz’s Qaṣidahs have qufrub, which signifies incipient madness, restlessness of thought.
3 I.e. the terror of the mouths of dragons is even a protection compared with the difficulties on the road to the understanding of God’s glory.
4 Literally, Hippocrates.
6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (muktar) 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 pridest thyself on the title of 'sum 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 sollest 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 (fARBih) 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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\* This is a pun. MUKTAR also means Jupiter, one of the planets.
\*\* I. e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.
\* Proud, in Persian farbih, pr. fath. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The pun on farbih 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 sijdah in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Faizí'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 faakhriyah (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 Ball-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.¹

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 Faizí; 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 Faizí, 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.²

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¹ 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.
² 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—
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 distance 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 Khizir 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 drunkenness. '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, however, which are in love with the nightingale, 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 visitation 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.¹

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.²

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.

1, Faizí, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims who go to the Ka'bah; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.³

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.⁴

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.

¹ Masih (the ‘Messiah’) and Khizr (Eli-as) tasted the water of life (dīb 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.
² Vide p. 510, note 1. Fragments of diamonds when swallowed tear the liver and thus cause death. Hence poison mixed with diamond dust is sure to kill. This is the case with every antidote against love: it does not heal, it kills.
³* Faizí is ahead of his co-religionists.
⁴* The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Faizí 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 (bayds) 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 (hašim) of the Ka’bah is broken, and the basis of the giblah 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 Hajjâj 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 Ġûfî 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 sawadd, baydz, and musawweedah.  
3 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 Makka) were pulled down, Islâm would be pulled down; for Muhammedans would have no giblah 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 kâfir. Thus Khurânu says—Kâfir s’takqan, mard musal-mpani darâandr nîst, &c., ‘I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islâm?’ 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?²

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).³

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 receivedst 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 kua 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.
³ You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents) it 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-drunken 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 Laili² had had no desire to be with Majnún, 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]?²

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 Ḥid,* and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs* of the last thirty days.

2. Take Faizi’s Diwán to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a freethinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

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² 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 Ḥid ʿuṣʿr, 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.
1. I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave, people shall know that man rises from such dust.

2. 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 Rubā'is.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call ūfūnūs [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?²

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.³

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 Mirāt ul 'Ālam to the poet Yahyā of Kāshān, who, during the reign of Shāhjahān, was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the Fadishkhshāmān.
³ This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.
⁴ Kings receive a light immediately from God; vide p. III. of Abulfazl's Preface.

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.
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 surmashaellers.\(^2\)

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 Faiz, 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 Faizí, 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!

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\(^1\) *Muhradá*, pl. of *muhrad*, according to the Bahár i ’Ajám, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of *haft 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. *Surmrah* 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 Qorán. They are different from the ‘ulomá and *Fasáldá*, the learned of the age.

\(^4\) Things are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Faizí 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 kushshah.\(^1\)

O Faízí, 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. Khwa'jah Husain Sana'i of Mashhad.\(^2\)

He held the office of a magistrate\(^*\) and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

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\(^1\) *Kushshah*, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.

\(^2\) The author of the *Ashkadar i A'zar* says that Khwájah Husain was the son of Ináyát Mirzá, and was in the service of Sultan Ibráhím Mirzá Čafawi. But in his own Diván he is said to describe himself as the son of Ghiásuddin Muhammad of Mashhad, and the *Musadiq* of the *Ashkadar* is a bad reading for غیاث.

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 Abu'l-Hasan's extracts confirm. Neither does Bâqir (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The *Tabaqat* again praises his poems. The *Mir-id ut A'lam* says that *he was in the service of Ibráhím Mirzá*, son of Sháh Tahmásip. On the accession of Sháh Ismá'îl II, Saná'í presented an ode, but Ismá'îl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honor of Ibráhím Mirzá. Saná'í fled to Hindustán, and was well received at court. He died at Lábor in A.H. 1000. His Diwán, Síkandarnámah, and Sáqinámah are well known. Spranger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 998. The *Masir i Rahimi* states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mirzá Bâqir, son of Mir 'Arabsháh. It was mentioned on p. 549, note 6, that Faízí looked upon him as his teacher.

\(^*\) My text has *arbábi*. *Arbábi* is the plural of *rabb*, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of *kalántar*, or *rishtafid*, the head man of a place, *Germ. Amtmann*; hence *arbábi*, 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 Rūḥulqūds 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 Rūḥulqūds, pr. the spirit of holiness. Maryam, the Virgin Mary.
2 So strange is the boy whom I love.
3 This verse is unintelligible to me.
4 Or we may read kurezam instead of giriizam, when the meaning would be, ‘the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting.’
5 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?¹

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying Kitty.

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 Sanáí'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. Huznī of Ispahān.

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.⁴

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. Zalíkhā 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 [Yúsuf] 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 Ayáz or a Mahmúd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.⁴

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.
³ The Tabaqádt calls him Mír Huznī, 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 Atashkudah (p. 101, of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junabud, and was a merchant. The Haft Iqlím says he was pupil of Qásim i Káhlí, (the next poet).
⁴ Ayáz was a slave of Mahmúd of Ghaznī, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Masnawis entitled Mahmúd o Ayáz.
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. Qasim i Kahi

He is known as Miyani Kahi. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people

1 Kahi, 'grassy,' is his takhallus. Badani (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 kalâm; he wrote on music, and was clever in târikhs and riddles. He had visited several Shaikhs of renown, among them the great poet Jâmi (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 Faizi." Kahi wrote a Masnavi, entitled gul-afshān, a reply, or jawāb, to the Dostān, and completed a diwan. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humayun and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years. The Alashtdadah i Azar (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him 'Mîrzâ Abul Qasim 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. Kahi was well received by Humayun.

The same work calls him a Gulistânah Sayyid—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of 'Mîrzâ,' we should read 'Mir.'

The Haft Iqlim has a lengthy note on Kahi. Amin of Rai (p. 612) says that Kahi's name is Sayyid Najmuddin Muhammed, his kawwâb being Abul Qasim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jami, and afterwards Hâshimi
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 Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

of Kirmán, who was called Sháh Jahán-gir. He went over Bhakkar to Hindústán. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pupilist, 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 Khwájahs do, whose formula is ‘hokh dar dam, nasar bar qadam, khalwat dar anjman, safar dar waqan.’ 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 jh, or elephant, was to occur.—Abufazl has given three verses of it—Akbar gave him one lac of tankahs, 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 Banáras, as he was fond of Bahádur Sháh (No. 52, p. 328).

Subsequently, he lived at Agra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it مدارج با (madrasa). He died on the 2nd Rabí’ II, 988. Fáizi’s táríkh (Rabí‘i metre)

تاریخ وفات سال و ماه جسم
کفنا دووم از ماه ربع الملل
gives 2nd Rabí‘ II, 978, unless we read دووم for دووم. Mauláná Qásim of Búkhárá, a pupil of Káhí, expressed the táríkh by the words

زنیت ملا قاسم كاهي
‘Mullá Qásim i Káhí died,’ which gives 988. Vide also Ilbídínímah i Jahán-gir, p. 5; and above p. 209.

Abufazl calls him Miyán Káhí. Miyanakál (vide p. 546) is the name of the hills between Samargand and Búkhárá.

1 Khizr (p. 556, note 1) is the ‘Wandering Jew’ of the East.

2 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 Qânis.

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep.²

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 Badānî (III, 170) says that Ghazâlî fled from Irân to the Dak’him, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khân Zamân (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 Malikushshâ’îrî (p. 548, note 3). He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrat war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar’s orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Ahmadâbâd. Fâzî’s clever târikh on his death is سلسلة تاریخ ونزدیکی, ‘the year 980.’ At his death, he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The Mirât ul’ Alâm mentions two books written by him, entitled Aṣâr i Mulkâm and Rasahhât ul hayât, to which the Haft Iqlâm adds a third, the Mirât ul Kâinât. Badânî and the Mirât estimate his verses at 40 to 50000; the Haft Iqlâm, at 70000; the Tabaqât Akbarî, at 100000. The Aṭ’asakhkâdah i Aṣâr (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 40000 verses, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Tahmâsp i Çafawi. Vide Sprenger’s Catalogus, pp. 61, 411, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazâlî’s works. Sprenger calls him Ghazâlî, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the double z.

Badânî relates a story that Khân Zamân sent him one thousand rupees to the Dak’him with a complect, for which vide Bad. III, 170, where the sar i khud refers to the $ in Ghazâlî’s name, because $ stands for 1000.

The Haft Iqlâm mentions another Ghâzâlî.

² This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badânî (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghâzâlî’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 a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous,—he must possess decorum.

1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure," The Čufi says, "My tattered garment is my woolen 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 Shi'ra'z. 1

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak

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1 The Ma'sūr-i Rahīmī (MS. As. Soc., Bengal, p. 537) says that Urfi's name was Khwājah Sayyid (Muhammad). The takhlīṣ 'Urfi' has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Dārōqah to the Magistrate of Shīrāz had to look after Şarif and 'Urfi' matters. He went by sea to the Dakhín, where, according to the Haft Iqīlim, his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fathpur Sik'ī, where Hakīm Abūl Fath of Gilān (No. 112, p. 424) took an interest in him. When the Hakīm died, 'Urfi' became an attendant on 'Abdurrāhīm Khān Khānān, and was also introduced at court. He died at Lāhār, in Shawwāl 999, A. H., according to the Haft Iqīlim and several MSS. of the Tabaqat, of dysentery (is-hādī). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14000 verses, which at the Khān Khānān's order were arranged by Sirāj of Isfahān. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Čāhr of Lōshān and buried in holy ground at Najaf (Sarkhāsh). 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 tārikh of his death—

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"Urfi, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qaṣīdas, 270 Ghazals, 700 Qaṣ'ahs and Rubā'ís; vide also Spranger's Catalogue, p. 529.

The Tazkīrāh by 'Ali Quṭb Khān i Dāghistānī calls 'Urfi Jamdīwādī, and says that he was much liked by Prince Salīm, towards whom 'Urfi's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him. 'Urfi was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. Bādāsīnī says (III, 255), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Faizī, who spent the revenue of his jāghir in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Faizī." Hakīm Hāzīq (p. 474) preferred 'Urfi's ghazals to his odes. His Munawwī, Majma' al Abkār, is often wrongly called Majma' al Akhār. One day, 'Urfi called on Faizī, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-bred children of his family." Faizī replied, "Their names are 'Urfī" (i.e., well-known). "Mubārak" (God bless us), rejoined 'Urfi, to the intense disgust of Faizī whose father's name was Mubārak. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 126) states on
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 homeseliness 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 Hameshah-Pahār that 'Urfi's name was Khwājah Čaïdī (صیدی), a mistake for Sayyīdi. The Atashkâdah also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muhammad. Taqī's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong in the dates.

O 'Urifi, 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.

'Urifi 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 Zalikha’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 'Urifi, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?
2. Alas! thou bestest 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. Maili' of Harat.

His name was Mirzá Quli. He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

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1 The Nafáis mentions 979, and Taquí 983, as the year in which Maili came to India (Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The A'la'ishkudáh 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 Cæsars 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 Qazwín.

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 Daghistáni, he belonged to the Jalair clan, lived under Tahmásp, and was in the service of Sulján Ibrahim Mirzá, after whose death he went to India. The Tahqáti Akbarí says that he was in the service of Naurang Khán (pp. 334, 528); and Badáoni adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Málúa when he was killed. He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the Atsáshádákh 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 Açaf Khán, 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.

† His biography was given above on p. 411, No. 98. Vide also Iqbalndmah & Ja'hand, p. 5; Dabistán, p. 387. His takhallus was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abulfazl’s extracts.

The Masnawi by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mirzá 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.¹

A new rose must have opened out in the garden; for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning.

9. Khwajah Husain of Marw.²

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humayún, 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.
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.¹

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. ¹

11. Shikebī' of Ispahān.

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. ²

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.

¹ The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix. 11. Thou rebukest man and causest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, viz. the fire, where the word Khumod seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sa'dī’s preface to the Gulistān

² 'The lovers are killed by the beloved, no voice rises from the killed ones’—is also an allusion to the love of the moth.

¹ The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix. 11. Thou rebukest man and causest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, viz. the fire, where the word Khumod seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sa’dī’s preface to the Gulistān

² The Mādīr i Rahimī says that Mullā Shikebī was the son of Zahiruddin 'Abdullah Imāmī of Isfahān. He studied under Amir Taqfuddin Muhammad of Shirāz, but left when young his native town for Harāt, and became acquainted with the poets Sanā‘ī, Maisī, and Wālī Dasht Bayāzī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shirāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khán Khānān.

The Mir ḍūl ‘Alam says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhin to Agrah, where Mahābat Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Irān; but Jahāngir would not let him go, and appointed him Čadr of Dīhil. He died there at the age of sixty-seven, in 1023, the tārīkh of his death being 5 Jumādā el-‘awwal, 1023. Another Chronogram gives only 1022. For his Šaqīnāmah, ‘Abdurrahim gave him 18000, or, according to the Haft Iqīm, 10000 Rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Māsār ul-Umrār makes a Maṣnawi on the conquest of Tha’tbah (A. H. 999-1000), for which Jānī Beg and Abdurrahim gave him one thousand Ashrafs. I do not know whether this Maṣnawi is the same as the Maṣnawi written by Shikebī in the Khurshid Shirāzm.
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.¹

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 Neglect sharpen the sword, in order to kill me.
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 seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. Vide p. 139, note 1.
12. Ani’si’ Shamlu.¹

His real name is Yol 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, eiz. that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.²

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.

¹ The Madsir i Rahimi says that Yol Quli Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Shamlu Turkman. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to ‘Ali Quli Khán Shamlu, the Persian governor of Harát, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebi and Mahwi. He wrote at first under the takhalluq of Jâhi; but the Persian prince Sultan Ibrâhîm Mîrzâ gave him the name of Anisî, under which he is known in literature. When Harát was conquered by Abdullâh Khán, king of Turkistan and Mawará-I-nahr, Anisî was captured by an Uzbek soldier and carried off to Mawará-I-nahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mîrzâ Abdurrahim Khan-Khânán, who made him his Mir ‘Arz, and later his Mir Bakhsh. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhail-i Habibi (p. 335). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Bûrbânpûr in 1014. There exists a Masnavi by him in the Khvanshar-Shirin metre, also a Divân, and several Qa’îdahs in praise of the Khán Khânán.

² The Calcutta edition of the Atashkadah-i ‘Azar (p. 19) calls him wrongly ‘Ali Quli Beg, and his Harát patron ‘Ali Naqî Khán, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.

³ I.e., our garments are always tacked up (Arab. tashmir), 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.¹
2. O that I could but once catch a certain object! the hunter is forever in the ambush.

13. Nasi'ir of Nysha'pur.²

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 Naziri of Nyshapur left his home for Kashan, where he engaged in poetical contests (mush'arakh) with several poets, as Fahmi, Hâtim, &c. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mirzâ Abdurrahim Khan-Khana. 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 Ahmadabad in Gujrat, where he died in 1022. The Tuzuk (p. 91) says: — "I [Jahângir] had called Naziri of Nyshapur 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 Qasidah by Anwarî. I gave him one thousand Rupees, a horse, and a dress of honor." The Mudair & Rahimi 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 bazaar.

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 Agrah, in 1022 at Ahmadabad, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mirât al 'A'lam, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Čâib, quoted by Dâghistânî—

Ma'âb چه خیالات شوی همه و نظیری
عرقی پنیزی نرسانید سنن

O Čâib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naziri?

"Urft even does not approach Naziri in genius."

The Târikh of Naziri's death lies in the hemistich 'Az dunyâ raft Hasân-ul 'ajam, dh!,' the Hasân of Persia has gone from this world, alas!'—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Hassân. This gives 1022 A. H.; the other târikh, given by Dâghistânî, marazi i dârâkh i bazm kujd ast, 'where is the centre of the circle of conviviality,' only gives 1021, unless we count the hamzah in dârâkh as one, which is occasionally done in târikhs. Dâghistânî also mentions a poet Sawâdî of Gujrât, a pious man, who was in Naziri'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 adumbration 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.


He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayát tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

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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. Sairafí [Sarfí'] of Kašmfr.

His name is Shaikh Ya'qúb. 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 takḥalluq is Saqq, 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 Arabic or to his functions as spring deity).

The Bayát tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Azerbaidžán, Erivan, Tahrán, Fars, and Nishápūr.

Bahram is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwán near Calcutta.


Shaikh Husain of Khwárazm, Ya'qúb's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad A'zam Hājī, and died in Syria in 966 or 968.

Shaikh Ya'qúb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajar, 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. Sabuḥi', the Chaghta'ī.¹

He was born in Kábul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amír 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 Humáyún and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Bada'í. His death took place on the 12th Zi Qa'dah, 1003, and Bada'í found as táríkh the words Shaykh i umam bád, 'he was the Shaikh of nations.' A complete Khamsah, a treatise on the Mu'ammá, or riddle, and numerous Cufic Rubá'ís 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 Qurán, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. Vide above, pp. 152, 546.

His takhlíṣ is variously given as čařaf and čašf. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Bada'í (III, 148). Both words occur as takhlīṣ; thus there was a Qazí Cahirf, encomiast of Firuz Sháh. Vide also poet No. 21.

¹ čabúhí means 'a man that drinks wine in the morning.' The real name of the poet is not given in the Tazkírāhs to which I have access. Bada'í says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the Mīr-ād ut 'Al'am calls him a ra'd (prodigal). He died at Agra in 973, and Fa'izi found as táríkh the words صبروحى مخوار. 'Čabúhí, the wine-bibber.' Dāghistání says, he was from Samargand, and the A'ashkádah calls him 'Badaksháhán,' but says that he is known as Harawí, or from Harát.

² The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Bada'í, III, 180, under 'Atashī.

³ If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thoughts and words from Aqaí, Jámi's pupil, who has a verse—

دال كه طومار وفا برود من محرور را
پاره كردن نداشته پنای مخصوص را
17. Mushfiq of Bukhāra.

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. Hindūstān is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar-sellers.
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the chitrā and the takaukhā.

18. Sa‘lihīn.

His name is Muhammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Nizām ul-mulk of Tūs.

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.

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\(^1\) Badānī (III, 329) says that he was originally from Marv, and came twice to India. For his Qadīdah some called him ‘the Salmān of the age’; and Dāghistānī says that under ‘Abdulrah Khān he was Malik uzshu‘ār’d. According to the Haft Iqlīm, he was born and died at Bukhārā. Sprunger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Diwān was collected in 953. From the Akbarnāmah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfiq was presented to Akbar at Pāk Pātan in the end of 955. He died in 994 (Vāmbrī’s Bokhārā, p. 301).

\(^2\) This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Hāfiz sent from Shirāz to Sultān Ghīās of Bengal (Metre Muzārī).

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets,
When this Persian sugar (the poem) reaches Bengal.
Abulīzād has meddled with Mushfiq’s verse: for the Haft Iqlīm gives instead of nekūnā i diyār the words hindūn i siyāh; hence the verse is ‘India’s flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (chitrā) and a takaukhā.’ This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies. The takaukhā 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 (chapkan). It may be that Abulīzād substituted the words nekūnā i diyār, the ‘dear ones of the country,’ with a satirical reference to the ‘learned,’ whom he always calls خانقاه مظروین عمه برش ‘turban-wearing empty-headed,’ in which case we would have to translate ‘the simpletons of the country.’ The verse is better given by Badānī (III, 329).

\(^3\) Badānī calls him ‘Harawī’ (from Harāt), and says that he was employed at court as a Munshi. He was a good penman. After his return to his country, he died. The Atashkadhād says that he was a descendant of Khwājah ‘Abdūllāh Marwārīd Kirmānī, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

Sprunger (Catalogue, p. 50) calls him wrongly Muhammād ‘Abī Beg. The Atashkhadhād and the MSS. have Muhammād Mirak; and thus also his name occurs in the Madeir i Bahmî.
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, Čālīh, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mæhari of Kashmir.¹

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irāq. From living together with good people, he acquired excellent habits.

1. I cannot understand the secret of Salmā's beauty; for the more you behold it, the greater becomes your desire.

2. What friendly look lay in Lailī's eyes, that Majnūn shut his eyes to friends and strangers?

I admire the looking-glass which reflects my sweetheart standing on a flower-bed,² 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.³

He of whom my eye makes light, appears to heaven dull and heavy.

¹ Dāghistānī says that in 'Irāq he was in company with Muhtashim and Wahnāshī. After his return to India, Mæhari was employed by Akbar as Mīr Bahrī of Kashmir, which employment he held in 1004 (Badāonī). He had turned Shi'ah, and as his father was a Sunni, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mæhari died in 1018. All Tazkīrāhs 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 rum-buls—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden.

³ 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 Mughī. 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 Mahwī, 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 wisdom, and hundreds of understandings.
2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

1. O Mahwī, 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.

'Mūr Mughī, according to the Mādīr i Bāhīm, was born in Asadābād (Hamadān), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabīl, where he studied for four years at the "Astánāh i Ǧafāwīb." From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbala, and Harāt. Maulānā Shīkabī and Anīsī (pp. 576, 578) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (mushādarat) with Maulānā Sahābī (qāʾī). He embarked at Bandar Jārūn for India, and was patronized by the Kānān Khān. After receiving from him much money, he went back to 'Irāq, where the author of the Mādīr saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbala, and returned to Hamadān, where he died in 1016. He was buried in the Maqbarah of the Sayyids at Asadābād. The author of the Mādīr edited Mahwī's Rubā'īs during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Mahwī is best known as a Rubā'ī writer: Abulāzī's extracts also are all Rubā'īs.

The Atashkūdāk says that he is often called Nishāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

The Mīr-ād mentions a Mahwī whose name was Mūr Māhmost, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akbar's Munābī.
21. Sarfi' of Sa'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 desire³ is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qarṣāri' of Gīlān.⁴

His name is Nūruddin. 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

¹ The MSS. of the Ḫin call him ‘Cai-rasf,’ but the metre of several verses given in the Muṣārī' i Ṣuhāmī shows that his takhallūṣ is ‘Ṣarfī.’

According to the Atashkadah, his name is Salāḥuddin, and he was a relation of Salmān of Sāwah. He was a pupil of Muhtashim of Kāshān. The author of Haft Iqlim says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing tārikhs. He lived in the Dakhīn, and went to Lāhor, to present Akbar with a Qeṣīdah; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhīn, and went to Makkah, where he died. The Muṣārī' i Ṣuhāmī states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadābād, made Faizi’s acquaintance in the Dakhīn, and went with the Khān i A’zam (p. 327) to Makkah. According to Badānī, he came with the Historic Nizāmuddin Ahmad from Gujurāt to Lāhor, and accompanied Faizi to the Dakhīn, where he died. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name Qalākhuddin: but the Atashkadah (the only work in which I have found his full name) has Saldāḥuddin.

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 Self-knowledge.

⁴ Nūruddin Muḥammad 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 Nūruddin 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 Humām 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 ecstacy 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 [Islām], do not speak ill of my Brahmancial 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 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 sweetheart, 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. 'Itábi' 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 Islám, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmán.

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 Hindústán, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahábád. He looked bold and slovenly (bebák u náhavnáwá). When asked whether he had in the Dak’hin made satires on Sháh Fathullah (p. 640), 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 'Itábi, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and 'Itábi was sent for ten years (or according to the Tabaqá, for two years) to Fort Gwalior. At the request of Prince Salim and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Láhor. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1000 rupees, and ordered Qulij Khán (p. 354) to send him from Súrat to Hijás; but 'Itábi escaped, went to the Dak’hin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever káthí and letter-writer. Badáoni III, 275.

The Atashkúdah says that he came from Gulpágán (or خداویل). Dághístání calls him ‘Mír 'Itábi.’ ‘Itábi means ‘worthy of reproach;’ compare rusúdá.
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 companions. 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 Ṭabaqāt ascribes this verse to a poet called Ruknuddin, whose takhallus 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, because it declines the request of a rendezvous.
24. Mulla' Muhammad Su'î', of Mázandarán.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 cacti, 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. Judâ'i.²

His name is Sayyid 'Ali, and he is the son of Mîr Mançûr. 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.

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¹ According to the Mir-át ul 'Ālam, Mulla Muhammad was called 'Čûfî' from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed 'Čûfî-qâhib,' so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of 'a simpleton.' Mulla Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ahmadâbâd, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalâl i Bukhârî. The Mir-át and the Haft Iqlîm praise his verses, and the former quotes from a Sâqi-nâmah of his.

² The Atashkadah wrongly puts him under Iqshâbân, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mulla Jâmi—which is impossible.

³ Judâl had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of 'Nâdir ul Mulk,' and had already served under Humâyûn. He left a Diwân; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashkî's Diwân (vide below, the 37th poet).

⁴ The Atashkadah and Taqi's Tazkirah mention another Judâl of Sâwah.
26. Wuqu’u of Nishápur.

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 coquetishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khusrawi of Qáin.

He is a relation of [the poet] Mírzá Qásim of Gúnábád, [or Junábád, or Junábíd, 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 surmah for my eyes.

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1 Muhammad Sharif Wuquit belonged, according to the Madaris i Ra’if, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishápur. His mother was the sister of Amir Sháhmir, who had been for a long time assayer under Sháh Tahmásp. He died in 1002.

Badáni (III, p. 378) says that Sharif was a relation of Shiháb Khán (p. 339). "His name was Muhammad Sharif. Also, that 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 [Sharífti Amuli, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharif i Sarmádi, mentioned below No. 53,—two archheretics in the eyes of Badáni]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Basakhwánis [p. 452, note 2], nor to the Čabáhs, he holds an intermediate place between these accursed and damned sects; for he strenuously fights for the doctrine of the trans-
migration of souls (tandásuk). 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 mana 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 Imáms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent káthí and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in 1002 A. H.

2 Health is the equivalent of 'indifference to love.'

* Qáin lies between Yazd and Harát. Dághistáni calls him Sayyid Amír Khusrawi, and says that he excelled in music. According to Badáni, his mother was Mírzá Qásim’s sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salm (Jahángirá).
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].


He traces his descent from Zainuddin Khāfī. He pretended to be a Čūfī.

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. Wafā'ī of Iṣfahān.

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.

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yūsuf. 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.

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* His name is Maulānā Sa'duddin, of Khāfī, or Khawfī (p. 445). The Atashkadaḥ quotes the same verse as Abūfazīl. Bākāni says, he left a well-known diwān. In Dāghistānī, two Rahāis are mentioned, one Maulānā Rahāī, "known in literary circles;" and another Rahāī from Ardīstān. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 59) calls him Rīhāī; and says that, according to the Najātī, he died in 980.

Zainuddin Khāfī, from whom Rahāī traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawwal, 836, A. H. He was first buried at Mālīn (or Bālīn), then at Darwishābād, then at Harāt. His biography is given in Jāmī's Nafḥat ul Uns, and he is not to be confused with the saint Zainuddin Tāhādī, mentioned above on p. 366, note 2.

* Bākāni says (III, p. 388), that Wafā'ī was for some time in Kasmīr, went to Lāhor, and entered the service of Zain Khān (p. 344). According to the Atashkadaḥ, he belonged to the ’Imādiyāh Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān; his Rubāis are good. Dāghistānī calls him a Turk, and states that Wafā'ī at first was an ʿullākash (a man who irons clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called Wafā'ī ṣan ʿawī, "the blind Wafā'ī." *

* "His impudent flattery was proverbial." Dāghistānī.

* 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‘qī.²

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazír. He has acquired some knowledge.

1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sáqi, 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. Râfi‘i’ of Káshán.³

His name is Haidar. He is well acquainted with the ars poetica, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and tárikhs.

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¹ L. c., a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from that side.
² Badáoni also calls him Jazír, i. e. from the islands. His father, Shaikh Ibráhím, was a distinguished lawyer, and was looked upon by the Shi‘ahs as a Mújtahid. He lived in Mashhad, where Sáqi was born. Sáqi received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dákhín to Hindustán, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.
³ His full name, according to Taṣi’i Anáhí, is Amir Râfi‘uddin Haidar. He was a Taḥájibá Sayyid of Káshán. The Mādir i Bahkáni states that he left Persia in 998, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrát in company with Khwájah Habíbulláh to Lábor, and was well received by Akbar. For the tárikh, mentioned above on p. 549, 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 Múkrán coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lákhs 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 Amir. From the Khán Khánán alone, he got, at various times, about a lákhd. 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. Ghairat' of Shíráz.¹

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.²

The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.³

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.

¹ The Atashkadah says that Ghairatí travelled about in Írág, went to Hindústán, and lived after his return in Káshán, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family. From fear of the boy’s relations he went to Shíráz, where he died.
² Because the heart only was broken.
³ That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.
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. Halat\(^{f}\) of Turán.\(^a\)

His name is Yadgar. 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.

---

When my eye caught a glimpse of him, my lips quivered and closed. Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

---

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 Kashán.\(^a\)

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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\(^{a}\) 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.

\(^{f}\) Badáoni says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of Wálikt. Yadgar traced his descent from Sultan Sanjar; but the Tábaqáät calls him a Chaghátái. He served in Akbar's army.

\(^{b}\) His son, Jalál Khán, had the takhal-las of Bagáti, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself Ruswáti, 'the blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault, and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lábor, where he was executed by the Kashwái.


He is not to be confounded with Mir Hálati of Gilán.

\(^{c}\) 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 Ahmad-ábád; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibrahim 'Adil Sháh of Bijápur. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Sháh 'Abdás of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bijápur, in 1021 A.H. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. Maudí-i Ráhímt.

The Khizdínáh-i Amirah and Mr. T. W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the Miftáh uttáwáříkh, give the following verse as tárikh of Sanjar's death (metro Musdrí)—

\[\text{انکندر پ اپ شو سخن جنر س نیری}}\]

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella,

of which the words pádisháh i sakhkhus give 1023; but as the pádisháh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract a \(p\), or 2; for the figure of the Arabic \(پ\) if inverted, looks like an umbrella.
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.¹

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.²

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. Jazbī'³

His name is Fādīshāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī Khān Nāraujī of Kurdistān, near Baghdaḍ. 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. Tashbī‘ī of Kāshān.⁴

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Mahmūdis; but I know nothing of his origin, nor of his present condi-

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 Majnūn.³ The Tazkirahs give no details regarding Jazbī`. His father has been mentioned above on p. 480; and from the Akbarnāmah (III, p. 512) we know that Fādīshāh Qulī served in Kashmir under Qāsim Khān (p. 380). Jazbī` means ‘attractive’, a similar takhallus is ‘Majzūb,’ ‘one who is attracted by God’s love.’⁴ Badāoni (III, 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abulfazl to Fādīshāh Qulī’s father.
⁵ The Atashkadeh calls him “Mr ‘Ali Akbar Tashbī’ī. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindūstān he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Fāqir, and did not visit kings.” Daghistānī says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindūstān a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Badāoni (III, 204) has the following notice of him, “He came twice or three times to Hindūstān,
tion. The Masnavi entitled 'Zarrah o Khurshid,' 'the Atom and the Sun,' is written by him.

Dust of the grave-yard, rise for once to joy! Thou encloseth a corpse like mine, slay 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.²

and returned home. Just now (A.H. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to hereisies, advising them to follow the fate of the Basákhwáns (vide above, p. 463). He told Shaikh Abufazl 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 Abufazl, according to the manner of the Nuqtawí sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation, (tzarqí) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Hakim 'Ain ul Mulk (vide above p. 480) discovered that 'Tashbíh' has the same numerical value [727] as 'Tzarqí,' 'the hypocrite.' Tashbíh has composed a Díwán. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abufazl's presence, a pamphlet on Mahmúd of Basákhwán, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows—'O God! who art praiseworthy (Mahmúd) 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 shewn 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 is, of course 'the four nglects.' At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following—'This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mujtahid M, i, r, 'A, l, l, A, k, b, a, r, T, a, sh, b, i, h, l, the Aminí, the last, the representative. And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelief.'

'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.

² This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word 'retribution' leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbíhí says. The lovely boy has, of course, broken many hearts and shed the blood of believers; nevertheless, all are ready to transfer the rewards of their meritorious actions to him, and thus buy up his crimes.
O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihí a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.  

1. I am that Tashbihí 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 Tabátbás 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 Tashbihí', i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.
3 We know from the Haft Iqlim that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Muhtashíb (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki's elder brother Mir Huzúrí also is known as a poet. Ghazáli's fame and success (vide p. 568) attracted Ashki to India, but he did not meet Ghazáli. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Diváns to Mir Judáí (vide p. 590) to arrange. Mir Judáí, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Tariqí of Sáwah alludes to this in the following epigram—

 Thou hast killed poor Ashki,
 And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.
 With them four Diváns of his remained, And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dághistání says that Ashki died in Mir Judáí's house, and he imitates the epigram to Ghazáli; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iqlim is preferable.

Badáoni says that Ashki's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (tabbu) the poet Aqáfí. He died at Aqrah.
Ashki, I think, my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.\(^1\)

38. Asi’ri’ of Rai.\(^6\)
His name is Amir Qâzi. 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 [Tâhrân].\(^6\)
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 Shirâz.\(^*\)
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 Ashki, when he declares his love.
\(^*\) Asi’ri was, according to Badâsî, an educated man, and the best pupil of Hakîm 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.).
\(^6\) Badâsî gives three poets of the name of Fahmi—1, Fahmi of Tâhrân, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2, Fahmi of Sanârgand, son of Nâdiri, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3, Fahmi of Astrâbâd, who died at Dihî. The Madsir i Rahîmi mentions a Fahmi of Hurmuz (Ormuz), well known in Lâr and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khân Khanân, got a present, and returned. Dâghistânî mentions a fifth Fahmi from Kâshân, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the Tabaqât and Dâghistânî ascribe the same verse to Fahmi i Tâhrânî, 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 Taxkirah follows him.

\(^*\) Qaidi came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injus-
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 Sáwah.¹

His name is Amír 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.²

¹ Pairawi imitated the poet Aqáfi. He wrote a poem on 'Form and Ideal,' of which Abúl-Fazl has given the first verse, and completed a Diwan of Ghazals.
² This verse, the beginning of Pairawi's 'Form and Ideal,' contains the rhetorical figure štikhdā, because it gives the title of the poem.

Notice of the Dágh o Mahallī-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (vide p. 242), and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Faqir in Biánah District, and returned to Fathpúr Sikri, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qádisi died. He was an excellent poet. Baddont.

Dághistání says that he was a friend of 'Urfí, and died in A. H. 992.
42. Ka‘mi’, of Sabzwár.

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.

43. Payámi.†

His name is ‘Abdusselám. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

Fortune cheats in play, losses, 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.

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1 Ka‘mi’s father, Khwájah Yahyá, was a grocer (baqqd), and lived in the Maidán Mahallah of Sabzwár, in Khurásán. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbeks took Sabzwár, Mir Yahyá went to India, and left Kámi, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzwár. At the request of his father, Kámi came to India, and was frequently with the Khán Khánán. He went afterwards back to Khurásán, and the author of the Maáshr i Bahmí saw him, in 1014, in Hardá. In travelling from Harád to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khán Khánán’s service.

The Haft Iqlim says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

† Badáoni also mentions him; but he wrongly calls Qúrát, “from the town of Qum.” He says, Kámi is a young man and has just come to India (1004); his thoughts are bold.

‡ Payámi, according to Dághistání, was a pupil of the renowned ‘Allámi Dawádání. He was for a long time Vazir to Sháh ‘Alá ul-Mulk ibn i Núrul-dahr of Lár. His services were afterwards dispensed with, and a Jew of the name of Ya’qúb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise; for soon after, Sháh ‘Abbás sent an army under Iláh Virdí Khán to Lár, who conquered the country.
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.¹

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 Muḥammad [Fikrī].²

He is a cloth-weaver from Harát. He generally composes Rubā‘is.

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].

¹ Yúsuf means here ‘life’; pit, ‘non-existence’; bazar, ‘existence.’
² Sayyid Muḥammad’s poetical name is Fikrī, the ‘pensive.’ He came, according to the Haft Iqlim, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubā‘is induced people to call him the ‘Khayyám of the age,’ or ‘Mir Rubā‘i.’ He died on his way to Jaunpúr, in 1173, the tārīkh of his death being Mir Rubā‘i’s safar namád.
* This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalim, I think, (metre Raja‘)—

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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 sweetheart’s picture under my arm.

* Dāghistání says that Mir Husain’s father left Karbalá for Subzwár. Qudsi was a great friend of Muḥammad Khán, governor of Harát. Badshóni (III, 326) says that Mir Muḥammad Sharif 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 shouldest care for my being or not being?

46. Haidari, of Tabriz.¹

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Shew no one my black book of sorrows; 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.

¹ Haidari was three times in India. The first time he came, he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qasim Khan of Nishapur (vide above, p. 363). His company, says the Haft Iqlim, was more agreeable than his poems. The Ma'snavi which he wrote in imitation of Sa'di's Bostan, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said—

در کشور هند سمی و غم معلم
یسنا دل عیاش و جوان خرم معلم
قابل که ببیک رویه دوآ معلم
آدم معلم و قدر آدم معلم

On his second return to India, he found a patron in the Khán i A'żam (p. 325), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khán Atghah (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 Khánán, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrat (p. 335), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkhej. He returned to Khánán, the governor of which town, Aghá Khizr Nahawandi (brother of the author of the Ma'adir i Rahimi) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rum, he settled in Iráq, at a place called in the MSS. آباد, which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in Iráq or Khurasán. About that time Sháh 'Abbás came to the place to hunt pheasants (kaby). It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a dervish, 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 the place; 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. 1003.

He had also written a book entitled Ládán-ul-qáhîb in praise of his teacher, the poet Lišáni, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled Sahw-ul-Ládán, "the Slip of the Tongue," which was written by his base pupil Mr Shari'í of Tabriz. The Ma'adir i Rahimi gives a few passages from the book.

Daghstání says that the poet Darwish Haidar of Yazd, mentioned in Tazkirahs, is very likely the same as Mauláná Haidari of Tabriz, who is sometimes called 'Yázdi' from his friendship with Wáshí of Yazd.

Sámri, Haidari's son, came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khán Khánán 'Mir Sáma'dí of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dak-Áhin war, when with Shahnawáz Khán, the son of his patron.
47. Sā'mrī‘.
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. Farebī‘, of Rai (?).¹
His name is Shāpūr. 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, Shāpūr; 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. Fusu‘nī‘, of Shirāz.²
His name is Mahmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

¹ The second verse shows that the ta-khalluq of the poet is Shāpūr. Farebī is scarcely known. With the exception of Dāghistānī’s work, which merely mentions that Farebī lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Tazkira-ba. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 62) mentions a Farebī of Bukhārā; 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 Alīn have Rai, Rahī, and Dihī, or leave out the word, as Dāghistānī has done. ‘Rāzi’ is the usual form of the adjective derived from ‘Rai,’ the well-known town in Khurāsān.
² Abulfazl says that Fusūnī was from Shirāz; Badā’i and Taqi call him Yaz-đi; and Dāghistānī and the Ātashkadhā say that he came from Tabrīz. Badā’i says that Fusūnī came over Tātāh and entered the service of the emperor, and Dāghistānī adds that he also served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as Musta‘uf. The Mir-āt ul ‘Alam mentions a Fusūnī, who was an Amīr under Jahāngīr and had the title of Aţal Khān.
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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1 The original contains a pun on khádt gírd, and gírd, which I cannot imitate.

2 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 India; but he does not know what became of him.

Dághistání mentions three poets of the name of Na’diri—(1) Na’diri of Samarqand, who came to Humayün in India, (2) a Na’diri from Shustar; and (3) a Na’diri from Siálikot. Turshiz, or Turábjásh, lies near Nishápúr.
51. Nau'i, of Mashhad.¹

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 Mançúr'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.*

¹ Mullá Muhammad Rizá comes from Khabūshán near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the Máāsir i Rahím, he found a patron in Mírzá Yúsúf Khán of Mashhad (p. 346); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khán-Khánán (p. 334), and stayed with him and Prince Dányáí at Búrbánpúr. For his Sargíndámá, the Khán-Khánán 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 shûtur o gurbah, i. e. you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khízánáh i 'Amiráh says that his Mäsnáwi entitled Sūr o Guddá 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 Sutta. Nau'i had not yet arranged his Qaṣídáh and Gha-

zás in form of a diwán, when he died in 1019, at Búrbánpúr.

Bádáñí says that he claims descent from Hazrat Sháikh Hájí Muhammad of Khabúshán; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

² Mançúr attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed 'Aná alhaq,' 'I am God,'—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Mançúr 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).

² 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.

³ Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sunray are in love with the sun.
52. Ba'ba' Ta'lib, of Iṣfahān.¹

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.⁸

¹ In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet askest ‘what does it matter?’ Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet askest ‘What does it matter?’
² Thou dost not care for the havoo which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.

53. Sarmādi, of Iṣfahān.

His name is Sharif. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

¹ According to the Haft Iqlim, Bābā Ta'lib 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 Māsir i Bahā'ī says that he was often in the company of Hakim Abūlīath (p. 424), Zāin Khān Kokah (344), Abūfzāl, and Shaikh Fa'īz; at present, i.e., in 1026, he is Čādī of Guj- rāt. Badā'īnī says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmir, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Abūfzāl's service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to 'Alī Bā'ī, ruler of Little Tibbat. On his return, he gave Abūfzāl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Akbar-nāmeh. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The Iqkā'indmaḥ (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 135) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bābā Ta'lib died in the end of Jahāngīr's reign, more than a hundred years old.

⁸ Vide p. 560, note 1.

* This Rubā'ī pleased Jahāngīr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. Igbā'indmaḥ, loc. cit.

* Muhammad Sharif was mentioned above on p. 516, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Badā'īnī says that he was at first Chakkīnawī, and is at present (i.e., 1004) with Sharif i A'mult (p. 462) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the takkallīf of Fa'īz; but in order to avoid opposition to Fa'īz, Abūfzāl's brother, he chose that of Sarmādi. Badā'īnī looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bad. II. 335). From the Akbar-nāmeh we see that Sharif served in the 31st year in Kash- mir, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrat. In 1000, he was sent to Bengal with Sharif i A'mult, and in the beginning of 1001, we find him fighting in Oṛīṣa against Bām Chandr, Rājāh of Khurda. Dāghistānī says, he died in the Dakhin.
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 Içfahán.²

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

² The Maásir i Rahími 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 Muluk Maqótí 'Ali, proprietor of Workopáii, twelve farsaks from Içfahán. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Derkopáii; but the author appears to have corrected the d to a w.). His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abul Qásim, who had such influence with Taḥmásp that several legacies (awqáf) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawallí. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so many dervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, &c., collected around him, that people persuaded Taḥmásp that Abul Qásim 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 Taḥmásp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the Maásir has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhpáya. 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 Qásim the takhallus of 'Dakhli.' After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Ahmad went to Içfahán, where he gained a reputation as a poet. In 907, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1003, he went to the Dák'hin, and found a patron in the Khán Kháhánán, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Maásir i Rahími 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. Qâşim 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 Hişâr.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 Jâzîb, an Amir of Mahmûd of Ghazni. The family came from Tūs, and Qâsim was brought up in Transoxiana. He was a good poet, and excelled in târikhs. Badānî quotes an ode written by Arslân on the Mountain of Ajmûr. He died in 995, probably in Lâhor. Dâghhistânî says, he died at Ahmadâbâd.  Vide p. 108.

² Ghayûrî is called in the Akbarnâmah Mullâ Ghayûrî, and Dâghhistânî calls him Ghayûrî of Kâbul. This shews that he came from Hişâr in Kâbul, and not from Hişâr Pirûzah. 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 beard, 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. Qa’simí, of Mázandarán. 

He lives as a Fáqir 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 Panjábi 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.

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1 Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; *cide* p. 207.  
2 Bághíštání mentions a Qásim of Mázandarán. Qásimí seems to be an unknown poet.  
3 Mullá Sherí has been mentioned above, pp. 106, 197, 202, 204. He was born in Kokúwál in the Panjáh (Bári Duáb). His father's name was Maulá Muḥámmád Yáhýá. He belonged to a tribe called in Básírát 'Máji.' Sherí was killed with Bār Bār, in 994, in the Khairbar 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. Rahī', of Nishāpūr.

His name is Khwājah Jān. He is a good man.

1. O Rahī, 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, Qāsim of Gūnābād; Zamīr of Īṣfahān; Wahshī of Bāfah; Muḥtashīm of Kāshān; Malik of Qum; Zuhūrī of Shirāz; Wālī Ḍasht Bayāzī; Nekī; Čabrī; Fīgārī; Huzūrī; Qāzī Nūrī of Īṣfahān; Čāfī of Bam; Ṭauflī of Tabrīz; and Rashkī of Hamadān.

Aīn 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 goyandāh, singers, from khudnandāh, chanters, and edzandāh, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwālīār, Mashhād, Tabriz, and Kashmir. A few come from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmir had been founded by Irānī and Tabrānī musicians patronized by Zain ul 'Abidīn, king of Kashmir. The fame of Gwālīār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rājah Mān Tunwar. During his reign lived the famous Nāik Bakhshū, whose melodies are only second to those of Tānsen. Bakhshū also lived at the court of Rājah Bikramājīt, Mān's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rājah Kirat of Kālināj. Not long afterwards, he accepted a call to Gujrāt, where he remained at the court of Sultan Bahādūr (1526 to 1536, A.D.). Islam Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rām Dās and Mahāpāter. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahāpāter was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Orisā.
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, Túránís, Kashmirís, 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. Miyán Tánsen, of Gwálíár. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bábá Rámádás, of Gwálíár, a singer.
3. Subhán Khán, of Gwálíár, a singer.
4. Srígyán Khán, of Gwálíár, a singer.
5. Miyán Chand, of Gwálíár, a singer.
7. Muhammad Khán Dhári, sings.*
8. Bîr Mandal Khán, of Gwálíár, plays on the sarmandal.
10. Shiháb Khán, of Gwálíár, performs on the bún.
11. Dáúd Dhári, sings.
14. Tántarang Khán, son of Miyán Tánsen, sings.
16. Ustá Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (náí).
17. Nának Jarjú, of Gwálíár, a singer.
18. Furbin Khán, his son, plays on the bún.
21. Rangeen, of Ágra, sings.

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1 Regarding Tánsen, or Tánsain, or Tánsín, vide p. 406. Rám Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tánkha as a present. Ibáhirám Súr in vain persuaded Tánsen to come to Ágra. Abúfzál mentions below his son Tántarang Khán; and the Pádis-háhmámah (II, 6—an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bálús.

* Bálúní (II, 42) says, Rám Dáis came from Lákhnáu. He appears to have been with Bái-rám Khán during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lákh of tánkha, empty as Bái-rám's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islam Sháh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tánsen. His son Súr Dáis is mentioned below.

* Dhári means 'a singer,' 'a musician.'

* Jahángir says in the Tuzuk that Lál Kaláwánt (or Káláwánt, 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. Ústá Yúsuf, of Haráat, plays on the támúrašt.
26. Qásim, surnamed Koh-bár.¹ He has invented an instrument, intermediate between the gūbás and the rubášt.
27. Tásh Bog, of Qipchág, plays on the gūbás.
28. Sultán Háfiz Husain, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Baháram Quli, of Haráat, plays on the ghichak.
30. Sultán Háshim, of Mashhad, plays on the támúrašt.
31. Ústá Sháh Muhammed, plays on the surárá.
32. Ústá Muhammed Amin, plays on the támúrašt.
33. Háfiz Khwájah 'Ali, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mír 'Abdulláh, brother of Mír 'Abdul Haí, plays the Qánún.
35. Pirzádáh,² nephew of Mír Dawámd, of Khurásán, sings and chants.
36. Ústá Muhammed Husain, plays the támúrašt.

¹ Koh-bár, as we know from the Páddsháhnamáh (I, b., p. 335) is the name of a Chaghtáí tribe. The Nefid ul Madeer mentions a poet of the name of Muhammed Qásim Kohbar, whose nom-de-plume was Čabrí. Vide Sprenger’s Catalogue, p. 50° (where we have to read Koh-bár, for Gūh-paz).
² Pirzádáh, according to Badáíí (III, 318) was from Sabzár. He wrote poems under the tākhallus of Liwái. He was killed in 908 at Lábor, by a wall falling on him.

The Mášír-i Ráhímí mentions the following musicians in the service of the Khán Khánán – Ağá Muhammed Náí, son of Háji Ismá’íl, of Tabriz; Maulání Aqşá, of Tabriz; Ústá Míráz ‘Ali Patháqí; Maulání Shíraf of Nishapúr, a brother of the poet Nazír (p. 599), Muhammed Múmin, alias Házízak, a támúrašt-player; and Háfiz Nazr, from Transoxania, a good singer.

The Tuzuk and the Iqbalnámah mention the following singers of Jahángír’s reign—Jahángírídád; Chátr Khán; Parwízídád; Khurrámdád; Mákhú; Hamzah.

During Shákhjahán’s reign we find Jagánt‘h, who received from Shákhjahán the title of Kábdrí; Dirang Khán; and Lál Khán, who got the title of Gúsamundár (ocean of excellence). Lál Khán was son-in-law to Blíás, son of Tánsen. Jagánt‘h and Dirang Khán were both weighed in silver, and received each 4500 Rupees.

Aurangzib abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-historians. Music is against the Muhammedan law. Kháfi Khán (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 Aurangzib’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.

TO DOAR MALL. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, vide p. 361.

Page 34, note 2.

QULJ KHÁN. The correct year of his death is given on p. 364.

Page 35, line 34.

BA'BÁGHU'RÍ. 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 Bábághúrí.’ Táhir Naqrábádí, in his Tuzkíra, 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 Bábághúrí threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen.”

Page 44, last line.

SALARIES OF THE BIBMAMS. Under Sáhirjáb and Aurangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Muntáza 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.

Regarding Núr Jábán’s pension, vide p. 510, note 4.

Page 48, note 1.

GULBADÁN BIBM. From Bábáoni II, 14, we see that she was Akbar’s paternal aunt, i.e. she was Humáyún’s sister. She was married to Khizr Khwájah; vide pp. 198, 365.

Page 55, line 9, from below.

SORON. Sóron is the correct name of a town and Parganah in Sirkár Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (‘Allqartb), near the Ganges.
Page 56, line 10.

Pathán. This I believe to be a mistake for 'Pathán,' or 'Patháukoṭ.' The MSS. have سی ن پهلوان but as the initial sí in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with پهلوان and reversely. The spelling Paithán, for Pathán, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.

Page 65, note 1.

Ki'la's. Mr. F. S. Growse, c. s., informs me that gilás is to the present day the Kashmíri term for cherries.

Page 70, line 28.

Mahuwa. This partly confirms Elliot's note under Gulú (Beames' Edition, 'Races of the N. W. Provinces,' 11, 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 Makhi or Mukhi, grown in Bihár.

Page 78, last line.

Qa'îrûr. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is Fançû'rat. According to Marco Polo, Fançûr was a state in Sumâtra, probably the modern Barús.

Page 81, note.

Zirrâd. This should be Zerba'd, for zer i bâd, i. e. 'under the wind,' leeward, the Persian translation as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay Bawak angin, 'below the wind,' by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumâtra.

Khâfî Khán (I, p. 11) couples Zerbâd with Khatá, over both of which Tâli Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, ruled.

Page 87, note 2.

Kâkârâq. I have since seen the spelling کککاراق which brings us a step nearer to etymology. Yârâq means 'supplex;' and kûrk means 'fur.'

Page 88, line 1.

Ahmadâbâd. The comma after Ahmadâbâd may be wrong. Ahmadâbâd is often called Ahmadâbâd i Gujrát.

Page 88, line 19.

Ghí'âs i Naqsîband. We know from the Ta'zkirah of Tâhir Naqrâbâdî that Ghí'âs 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 mushâ'ijâr brocade, on which
there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Sháh 'Abbás (1585 to 1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghiás 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 Ghiás's verses.

Page 94, middle.

COTTON CLOTHES. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abulfazl—
Chautár was woven in Hāwelí Saháranpúr.
Sírí Çáf and Bhíraúp, in Dharángán, Khándesh.
Gangájal, in Sírkár G'hórag'hát, Bengal.
Míhrkúl, in Alláhábád,

and Panchhtolíah was mentioned on p. 510, in connexion with NúrJahán.


ADAM I ḤAPTHÁZÁRÍ. 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, ll. 6), states that the Khalifah 'Umar lived seven thousand years after Adam.

Page 101, note 6.

ASHRAF KHÁN. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 389. He died in 983, not 973.

Page 102, note 1.

KHÁNÁN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the Taskírat ul Aulâd 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.

BECHÚ. 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. Badáñí (II, 64) gives as tárík of his death the words شیخ پنجو and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب), i.e. 971—2=969. Vide also my Essay on 'Badáñí and his Works,' Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 116, line 24.

SÁNGHÁM, Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tuzuk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmáll, the champion of Chitátor.
The reader is requested to substitute the following—

Elephants are found in the following places. In the Čubah of Aghrah, in the jungles of Bayáwán and Narwar, as far as Barár; in the Čubah of Iláhábád, in the confines of Pannah, (Bhât’h) Ghórâ, Ratanpûr, Nandânpûr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Čubah of Málwah, in Handiah, Uchhod, Chandírá, Santwás, Bijaâgarh, Râisin, Hoshangábád, Garha, and Hariâgarh; in the Čubah of Bihár, about Rohtás and in Jhârk’hand; and in the Čubah of Bengál, in Orísâ and in Sâtágâon. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

Sulâimán Kararáni reigned in Bengál from 971 to 980.

Prince Murâd was born on the 3rd Muharram, 978. *Baddônî* II, 132. *Vide* below.

In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengál, for May, 1870, (p. 146) I have shown that the unclear words in Baddônî’s text are,—

كنابلاة كم خوشغول امشل است

‘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 Aghrah and Láhôr.

The Čâdr read the khâsîtâh in the name of the new king, and thus the jûlî became a fact. *Khâfî Khân*, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.


Akbar’s wives. For Raqiyyah the diminutive form Raqqâyah is to be substituted.

Regarding Jodh Bâl *vide* next note.

*Sultân Sulimânah Begum.* She is the daughter of Gulrûkh Begum, a daughter of Bâbar. Mirzâ Nûrûddîn Muhammâd, Gulrûkh’s husband, was a Naqshbandî Khwâjah.

Gulrûkh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrûkh Begum, who was the daughter of Mirzâ Kâmrán and wife of Ibrâhîm HussainMirzâ (*vide* p. 464).

Of other women in Akbar’s harem, I may mention, (1) the daughter of Qâzî Isâ (p. 449); (2) an Armenian woman, Tzâuk, p. 324. *Vide* also Keâne’s *Agra Guide*, p. 38. (3) Qismiyâh Bâtû, married by Akbar in the 19th year (Akbar’s III, 94); and a daughter of Shamsûddîn Châk (Akbar’s III, 669).

*Sultân Mu’âd.* He was married to a daughter of Mirzâ ’Azîz Kokhâ (p. 325).

Their child, Sultân Rustâm, did not live long (*Akbar’s* III, 539, 553).
SULTA’N DA’STA’L. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumáda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confound ۱۰۰۰ and ۱۰۰۰. 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 (Abbarm. III, 643).

Page 310.

JAHÁNGÍR’S WIVES. An additional list was given on p. 477, note 2. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Mubáarak Chak of Kashmir; (2) a daughter of Hussain Chak of Kashmir (Abbarm. III, 659); (3) another Kashírí lady, mentioned in Abbarm. III, 639.

I stated on p. 309, that Jahángír’s mother was called Jodh Bái. This is wrong. Jodh Bái was the wife of Jahángír and daughter of Mot’h Rájah of Jodhpúr. There is little doubt that Jahángír’s mother (the Maryam us-samání) is the daughter of Rájah Bibáí Mall and sister to Rájah Bhagwán Dás.

Page 314, last line.

DEATH OF MIRZÁ’ RUSTAM. Thus the date is given in the Madirá’i Ul Umrá’; but from the Pádishesháni (II, 302) we see that Mirzá Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rabi’ I., 1062. The author adds a remark that “the manners (awzā’) of the Mirzá did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother.”

Page 315, line 11.

QARÁQÚ’LU TURKS. The correct name is Qaráqúñílú. The Calcutta Chaqhtáí Dictionary gives Qaráqúñílú. Vaméry (History of Bokhárá, p. 265, note) mentions the Ustajlí, Shámí, Nikallú, Bahárí, Zulqadr, Kájar, and Afsár, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurásán. Qaráqúnílú means ‘the black sheep tribe.’

Page 317, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bairam was defeated is Gúnáchúr, كنور بغل, which lies S. E. of Jálindhar. The word word Kírer Pehlúr, which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badóní gives, contains ‘Phillaui,’ which lies S. W. of Gúnáchúr.

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 Afgún.

Page 325, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 406, line 10, and p. 416, note 1.

Page 329, line 8 from below.

ZULQÁDÍ, is the name of a Turkmán tribe; vide above.

Page 339, last line.

GOGANDH. Regarding the correct date of the battle vide p. 418, note 2.
Page 351.

TODAR MALL. The Maásir ul Umará says that Todar Mall was born at Láhor. But it is now certain that Todar Mall was born at Láharpúr, in Audh; vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, September 1871, p. 178.

Page 372, note.

MIYÁ'N KÁ'L. The note is to be cancelled. Miyán Kál has been explained on p. 545, note.

Page 373, line 22.

YU'SUF KHA'N. Regarding his death vide Tuzuk, p. 328. His son 'Izzat Khán is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pádsháh-náma (I, b., p. 302) غیرت خان. His name was 'Aziz ullah; hence his title 'Izzat.

Page 379, last line.

QA'SIM KHA'N. I dare say, the phrase 'Chamanárái Khurásán' merely means that he was Governor of Kábul.

Page 381, line 14.

BA'QIR KHA'N. He is often called 'Khán Bábí Khán.'

Page 389, line 1.

Mi'r BÁ'SU'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 BUHKA'RI'. That the name of Fárid's father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhári, may be seen from the short inscription on the 'Bukhári Mosque' in the town of Biháir, which was built by Shaikh Lád, at the cost of Fárid i Bukhári, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Fárid's Jâmi' Masjid in Farídábád,--

1. In the reign of Sháh Núruddín, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,
2. Murtáza Khán, the unique one (fárid) 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 ['Ali].
4. As Tárikh of this lasting structure, the words Khair ul Biqá' issued from the pen.

This gives 1014, A. H.
Page 421, line 24.

**Khwajah Tahim Muhammad.** He is mentioned as a Sijistani on p. 528, among the Bahshis.

Page 431, note 1.

Ma'qum Khwâ' Kâbûli'. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bâbu Râjendrâla Mitra, from Râjâ Pramatha Nâth, Râjâh of Dighaputâ, Râjâhâb. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village, called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputâ.

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sultan, the chief of Bayyid, Abul Fath Muhammed Ma'qim Khân—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever, O Lord, O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khân, Khân Muhammed, son of Tûl Muhammed Khân Qâqûlî, in the year 989.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zī Hajjah, 987); *vide* p. 439.

Page 438, line 13.

**Sayyid Muhammed.** Regarding the correct date of his death, *vide* p. 490.

Page 450, line 14.

Su'rat. There is every probability that Sorâth, and not Sûrat, is intended.

Page 456.

**The Gakk'hars.** *Vide* pp. 486, 487.

The places Pharwâlah and Dângâlî (دُانْگَلِی) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakk'har District, are noticed in E. Terry's ' Voyage to East India' (London, 1855, p. 88). "Kakares, the principal Cities are called Dekales and Pûrkola; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus; it is the extreme part North under the Mogol's subjection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

Page 460, line 2.


Page 493, line 10.

Kutch Ha'jo. Regarding Kuch Hájo and Kûch Bihâr and Mukarram Khán, *vide* my article on these countries in Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1872, p. 54.
"The Pahlunpūr family is of Afghān origin, belonging to the Lohānī tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihār in the reign of Humāyūn. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihlī; and from Akbar Shāh, in A. D. 1597, Ghaznīn Khān, the chief, obtained the title of Diwān, for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghān tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Lāhor. In A. D. 1682, Fath Khān Diwān received the province of Jālor, Sānchor, Pahlunpūr, and Disah from Aurangzīb. Fath Khān died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pir Khān, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamāl Khān, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rāṭhors of Mārwār, was compelled, in A. D. 1698, to quit the country [Jālor], and retire with his family and dependants to Pahlunpūr, where the family has remained ever since.—Selections, Bombay Government Records, No. XXV.—New Series, p. 15.

Waqīlī. This is wrong, and should be Hīrī. Khwājah Muhammad Sharīf, as correctly stated in the genealogical tree on p. 512, had two sons. The eldest is Aghā Muhammad Tāhir, whose nom-de-plume is Waqīlī, and Ghiās Beg.

Altuf Beg I斯塔じょう. Vambéry spells Ustajlú, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; vide p. 619.
INDEX TO THE FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
AĪN I AKBĀRĪ.

[The numbers refer to the pages; n. means ‘footnote.’ When names occur twice or several times on a page, they have been entered only once in the Index.
The geographical names form a separate Index.]

'ĀBA' Bakr, son of Bahādur Khān Quabbeg, 405.
'Abbās Ḍafawī, Shāh, converts people to Shi‘ism, 445; 453, 603n.
Abdāls, the forty, 197, 197n.
Abdāl Chak, 478.
Abdārkhan, 55.
'Abdi, of Nishāpūr, a kātib, 102.
'Abdi Kor, 482.
'Abdul 'Ali Tarkhan, Mirzá, 361.
'Abdul 'Azim, vide Sultān Khwājah.
'Abdul 'Aziz, of Dihīl, 538.
'Abdul 'Aziz, a kātib, 103.
'Abdul Bāqi, Çādr, 275, 528, 541.
'Abdul Bāri, Khwājah, 507, 512.
'Abduqṣamad, Khwājah, Shīrīnqalam, of Shīrāz, 107, 495 (No. 266).
'Abduqṣamad, Khwājah, of Kāshān, 518, (No. 353).
'Abduqṣamad, a kātib, 102.
'Abdul Ghaffār, of Dihīl, 413.
Abdul Ghafūr, Mirzā, 327.
Abdul Ghafūr, Shaikh, 538.
'Abdul Ghanī, Shaikh, 547.
'Abdul Hai, name of several kātibas, 100, 101, 103.

'Abdul Hai, Mir 'Adl, 468, 471, 480 (No. 230).
'Abdul Haq, of Sabzwār, a kātib, 101.
'Abdul Karim, a kātib, 102.
'Abdul Karim Sindhi Amīr Khān, 472.
'Abdul Khāliq Khwāfī, 447.
'Abdullah Ashpaz, 100.
'Abdullah Čairafī, Khwājah, 100.
'Abdullah Khān Bārha, 392.
'Abdullah Khān Firuzjāng, 492, 496, 503, 505, 513n., 514.
'Abdullah Khān Mughul, 309, 396 (No. 76).
'Abdullah Khān, Sayyid, 297n. 465 (No. 189).
'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, 320 (No. 14), 371.
'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, king of Bukhārā, 411, 468.
'Abdullah, Khwājah, son of Khwājah 'Abdullaṣṣīf, 423 (No. 109).
'Abdullah, Khwājah, Khwājgān Khwājah, 423.
'Abdullah Marwārid, Khwājah, 528, 583n.
'Abdullah, Mīr, a kātib, 108; a singer, 'Abdullah, Mirzā, vide Sardār Khān.
Abdullah Sarfaráz Khán, 492 (No. 257).
Abdullah, son of Nizám Murtazá Khán, 469.
'Abdullah, Shaikh, son of Muhammad Ghaus, 457.
'Abdullah, son of Sa'id Khán, 466.
Abdullah, Sultan of Káshghar, 322, 459.
'Abdullah Sultanpúri, 544; vide Makh-
dúnum Mulk.
'Abdullaštif, Mir, of Qazwin, 447, 545.
'Abdullaštif, Mirzá, 327.
'Abdullaštif, son of Naqib Khán, 449.
'Abdul Majid, vide Aqa Khán.
'Abdal Malik ibn Marwán, 36.
'Abdul Maštāb Khán, 403 (No. 83).
'Abdul Múmin, Mir, 522 (No. 374).
'Abdul Muqtadir, 469.
Abdunnabí, Çádr, 169, 173, 177, 185,
187, 268, 272, 273, 490, 491, 546,
547.
'Abdul Qádir Akhúnd, 486, 545.
'Abdul Qádir Badáoni, vide Badáoni.
'Abdul Qádir Jílání, 402.
'Abdul Qádir, Mauláná, 544.
'Abdul Qádir Sarhindi, 544.
'Abdul Quddús, of Gango, 538, 546.
'Abdurrahím Khalúbi, a káhit, 100.
'Abdurrahím Khar, 414, 454, 455a.
'Abdurrahím, of Khwárazm, a káhit, 102.
'Abdurrahím, of Lákhnau, Shaikh, 338,
470 (No. 197).
'Abdurrahím, Mauláná, a káhit, 103.
'Abdurrahím Mirzá Khán Khánán, vide
Khán Khánán.
'Abdurrahím, son of Qáim Khán, 371.
'Abdurrahmán Duldái, 465 (No. 186).
'Abdurrahmán, Mirzá, 464 (No. 183).
'Abdurrahmán Súr, 366 n., 383a.
'Abdurrahíhíd, king of Káshghar, 460,
460a.
'Abdurrazzáq Çimçámuddáuláh, 445a.
'Abdurrazzáq, Mir, of Gílán, 424, 472.
'Abdulässám, son of Mu'azzam Khán,
521a.
'Abdulässám, Mauláná, 545.
'Abdulässám Payámí, 601.
'Abduüssamí, Qází, 545.
'Abduüssaháhid, Khwájah, 423, 539.
'Abduüsshákúr, Mullá, 189.
'Abduüssubhán Duldái, 617 (No. 349).
'Abduüssubhán, Mirzá, 514.
'Abdul Wahháb Bukhári, Sayyid, 397.
'Abdul Wahháb, Shaikh, 546.
'Abdul Wáhid, Sayyid, 519 (No. 364).
'Abdul Wáhid, Shaikh, 547.
'Abdul Wásí, 309.
Abhang Khán, 336a.
Aboriginal races, 231, 253; vide Tribes.
Abú Išá-háq Fírang, Shaikh, 539.
Abú Išá-háq, Sayyid, 439, 523 (No. 384).
Abul Baqá, 466.
Abul Baqá, Amír Khán, 472.
Abul Faiz Faizí, 490; vide Faizí.
Abul Farah, Sayyid, of Wáisi, 390, 323.
Abul Fath Beg, 318, 492.
Abul Fath Gujráti, Shaikh, 546.
Abul Fath, Hakím, 176, 205, 206, 344,
402, 424 (No. 112), 542, 569, 574a,
586.
Abul Fath Khán, son of Şáistah Khán,
511, 512.
Abul Fath, son of Fażíl Beg, 318, 445,
486, 485a.
Abul Fath, son of Muzafrár Mugbal,
512 (No. 333).
Abul Fațíh Atáliq, 501 (No. 294).
Abul Fazíl, author of the Afn, 168, 174,
187, 194, 203, 209, 210, 338, 388,
441, 442, 493a.
Abul Fazíl of Kázárún, Khátib, 490.
Abul Fazíl, son of the Mir 'Adí, 490.
Abul Hasan, Khwájah, 327; vide Aqa
Khán.
Abul Hasan, Sayyid, son of the Mir
'Adí, 519 (No. 363).
Abul Husain, 376.
Abul Khair Khán, 472, 473.
Abul Ma'áli, son of the Mir 'Adí, 601,
(No. 297); vide Sháh Abul Ma'áli.
Abul Muhammad, 606.
Abul Muzaffar, Mir, 389.
Abul Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khan, 484 (No. 240).
Abul Qasim Namakin, 414 n., 470 (No. 199).
Abul Qasim, brother of Abdul Qadir Akband, 485 (No. 242).
Abul Qasim, Sayyid, son of the Mir 'Adl, 489 (No. 261).
Abul Qasim, Mir, of Nishapur, 525 (No. 396).
Abul Qasim, Governor of Gwailar, 315.
Abul Qasim, of Werdgai, 608a.
Abul Waqf, Mir, 472.
Abu Nasir, of Farah, 41a.
Abu Rabi', quoted, 42.
Abu Salim, Qawal Mirza, son of Sultan Husain Mirza, 313, 314, 496 (No. 271).
'Abu Salim Mirza, Sultan, 316, 322.
'Abu Salim, Sultan of Kabghar, 460, 461.
Abu Talib, son of Muniis Khan, 417.
Abu Talib Shasta Khan, 511.
Abu Talib, son of Shasta Khan, 511, 612.
Abu Turab, Mir, Gujrat, 406, 506.
'Abdul Wadad utmid, revenue accounts, 260.
'Acafi, a poet, 582n., 598 a., 600a.
'Acfajab, 610.
'Aqaf Khan, 'Acfauddaulah, 'Aqar Jhab, titles, 368.
'Aqaf Khan, (I), Abdul Majid, 241, 330, 348, 366 (No. 40).
'Aqaf Khan (II), Ghiasuddin 'Ali, 411, 433 (No. 126), 511.
'Aqaf Khan (III), Ja'far Beg, 209, 411 (No. 98), 310, 311, 465, 518, 572.
'Aqaf Khan (IV), Yaminuddaulah, Mirza Abul Hasan, 510, 612.
Aqal Khan Lodhi, 506.
Achhe, Shaikh, 521a.
accounts, how kept, 14; how divided, 260.
'aci jama' tumdr, 362.
'asmat i ambiyd, title of a book, 544.

Aqavati, Maulana, 613a.
Adam, the first man, called 'haftxazari', 99a., 617.
Adam Barha, Sayyid, 392, 521a. [486.
Adam, Sultan, Gakkhar, 322, 455, 457.
Adam Khan, son of Muhum Anagah, 263, 223 (No. 19).
Adham, Mir, 439.
Adhan, Shaikh, 538.
Ahdilah, a coin, 31.
'Adil Khan, son of Shah Muhammad Qulati, 429 (No. 125).
'Adil Shah, 465a.
'Adil guthak, a coin, 30.
admiringly, 27.
admission to court, 156.
advances to officers, 285.
Advand, of Orli, 526 (No. 413).
Afghans, their last stand under 'Usman Lohani, 520, 521; their character, 399; 617.
Afzalun Mirza, 347. [kfa, 377.
Afzaliabd, son of Mirza Muhammad Ha-
Afridi, 514.
Afrari, a tribe, 619.
Afzal, a coin, 29, 30.
Afzalqadr, a royal ensign, 50.
Afzal Khan, Khwajah Sultan 'Ali, 376
(No. 56).
Afzal Khan, 604a.
agar, vide Aloes.
agate, vide babbaghuri.
Aghi Khan, Nahawan, 603a.
Agha Muhammad Nafid, 613a.
Agha Muhammad Tahir Wacli, 512, 622.
Agha Mullah, 369, 497, 508, 608a.
Agha Mullad Dawatdar, 369, 411.
Agha Mullad Qaswini, 523 (No. 376).
agingir, or firepot, 49.
Ahadis, 20, 161, 231, 246, 248; under
Jahanigr, 535.
dhanshi, a metal, 40.
Ahmad, 608.
ak a jama'at, 322a. [91.
Ahmad Bahr, Sayyid, 289, 407 (No.
Ahmad Beg Khán, brother of Núr Jahán, 511, 512.
Ahmad Beg Kábuli, 451, 465 (No. 191), 522.
Ahmad Beg, Mírzá, 369.
Ahmad Bukhári, Sayyid, 415, 620.
Ahmad Čúff, 208, 209.
Ahmadí Fayyáz, Shaikh, 546.
Ahmad Kháín Níyází, 484.
Ahmad Kháštú, Shaikh, 507.
Ahmad Lodi, 506.
Ahmad, Mír, Munshí, 439.
Ahmad, Mullá, of Tattah, 106, 206.
Ahmad Qásim Kokah, 502 (No. 307).
Ahmad, Sayyid, 505.
Ahmad Sháh, Razí ul Mulk, of Gujrát, 385.
Ahmad, Shaikh, a kátib, 100.
Ahmad, Shaikh, 644.
Ahmad, Shaikh, son of Salim Chistí Sí-kriwiál, 475 (No. 210).
Ahmad, Shaikh, son of 'Abdúl Quddús, 546.
Ahmad, Sultán of Gujrát, 506.
Ahrárá Khwajah, 423, 539.
aimáh tenures, 272, 274.
aimág, vide umyág.
'Ain Kháín Dak'híni, 482.
'Áisíshá, Muhammad’s wife, 196, 203s.
'Aisha, Mauláná, 102.
'ajádí, a tent, 54.
dkúdšídah, 47, 50.
Akbar, Emperor, when born, 62s., his miraculous birth, 210, 382; his full name, 186; his mother, 332, 333, 334; his nurses, vide Mahum Anagah, Picháh Ján Anagah, Jí Jí Anagah; his attachment to relatives, 324, 325; his children, 308; his wives, 173, 309, 618; his brothers, vide Muhammad Hakim Mírzá, and Mírzá Ibráhím, 526; his character, 164, 165; how he spends his time, 164; abhors cruelty, 133s.; regards the performance of his duty an act of worship, 11; enters into details, 243; is a good physiognomist, 238; believes in lucky days, 91s.; is ‘lucky,’ 243; is musical, 51; is witty, 427; shews himself to the people, 156; how he dines, 58; invents new names, 45, 59, 65, 90, 104, 127, 129, 139s.; is fond of fruit, 64; dislikes meat, 61; abstains from it, 186; wears woollen stuffs like Čúffs, 90; likes only certain books, 103; is fond of painting, 107, 108; of elephants and trained leopards, 131, 288; likes to see spiders fight, 296; does not hunt on Fridays, 290; invents a carriage, 275; and a wheel for cleaning guns, 115; his favorite gun Sangrám, 116, 617; invents elephant gear, 127; improves his army, 232; introduces the brand, or the dgh o mahallí-law, 232, 233, 326, 600s.; improves guns, 113; his forced march from Agra to Gujrát, 434 n., 325, 416, 416s.; his religion, 49; is the spiritual guide of his people, 162; performs miracles, 164, 284, 286, 287; is the representative of God, 188; is king by Divine Right, Preface, iii.; abolishes the jazáát, 189; interdicts beef, 193; orders the courtiers to shave off their beards, 193, 610s.; looks upon dogs and pigs as clean, 194; abolishes the Hijráh, 195; hates every thing Arabic, 195, 198, 206; dislikes the names ‘Muhammad’ and ‘Ahmad,’ 355s.; makes the Mullás drink wine, 197, 468; calls a Zoroastrian priest from Persia, 210; keeps Parsí feasts, 276; discourages circumcision and the rite of Suttee, 207; saves a Suttee, 428; hates the learned and drives them from court, 173, 190, 191; resumes their grants of
land, 268, 269, 270; his views on marriage, 277, and on education, 278; fixes the age for marriage, 195; worships fire and the sun, 49, 200, 202; founds a new sect, 165; admits pupils to it by ceremony, 203 (vide Divine Faith); is opposed for his religious opinions, 401, especially by 'Abdullah of Turán, 468; is called a God, 561; forces courtiers to prostrate themselves before him, vide sijdat; his last illness, 467; day of his death, 212s.; is buried at Sikanadrah, 211.


Akbarchi, an officer over horses, 138.

Al i Muzaffar, a dynasty, 445.

alchah, a stuff, vide alchah.

A'ld Hasarat, a title, 337n.

A'ld Khágda, a title, 337n.

'alam, a royal standard, 50.

'Alam Bárha, Sayyid, 392, 395n.

'Alam Kábuli, Mulla, 189n., 546.

'Alam Lodí, 606.

'Alaúddaulah Kami, 447, 447n.

'Alaúddaulah, Mirzá, 508.

'Alaúddin Harántí, a kátitb, 102.

'Alaúddin Islam Khan, 493, 619, 520.

'Alaúddin Khwáshíj, Khwájah, 446.

'Alaúddin Khíjjí, his coins, 18; his army reforms, 242; interferes with grants of land, 271, 367n., 460w., 491n.

'Alaúddin Lári, 540.

'Alaúddin Majzáb, 539.

'Alaúddin Mirzá, 522.

'Alá ul Mulk, of Láz, 601a.

'Alá ul Mulk, Mir, of Tirmiz, 322.

alchah, a melon, 65; a stuff, 91, 91a.

Alexander the Great (Sikanadrah), 343, 553.

'Alí, the Khalífah, 99.

'Alí Agghbar, Mirzá, 413.
Amīr Beg Pairawī, 600
Amīr Chaubān, 316.
Amīr Haidar, of Bīlgārām, 316a.
Amīr Khān, 472.
Amīr Khān Mughul Beg, 373.
Amīr Khān, Sayyid, 445a.
Amīr Khusrū Shāh, 311, 315.
Amīr Khusrāwī, Sayyid, 591a.
Amīr Manṣūr, a kātīb, 101.
Amīr Qāzī Asīrī, 599.
Amīr ul umārā, a title, 240, 333.
Amr Singh Baghelā, 407.
Amr Singh, or Amrā, Rānā, 342, 447, 519.
Amr Singh, of Idar, 333.
Amr Singh Sisodīāh, 418.
Amrī, a poet, 608a.
Amrūlāh, Mīrzā, 339.
amules, 507.
amusements at court, 297, 303.
anagah, or nurse, 323.
Anand Singh Kachhwāhā, 418.
anīn, 219.
Anīsī, a poet, 578.
Anisuddīn, vide Mīhtar Khān.
Anūp Singh Baghelā, 407.
Anwar Mīrzā, 327.
'agād i naseqīf, title of a book, 302a.
'Aqīl, Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā 'Isā Tar-khān, 384a.
'Aqīl Husain Mīrzā, 461, 462.
aqta, or jāgīr, 256.
'Arab Bahādur, 189, 351, 400, 410, 427, 446, 481.
'Arabehā, Mīr, 563a.
'Arqāt o 'Arqāt, a Tazkīrah, 518.
Krām Bānū Begum, Akbar's daughter, 309.
arbāb, meaning, 563a.
arbāb uttakāwīl, household expenses 260.
archers, 254.
Arđasher, a Zoroastrian priest, 210.
Arđasher Kābulī, 468.
Arghūn, a clan, 361, 363.
Bábá Hasan Abdál, a saint, 515.
Bábá Khán Qásíhál, 360, 369 n., 370; dies, 351.
Bábá Kipúr, 639.
Bábá Qúchín, 445.
bábá shaikhi, a kind of melon, 65, 523.
Bábá Sher Qalandár, a saint, 514.
Bábá Tálíb, a poet, 607.
Bábá Zambúr, 334, 360.
Bábar, Emperor, introduces gardening, 87; his Memoirs, 105, 335; 311, 362, 420, 460, 618.
Bábí Manklí, 370, 473 (No. 202).
bábúl wood, 29, 25, 69.
Bábús, Mír, 389, (No. 73), 441 n., 620.
Badakhshán, their character, 454.
Badan Singh Bhadauria, 489.
Bádáoni, the historian, 104 n., 168, 261, 372, 435, 438, 476, 547, 582 n.
bádínjás, 59.
bádí 'ul bayán, title of a book, 547.
Bádí uzzamán, son of Mírzá Sháhrúkh Badakhshán, 313.
Bádí' uzzamán Mírzá, son of Sultán Husain Mírzá, 362. [472 n.
Bádí' uzzamán, Mírzá, Sháhnawáz Khán, Bádí' uzzamán, Mírzá, son of Ághá Mullá, 369.
Bádí' uzzamán, Qazwíní, 411.
bádláh (brocade), 510.
Bádr, Sáyíd, 416.
Bádr i'Alám, Mír, 469.
Bád Singh Bhadauria, 489 n.
bághlí, a dirham, 36.
Báhíddur, conferred as title, 339.
Báhádur Gholot, 502 (No. 308).
Báhádur Khán, Muhammad Saíd Sháhání, 329, 329, 356, 358, 381, 382.
Báhádur Khán Qurádár, 495 (No. 269).
Báhádur Dántúr, 624.
Báhádur Khán Gilání, 496.
Báhádur, Sultán, of Gujrát, 343, 611 n.
Báhár Bégum, daughter of Jahángír, 130.
Báhá Khán, (No. 87); vide Muhammad Ágghár, and Páhár Khán.
Báhirí tribe 315, 359, 619.
Báhiudín Kambú, 497.
Báhiudín Majzúb, of Badáon, 409.
Báhiudín Multi, 546.
Báhiudín Zakariyá, of Multán, 399.
Bahlú, 15.
Bahmanyar, 511, 512.
Bahram, son of Shamsí, 450.
Bahram Mirzá Čafawi, 314.
Bahram Quli, a musician, 613.
Bahram Saqqá, a poet, 581 n.
Bairám Beg, father of Mun'im Khán, 317.
Bairám Khán, Khán Khánán, 309, 315,
  (No. 10), 332, 348; his assessment,
  349; 353, 355, 374, 375, 436, 437,
  612 n., 619.
Bairám Qohlán, 464.
Bairám Quli, 501.
Bairí Sál, brother of Gajpatí, of Bihár,
  498 n.
Baitár, or horse doctor, 138.
Baiżdúr, a Qurán commentator, 545.
Bakhshís, of Akbar's reign, 528.
Bakhshú, a singer, 611 n.
Bakhityár, a clan of Jalesar, 425.
Bakhityár Beg Gurd, 474 (No. 204).
Bakhyáh Anagah, 398.
Baland Akhtar, 310.
Balbhadr, Bajáh of Lak'hinpúr, 345.
Balbhadr Rá't'hor, 501 (No. 296).
Balínás, the philosopher, 553 n.
Bájlú Quli, 501.
Baltú Khán, 475 (No. 237).
bamboo, price of, 224.
Bán, 19.
bandité, 253.
Bandah 'Ali Maidání, 499 (No. 284).
Bandah 'Ali Qurbegí, 499.
bandúqchí, vide match-lock-bearers.
Bánká Kachhwáháb, 495 (No. 270).
bankúltí, 253.
Bánu ʿAghá, 333.
banwárí, 18.
Baqáí, a poet, 595 a.
Báqi Be Uzbek, 519 (No. 368).
Báqi Billáh, 441.
Báqi Khán, 381 (No. 60), 620.
Báqi Khán, son of Táhir Khán, 408.
Báqi Safarchi, 534.
Báqi Sultan Uzbek, 313.
Báqi Turkán, Mirzá, 420.
Báqi Anáqá, 501 (No. 298).
Báqi Bakhárí, Sayyid, 398.
Báqi, Maulána, a kátbí, 103.
bárák, or a community of twelve vil-
  lages, 393.
bárd, or cheque, 262.
Barqwardí soldiers, 231.
barg-i náí, a kind of melon, 65.
barghán, audience tent, 53.
bargír, a kind of horse, 133, 135, 139,
  215, 263.
Bárha Sayyids, 390 to 395.
Bári of Harát, a kátbí, 101.
Barkurdár Mirzá, Khán ʿAlám, 513
  (No. 328).
Barkurdár, Khwájah, 514.
Barlás, a clan, 341, 365.
Basákhwání, a sect, 597 a.
Basawan, the painter, 108.
Bašú, Rájah of Mau, 345, 447, 457.
Bátání, an Afgán tribe, 476 a.
Báyasanghur, son of Prince Dányál,
  310.
Báyasanghur Mirzá, 311.
Bayát, a Turkish tribe, 581.
Báyažú Bárha, 392, 501 (No. 296).
Báyažú Beg Turkman, 501 (No. 299).
Báyažú Mu'ázzam Khán, 492 (No. 260).
Báyažúd, son of Sulaimán of Bengal, 366.
Báz Bahádur of Málwah, 321, 324, 428
  (No. 120), 612.
Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Khán, 383,
  465 (No. 188).
bdellium, 82.
Bc, a title, for Beg, 455.
bear, a stupid animal, 617.
Bechú, Shaikh, 538.
Bédar Bakht, Prince, 472a.
beef interdicted by Akbar, 193.
beer, manufacture of, 502.
Beg Dabá Kolábí, 441.
Beg Muhammad Tqqabí, 512 (No. 324).
Beg Muhammad Uighur, 518 (No. 360).
Beg Núrin Khán Qúchín, 475 (No. 212).
Beg Oghlí, 421.
Beglar Beg, a title, 333.
Beglar Khán, 450.
Begums, their salaries, 615.
Begum Cábíh, 615.
Bengal Military Revolt, 621.
Bení Dáá Bundelá, 488.
betel leaf, cultivation of, 73.
betel nut, 71.
betting, at court, 218, 289.
Bhádauríah clan, 324, 488.
Bhágíán Dáá Káchhwáháháh, (Bhágíánt Dáá), 193, 310, 333 (No. 27), 619.
Bhágíán Dáá Bundelá, 488.
Bhakkar, Sayyid, 416.
Bhágíár, a metallic composition, 41.
Bháo Singh Káchhwáháháh, 341, 486, 486.
Bhárát Chánd Bundelá, 488.
Bhánd, a nut, 52a.
Bhik, or Bhókán, Shaikh, 546.
Bhúl Khán Salímsábí, 343.
Bhím Singh Káchhwáháháh, 418, 486.
Bhím, Ráwul of Jaisalmír, 477 (No. 225).
Bhím, Rájah, Daúlaháháhí, 337.
bhíráng, a stuff, 94, 617.
Bhoj Bhádauríaháháh, 489.
Bhoj Hádí, 400.
Bhoj Ráj, Shaíkhláwát, 419.
bhólsír, a fruit, 70.
Bhógiáls, a Gakk’har tribe, 487.
Bíbí Cáfíyáh, 441.
Bíbí Sarw i Sahí, 441.
Bíchitr Khán, a singer, 612.
Bígara, meaning of, 506a.
Biháráli Mall Káchhwáháháh, 309, 328
(No. 23), 619.
Bihríz, Rájah, 446a.
Bihzád, the painter, 107.
Bíjí Khán Afgán, 389.
Bíkramájít 469; vide Patr Dáá.
Bíkramájít, of Gwáliár, 611a.
Bíkramájít Bagheláháh, 407.
Bíkramájít Bhádauríaháh, 489.
Bíkramájít Bundelá, 488.
Bíláá, son of Tánsen, 613a.
bín, a musical instrument, 612.
Bíláá, Shaikh, 543.
binát, a coin, 29.
bír, meaning of, 494a.
Bír Bár, Rájah, 175, 183, 188, 192, 199.
196, 204, 205, 209, 330, 344, 404
(No. 86), 425.
Bír Bhádhr Bagheláháh, 406.
Bír Mandal Khán, a musician, 612.
Bír Sáb, of Gondwáánáhí, 367.
Bír Singh Deo Bundelá, 458, 469, 487, 488.
bíryáns, a dish, 60.
Bíswás Ráo, 440.
Bízan (Bízínáh), 508.
blood of enemies drunk, 427.
Bóráq Khán, 621.
bórax, 26.
boy’s love, 319, 349, 360, 566a., 567a.,
569a.; vide immorality.
branding horses, 139, 140a.; introduced
by Akbar, 233, 255.
brass, how made, 41.
bread, how prepared, 61.
bricks, price of, 223.
Bud Singh Bhádauríaháháh, 489a.
Budí (Bádhí) Chand of Nagarkó, 330,
345, 404.
buffalo hunts, 293.
búghrá, a dish, 60.
búgráwáti, 25.
Buhdí Khán Miánaháhí, 506.
buhlí, a coin, 31.
buildings, 223; estimates of, 226.
búkhr (gas), 39, 41.
Buláq (Dáwar Bakht), 310.
Buláqí Begum, 310.
canaeals, the imperial, 143; different kinds of, 143; their food, 144; harness, 145; are shorn, 146; have oil injected into the nose, 146; how trained, 147; how mustered, 216.
camphor, 78, 79; causes impotence, 385.
camps, 45.
canals, 333, 491.
canonists, 112, 113, 115.
cards, 303, 304.
Čarfi (Čairafl), a poet, 581n.; of Sáwah, carpets, 55.
carriages, or bahats, 275; English carriages, 275n.; for trained leopards, 288; kinds of, 160.
cash-payments, 134n.
cattle, 148; good in Bengal and the Dak’hin, bad in Dihli, 149; their food, 149; how mustered, 216.
cereals, prices of, 62.
chábuk-súwár, an officer over horses, 138.
chahár-yoská, a coin, 29n., 30.
Chabár nahrí, a canal, 491n.
Chaks, a Kashmiri family, 478.
Chalmah Beg, vide Khán ’Klám.
Chaman, title of a historical work, 347.
Champat Bundéla, 488.
Chánd Bóbí, 336a.
Chand Khán and Chand Miyán, two singers, 612.
Chándá Ráo, Sioodiah, 418.
chandl mandal, a play, 303.
Chandr Man Bundéla, 488.
Chandr Sen, son of Máldeo, of Jodhpúr (Máryár), 330, 357, 419, 476.
Chandráwát, 417.
chandráánt, a stone.
character, of Kashmiris, 399; of the Gakk’hars, 487; of Gujrátis, 387; of Badakhshís, 454; of the women of Persía, Turán, Khurásán, and India, 327; of Afghánus, 399; of Kambús, 399; of Dak’híns, 443; of Turks, 540.
civet, vide zabád.
cocoaanut, 71.
coins, list of Akbar's coins, 27; vide currency.
collectors of revenue, their salary, 251.
coultres, nature of, 96.
contingents of the Mançabdárs, 241, 244, 248.
conversions, to Christianity, 499; to Islam, 237n., 407, 418, 446n., 458, 460, 461n., 513n.; to Shí', 445, 584a.
copper, 40.
cornelian, its exhilarating properties, 510n.
cotton stuffs, 94, 617.
court ceremonies, 45, 156, 157, 158, 160, 266, 267; vide Chingiz Khán's law.
cows, the imperial, 148; cowdung, how used, 21.
crews, of ships, 280.
šáhás, two officers appointed to each, 423.
Čyíst Čáhib, meaning of, 590n.
şáhának, fast days at court, 59, 61.
šulh i kuł, or toleration, 448n.
cunabula, 618; vide Christians.
Čurát o Mo' mí, title of a Masnaví, 600n.
currency, changes in, 32.

DABISTAN ÚI Mazáhib, a work on religious sects, 209, 213, 452, 453.
Daftar, of the empire, 260.
dágh o mahallí system, 242, 242, 255, 256, 370, 402, 411, 600n.; vide branding.
dágu, a warm mantle, 333.
dahserí tax, 275.
Dái Diláram, 610.
Dairám, of Chaurágarh, 407.
dákhíś soldiers, 231, 254, 255.
Dak'ha, noted for stupidity, 443.
Dak hini, Mírzá, 472n.
dákhlí, a kind of poetry, 102n., 364.
Dakhli, a poet, 608.
Dâk-Mewâra, 252n.
Dalap Dâs Kachhwâhâb, 483.
Dalpat, son of Râi Râi Singh, 359, 465, 490 (No. 252).
Dalpat Ujjainiah, 513, 513n.
dân, a coin, 31.
dâmâmah, a musical instrument, 50.
dâmânak, a kind of gun, 113.
dampûkht, a dish, 61.
damrî, a coin, 31.
dâng, a weight, 36.
Dânyâl, Sultan, Akbar’s son, born and died, 309, 434n.; his children, 310, 344n., 48, 336, 423, 450, 619.
Dânyâl i Chishtî, Shaikh, 309.
Darâ Shikoh, Prince, 314, 478.
darb, a coin, 31.
darbân, or porters, 252.
Darbâr Khân, 464 (No. 186).
darsâm, 157; darsanîyah, 207.
Darwish, Maulâna, 101.
Darwish, Sayyîd, son of Shams Bukhârî, 523 (No. 382).
Darwish Bahârâm Saqqâ, 581.
Darwish Khusrâu Qazwînî, 459.
Darwish Muhammad, of Maxhad, 528.
Darwish Muhammad Uzbak, 402 (No. 81).
Daryâ Khân Rohîlâh, 504, 505.
dazî, a coin, 31.
Dastam Khân, 398 (No. 79), 620.
Dawantûb, a painter, 108.
Dâúd, king of Bengal, 318, 330, 331, 374, 375, 379.
Dâúd, a singer, 612.
Dâúd Jhanâmîlâl, Shaikh, 539.
Daudâ Hâdî, 400, 409, 410.
Daudâ Sâsodiah, 418.
Daulat, Sayyîd, 445.
Daulat Bakhtyâr, Shaikh, 501 (No. 300).
Daulat Khân Lodî, 612 (No. 309), 335, 336.
Daulat Khân, son of Amin Khân Ghorî, 326.
Daulat Nisâ Begum, 477n.
Daulat Shâd Bibî, 309.
Daurî, a kâtîb and poet, 103.
Dawâ Khân, 460n.
Dawâi, 481, 543.
Dawâm, Mir, of Khurâsân, 613.
Dawân, Shaikh, a musician, 613.
dawâr, a class of letters, 103s.
Dâwar Bakhsb, Prince, 310, 327.
Dawânâ, 481, 601n.
days of fast, at court, 61.
Deb Chand Râjâh Manjholâb, 175.
Deb Singh, 488.
der, 291; deer fight, 218.
De Laet, 521, 555, 621.
Dev Dâs, of Mairtha, 322, 476.
dâm, a coin, 30.
dhâpî, a singer, 612n.
Dharnîdhar Ujjainiah, 513n.
Dhârî, son of Todar Mall, 352, 465 (No. 190).
Dholâ Râi, founder of Amber, 329.
Dhûnda, a tribe, 456n.
dialect, of Qandahâr, 408.
diamonds, 480n.;—powder, a poison, 510n.
diary, kept at court, 268, 269.
Dilâhzâka, a tribe, 487n., 522, 522s.
Dilîr Khân Bâbha, 392.
Dilras Bânû Begum, 472n.
dîndrî, 35.
Din Muhammad Sultan, 313.
Dirang Khân, a singer, 613n.
dirham, 36.
distilling, mode of, 69.
Divine Era, established, 195.
Divine Faith, Akbar’s religion, 165; admission of novices, 165, 166; ordinances of, 166, 167ff.; vide Akbar.
Divâlî, a Hindû festival, kept at court, 218.
dîvedî, as a dâdat, an officer, 262, 263, 268.
Divâns, their insignia, 412n.
Doctors, of Akbar’s reign, 642.
dogs, esteemed at court, 194; imported, 290; Akbar’s, 464; 659.
donations, 265.
dongar, meaning of, 494a.
Dost, Mir, of Kábul, an engraver, 53.
Dost Khán, 634.
Dost Mirzâ, 380.
Dost Muhammad, 385.
Dost Muhammad, son of Bábá Dost, 624 (No. 391).
Dost Muhammad, son of Čádiq Khán, 499 (No. 287).
Dost Muhammad Kábúli, 424, 477.
dress, different articles of, 88, 89.
dudáşnán mânsí, a tent, 54.
duaspâh visaspâh, 241.
dudáska, or brandy, 70.
dúd i chýráq, a melon, 65.
duddyí, a stuff, 510.
dwâhl, a drum, 51.
dukâán (vapour), 39, 41.
Dulad, name of a Bárâs tribe, 338.
dumyddár, a title, 412a.
dúpíñáh, a dish, 60.
Durghwátí, queen of Gondwánah, 367, 429.
Durjan Sáli, of Kokrah, 480a.
Durjodhan, of Bándhú, 407.
duđ bîrýá, a dish, 60.
Dvárká Dáś Bakshí, 416.

F

Fasting houses, for the poor, 200, 201, 276.
education, Akbar’s rules, 278.
elephants, where numerous in India, 618; imperial, 117; prices of, 118; kinds of, 118; gestation, 118; white elephant, 118a; marks of, 120; when mast, 120; classification made by Hindús, 123; their cunning, 123; Akbar’s classification, 124; food of, 124; servants in charge of, 125; harness, 126; fights, 131, 407; how mustered, 213; divided into seven classes, 235; how hunted, 284, 379; elephant stables, 506.
emigration, forcible, 522.
encampments, 45.
engravers, 22, 27.
epidemic, 376.
Era of the Hijra, abolished, 195; vide Divine Era.
eunuchs, 332, 332a.
expenses of the Imperial Household, 12.
export of horses, forbidden, 234.
eyes, blue, are hostile to the Prophet, 176.

FAHIM, Miyán, 338.
Fahí, name of several poets, 699, 699a.
Faizí, Shaikh Abul Faiz, 28, 29, 33a, 106, 106, 209, 490 (No. 253), 543, Faizí, of Sarhind, 316a.
fakhríyâb, a term applied to poems, 553a.
Fakhr Jahán Begum, 322.
Fakhrunnís Begum, 322.
fa’l, a weight, 36.
falcons, 293, 294.
famine, 307.
Faná, a poet, 426.
fasúrî (wrongly called qasíírî), a kind of camphor, 78.
fancy bazaars, 204, 276.
Fárághat, Mir, vide Ţáhir Khán.
Farebí, a poet, 604.
fasál, a kind of coat from Europe, 89.
Farhang i Jâhánghiri, a Persian dictionary, 451, 451a.
Farhang Khán, 400, 441, 516.
Farhat Khán Mihtár Sakálí, 400, 441 (No. 145), 616.
Farid i Buhkári, Murzâ Khán, 396, 413 (No. 99), 436, 620.
Farid Lodi, 506.
Farid Qarawul, 519.
Farid i Shakkarganj, the saint, 335, 539.
Faridun Barlas, Mirza, 342.
Faridun Khan, 431.
Faridun Mirza, 473 (No. 227).
Farsi, a poet, 518.
farman, 200;—bayazit, 264;—sabti, 280.
farminchah, 250.
Farrakhshah, 53.
Farrukh Husain Khan, 434 (No. 127).
Farrukh Khan, 480 (No. 232), 322.
farsh i chandani, 510.
farzand, or son, a title, 313, 339, 363.
Fath Daulat, 403.
Fath Khán, son of Malik 'Ambar, 504.
Fath Khan, of Jalor, 622.
Fath Khan Afgan, 502.
Fath Khan, of Amir Khán Ghori, 516.
Fath Khan Bahadur, 523.
Fath Khan Batni, 429.
Fath Khan Chitabban, 523 (No. 385).
Fath Khan Fulpán, 523, 531.
Fath Khan Tughluq, 465.
Fathullah, son of Hakim Abdul, 425.
Fathullah, Khwajaghi, of Kashan, 359, 499 (No. 285).
Fathullah Khwajah, 464.
Fathullah, Mir (Sháh), of Shfráz, 33, 104, 199, 269, 272, 274, 350, 540.
Fathullah, Mirza, 364.
Fathullah, son of Muhammad Wafia, 494 (No. 264).
Fathullah, son of Na'urrullah, 497.
Fathullah, son of Sa'id Khán, 466.
Fath Zia, 425.
fati, a weight, 36.
Fattu Khayaj Khalil, 396.
Fattu Khan Afgan, 367, 502, 531.
faujah, worn by repenting Amir, 359.
Fawdatik ulwiadhat, title of a book, 546.
Pasyazi, wide Fazil.
Fazil Beg, wide Fazil Beg.
Fazil, of Khujand, 36.

Fazil Beg, brother of Mun'in Khan, 317, 318, 445, 455a.
Fazil Khan, 322, 443 (No. 156).
Fazil Khan Diwan, 504.
Fazulhaq, of Qazvin, a kábib, 101.
feasts, kept at court, 276.
fees, customary at court, 142, 143.
Felis caracal, 290.
ferries, 281.
fever, at Gaur, 376.
Fidai, a poet, 315.
fights of animals, at court, 218, 467.
Fikri, a poet, 602.
fire ordeal, between Christians and Muhammadans, 191.
fire-worship, 49, 184.
Firingis, 326, 354.
Firishtah, the historian, 450.
Firúz, of Jalor, 494.
Firúz Khán, servant of the Khán Khán-nán, 338.
Firúz Sháh Khilji, 291, 333, 507, 582a.
Firuzah, 526 (No. 403).
flavours, nature of, 73.
fleet, the imperial, 279.
flowers, of India, 76, 82.
frauds in the army, 242, 256; in grants of land, 268.
frogs, trained to catch sparrows, 296.
fruits, 64.
Füläd Beg Barlas, 206.
Fusun, a poet, 604, 604a.

GADAT Kambu, Shaikh, a çadr, 273, 325, 528.
Gadai, Mir, 506.
gains, a kind of oxen, 149.
gajnada, a kind of gun, 113.
Gajpati, of Bihár, 399, 400, 423, 498, 516.
Gak'har, a tribe, 318, 322, 455, 456, 486, 621.
Gakkar Shah, 456a.
games, 297, 303.
Gangádhar, a Sanskrit work, 104.
gangôjáh, a kind of cloth, 94, 617.
garwâz, a perfume, 90.
Genealogies, of the Ràces of Ràmpúr
(Talâmpúr-Chitor), 418; of the Gak-
k'harâ, 486; of the Uyóchah Bundel-
lâs, 488; of Nûr Jahan's family, 512;
of Abul Qâsim Namâkin of Bhakkar,
472; of the kings of Kâshghâr,
456; of the rebellious Mîrzâs, 461; of
the Sayyids of Bârâb, 392.
Gesû, Mîr, Bakâwâl Begî, 421.
Ghîrât Khán, 481.
Ghîrât Khán Bârâba, 392.
Ghîrâtî, of Shîrâz, a poet, 594.
Ghâni Khán, son of Mum'in Khán, 318,
444, 486.
Ghahrab Khâlil tribe, 397.
Gharjâhas, a Badakhân tribe, 381a.
Ghaydûrû, Mullà, a poet, 609.
Ghâzâlî, a poet, 568.
Ghazânfâr Kokâb, 348.
Ghâzî Beg Târkhán, Mîrzâ, 363, 364.
Ghâzî Khán, of Badakhân, 185, 440
(No. 144), 450, 526, 540.
Ghâzî Khán Chak, 84, 461.
Ghâzî Khán Süûr, 384.
Ghâzî Khán Tannûrî, 367.
Ghâzî Khán Wajhîyâh, 360.
Ghazânwî, a poet, 322.
Ghazânwî Khán, vide Ghazânwî Khán.
Ghazânwî [Ghazâlî] Khán, of Jâlor, 463,
622.
Ghazânwî Khán, Mîrzâ Shâh Muham-
mad, 378.
Ghiâs, Sultân of Bengâl, 583a.
Ghiâs i Naqshbandî, the weaver, 88, 616,
617.
Ghiâsà, 496.
Ghiâs Beg, I'timâd uddaulah, 508 (No.
319), 512.
Ghiâsuddîn, the gilder, 102.
Ghiâsuddîn 'Alî Khán Açaî Khán (II.),
433 (No. 126).
Ghiâsuddîn 'Alî, Mîr, Naqsh Khán, 447.
Ghiâsuddîn Jâmî, Ñâzî, 382.
Ghiâsuddîn, Malik, 366.
Ghiâsuddîn Maçûrû, of Shîrâz, 193.
Ghiâsuddîn Târkhán, Mîr, 465.
Ghîchak, a musical instrument, 71, 613.
Ghôris, an Afghan tribe, 346.
Ghûdâbûr, a kind of writing, 99.
Ghûnchê, 16a.
gîldû, vide kilâsè.
gîrî, a coin, 29, 30.
Gîrîdar, Râjâb, son of Kest Dâs, 502.
Gîrîdar, son of Râi Sâl Shaikhâwât, 419.
gladiators, 252, 253.
glass, price of, 224.
gold, fineness of, 18, 19, 40; importation
of, 37; gold washings, 37.
Gôpâl, Râjâb, 436, 532.
Gôpâl Jâdon, Râjâb, 502, 525.
Gôpâl Singh Kachhwâhab, 388.
Gôpâl Singh Sâmodâh, 418.
Gosâlah, Shaikhzâdâh, of Banârâs, 208,
209.
Grandees, 239, 308; their contingents,
378; their wealth, 511; their flat-
terries, 548a.; their duplicity, 338,
503; have Hindî Vakîls, 332; op-
pose Akbar for his religious innova-
tions, 401; their property lapses to
the state, 360, 410; hatred among
them, 377, 382, 384; Chaghtâi
grandees hated at court, 319, 320,
332; how punished, 322, 383, 407,
438, 454, 483, 485; when repenting,
359; their wickedness, 500; vide
immorality.
grants, vide sanads.
grapes, 65.
guards, mounting, 257.
Gûjar Khán, 384.
Gûjar Khán, son of Quţbuddûn Atgah,
468 (No. 193).
Gûjar Khán Afgân, 379.
Gujmâr Aghâ, a wife of Bâbar, 441.
Gujrâtîs, their character, 387.
Gul, Mîrzâ, 518.
gul-adhán, title of a poem, 566a.
gulábdr, a wooden screen, 46, 54.
Gul’zár Begum, 441.
Gulbadan Begum, 48, 198, 365a, 441, 615.
Gulrukh Begum (name of two princesses), 309, 463, 464, 618.
gumbhi, a fruit, 71.
guns, 112, 113, 115.
gur-samundar, a title, 613a.
gurgán, meaning of, 460m.
Gurja (Georgiane), favored by same Persian kings, 211.
gút, or gúpt, a kind of pony, 133.

HABBAH, a weight, 36.
Habi Bižádí, Mauláná, 628.
Habi Yasáwul, 523 (No. 389).
Habíb 'Ali Khán, 436 (No. 133).
Habíb 'Ali Khán, 422.
Hádá Rájpúta, 138, 409.
Hádž Kumák, 540.
Hádž of Táshkand, 540.
Hádž Khwájah 'Ali, 613.
Háfsak, a musician, 613a.
Háfiz Nazr, a musician, 613a.
Haft Iqtrim, a work, 508, 512.
Haft josh, a metallic composition, 41.
Haidar, son of Shaikh Yaqút, 479.
Haidar 'Ali 'Arab, 497, (No. 279).
Haidar Dost, 524 (No. 390).
Haidar Gandhavnáis, a kátib, 100.
Haidar Gurgání, Mirzá, 460, 460n.
Haidar Mirzá Çâlahí, 314.
Haidar Mu’ammáni, 549n.
Haidar Muhammad Khán Akhtah Begí, 384 (No. 66), 485.
Haidar Qásím Kobár, 318.
Haidar Sultán Uzbak, 319.
Haidar, of Káshán, 593.
Haidarí, of Tabriz, a poet, 603.
Hairátí, a poet, 187.
Háji Begum, 420, 441, 465.
Háji Húr Farwar Begum, 611.
Háji Khán Sher-Sháhi, 319, 328, 353, 359n.
Háji Muhammad Khán, of Sistán, 366a, 368, 374 (No. 55).
Háji Yúsuf Khán, 477 (No. 224).
Hájjí, 36.
Hájo, the Koch leader, 493a.
Hákím 'Abdul Waháb, 488.
Hákím 'Abdurrahím, 543.
Hákím Abulфath, of Gilán, vide Abul Fath.
Hákím 'Aín ul Mulk, 321, 406, 480 (No. 234), 543.
Hákím 'Ali, of Gilán, 402, 466 (No. 192), 542.
Hákím Aristú, 542.
Hákím Beg Jašángirí, 511.
Hákím Dawái, 543.
Hákím Fakhruddín 'Ali, 543.
Hákím Fatullah, 542.
Hákím Shaikh Hasan, 542, 543.
Hákím Háziq, 474.
Hákím Humám, 474 (No. 205), 474, 543, 586n, 587.
Hákím Is-hág, 543.
Hákím Khush-hál, 475.
Hákím Lutfullah, 518 (No. 354), 543.
Hákím Masíh ul Mulk, 543.
Hákím Mihrí, 491 (No. 284), 540, 542.
Hákím Mu'azzafá Ardiastání, 516 (No. 348), 543.
Hákím ul Mulk, Shaqsuddín, of Gilán, 408, 467n, 542, 599n.
Hákím N'imátullah, 543.
Hákím Rizqulláh, 544.
Hákím Rúhullah, 543.
Hákím Saíf ul Mulk Lang, 543.
Hákím Shífáí, 543.
Hákím Tašab 'Ali, 543.
Hákím Zambl Beg, 442 (No. 150), 542.
Hákím Ziáuddín, of Káshán, 497.
hudlíkhur, or sweeper, 139.
Hášái, of Túrán, a poet, 595.
hálmí, a dish, 80.
Hálímí, a poet, 363.
Hassú, Shaikh, 543.
Háshim Bárha, Sayyid, 376, 392, 407, 419, 440 (No. 143).
Háshim Beg, son of Qásim Kháin, 477 (No. 226).
Háshim Kháin, son of Mir Murád, 498.
Háshim, Khwaýjah, 459.
Háshim, Mir, of Nishápúr, 425.
Háshim i Sanjar, Mir, 494.s.
Háshimí, of Kirmán, a poet, 566.s.
Hátim, son of Bábú Mankil, 473.
Hátim Sambhali, 544.
Hátti Singh Sisódiah, 418.
Háus, or subterranean reservoir, of Hákim 'Alí, 468.
hawks, 298, 294.
Hayát Kháin, 469.
Hayátí, of Gifán, a poet, 574.
Hazárah, a tribe, 408, 462.
Háziq, a poet, 475.
Hemú, 319; his birth place, 359, 359.s.; 365.
heretics, 176, 591.s.
heretics, how treated, 453.
Hidáyatullah, 469.
Hijáx Kháin, 340.
Hijirá, Mauláná, 102.
Hijri, a poet, 622.
Hilá Khwaýjahsárá, 334.
Himmá Khán Bárha, 392.
Hindá Kháin, 309, 408; dies, 476.
Hindús, 88.s.; are good painters, 107; their months, 205; are influential at court, 204, 205; their customs adopted by Akbar, 184; build mosques, 333; learn Persian, 362; are employed by Muhammadans as vakíls, 332; are often ill-treated, 372, 501 (vid. jazýyeh); hold offices under Akbar, 528; also under Sháh-jábán, 536, 537; list of learned Hindús, 538, 539, 542, 547; their doctors, 544, 544.s.; their mytholo-
Husain Khán Bárho, 392.
Husain Khán Mirzá, 439, 442 (No. 149).
Husain Khán Qazwíní, 616 (No. 337).
Husain Kulankí, a kátib, 103.
Husain Lodi, 605.
Husain, Mir Sayyid, Khäng-suúwár, 448.
Husain Mirzá, Sultán, 362, 434, 462.
Husain Mirzá, son of Shábrukh Mirzá Badakhshí, 313, 380n.
Husain Mirzá Çalaší, 313.
Husain Pak'biliwál, 454, 601 (No. 301).
Husain Qusái, Mír, 602.
Husain Quli Beg (Khán); vide Khán Jahán.
Husain Khán Shámlú, of Harát, 363, 377.
Husain Khán Tukriyáb, 372 (No. 53), 348.
Husain Sanáfí, a poet, 563.
Husainí, Mír, 389.
Huzn o ná, a Masnawi, 514.
Huzúrí, of Iáfshán, a poet, 565.
Huzúrí, a poet, 598n.
hydrostatic balance, 42.

IBACHKI, or closet, 46.
Išádatmaund, 458.
Ibn Bawwáb, a kátib, 100.
Ibn Hajar, 540, 574n., 581n.
Ibn Muqálah, 99.
Ibráhím Afgání, 331.
Ibráhím of Astrábad, a kátib, 101.
Ibráhím Badakhshí, Khwájáh, 435.
Ibráhím Beg Jábúq, 331.
Ibráhím, Hájjí, of Sarhind, 106, 172, 174, 189, 547.
Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, 330, 333, 355, 373, 461, 462, 618.
Ibráhím Khán Balochí, 380.
Ibráhím Khán Shaibání, 383 (No. 64).
Ibráhím Khán Súr, 384.
Ibráhím Lohání, 620.
Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Akbar's brother, 526.
Ibrāhīm, Mīrzā, 311 (No. 6).
Ibrāhīm, Mīrzā, of Iṣfahān, 102.
Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Rustam Ǧūfawī, 314.
Ibrāhīm Fathpūrī, Shaikh, 402.
Ibrāhīm, Qāzī, 547.
Ibrāhīm Quli, son of Ismā'īl Quli Khān, 512 (No. 322).
Ibrāhīm, Sultan, son of Mīrzā Shāh-
rakh, 101.
Ibrāhīm of Yazd, an engraver, 58.
Iṣhāquddīn Ibrāhīm, Maulānā, 440, 574a.
Iṣnādī, used at court, 56.
Iṣlāhī, a caligraphical term, 103a.
Iṣlāhī, a calligraphical term, 103a.
ideas peculiar to the East, 510a., 552a.,
554a., 555a., 556a., 559a., 576a.,
577a., 586a.; vide eyes (blue),
Pharao, Adam, sipand, bear, moon,
Idris, a kāṭīb, 99, 101.
'Iṣfārat Bānū Begum, 477a.
Iftikhār Beg, 516 (No. 335).
Iftikhār Khān, 466.
Iftikhār Khān, 521a.
Ighur [Uigur], a Chaghātāi tribe, 389,
Ihitām Khān, 521a.
Ikhlās Khān, 521a.
Ikhlās Khān, of the Eunuch, 405
(No. 86).
Ikhlās Khān, 506.
Ikhlaṣ Khān Bārha, 392 (twice).
Ikhlaṣ, Khwājāh, 101.
Ikhlaṣ'ūl Mulk Gujrātī, 325, 463, 507.
Ilaḥdād Fazī, of Sarhind, 516a.
Ilaḥdād, of Amrohāh, 302.
Ilaḥdīah, son of Khowsh Karān, 497.
Ilaḥdīah, Shaikh, 588.
Ilaḥdī, a coin, 30.
Ilaḥ Virdī Khān, 601a.
Ilḥāmullah Kambū, 402.
Illuminations at court, 48.
Ilīfí Khān, 316.
Ilīya Khān Lāngāb, 375.
'Imād, a kāṭīb, 102a.
'Imād, of Lāristān, 409.

Imād ul Mulk, 516 (No. 343).
Imām Mahdī, 108a., 169, 189; vide
Ǧāḥīb i Zamān.
Imām Quli Shīghālī, 512 (No. 325).
Imāmī, a poet, 550a.
immorality, of the Grandees, 192, 319,
349, 364, 486a., 475, 594a.
importation of horses, 216, 234.
ins'man grants, 271.
'Ināyat Khān, 444a.
Ināyatullah, Darbār Khān, 466.
'Ināyatullah Khān, 499.
'Ināyatullah, Mīrzā, 364a.
Indarman Bundelā, 488.
infantry, 261, 254.
inventions, 41; vide Akbar.
insignia, of Diwāns, 412a.
Igbādīmāh i Ṣaḥābagīrī, author of, 413.
'iṣrā', a kind of horse, 140.
Irif [Irīch], Shahnāvās Khān, 491, 511.
irmadj-money, 250.
iron, 40, 113.
Ishādī i Qāzī, title of a work, 547.
'Iṣā Khāli Afghānā, 457.
'Iṣā Khān, of Orīṣā, 382; vide 'Iṣā Za-
mīndār, and Miyaīn 'Iṣā.
'Iṣā Khān Maīn, 526.
'Iṣā, Qāzī, 449, 618.
'Iṣā Tarkhān, Mīrzā, 363, 364a., 420,
422.[400]
'Iṣā Zamīndār, 331, 340, 342, 342a.,
Isfandiyār Khān, 465.
Is-hāq Fārūqī, Shaikh, of Bhakkar, 514.
Is-hāq Maghrībī, Shaikh, 507a.
Is-hāq, Maulānā, 545.
Is-hāq, Mulū, a singer, 612.
'iṣk-y-baṣā', vide pigeon flying.
Ishq, Maulānā, 528.
Iskandar Beg Badakhshābī, 475 (No. 211).
Iskandar Khān, Khān 'Alam, 365 (No.
48), 382.
Iskandar Khān Uzbek, 341.
Istām Khān Chishti, 493, 519, 520.
Istām Shāh, 611a., 612a.; vide Sālim
Shāh.
Ismá'il, Sháh of Persia, 178, 524.
Ismá'il, Mullá and Mauláni, 538, 547.
Ismá'il Kambú, Hájí, 399.
Ismá'il Kháán, [Qulí Bég], Dahlái, 388 (No. 72).
Ismá'il Kháán Sháh-bání, 384.
Ismá'il Kháán, 360 (No. 46), 401, 407, 425.
Istájí (Ustájí), a tribe, 619.
'Isritlaba, a rhetorical figure, 600n.
Itábi, of Najaf, a poet, 588.
I'tíbár Kháán, the Eunuch, 403.
I'tíbár Kháán, a eunuch of Jahangír, 433.
I'timád Kháán, the Eunuch, 428 (No. 119).
I'timád Kháán Gujratí, 13, 198, 325, 385 (No. 67), 507.
I'timád ud-Daulah Ghíás Bég, 508 (No. 319), 512.
I'timád ul-Mulk Gujratí, 386.
I'twáz Bihárá, 439.
I'twáz Mirzá, 347.
Izzat Kháán, son of Yúsuf Kháán, 373, 620.
Izzat Mirzá, 445n.
Izzatullah, 500 (No. 280).

JABÁRI Qásqábál, 351, 370, 435.
Jabári Qulí Gakk'har, 487.
jackfruit, 70.
Ja'far, a poet, 572, 573a.
Ja'far Bikhárá, Sayyid, 416.
Ja'far, of Tabríz, a káthib, 100, 101.
Ja'far Beg Aqá Kháán, 106; vide Aqá Kháán (111).
Ja'far Kháán Tahlá, 426 (No. 114).
Ja'far Mirzá, a poet, 412.
Jagannáth, son of Bihárí Mall, 387 (No. 69).
Jagat Gósnání, mother of Sháhjahán, 310.
Jagat Singh, Kachhwáhah, 310, 340, 447 (No. 160), 458.
Jalāluddīn, Shaikh, 538.
Jalāluddīn Sūr, 370.
jalī, a kind of writing, 100.
Jām of Kachh, 328, 419.
Jām Nandā, 362.
jama' haqīq i īādī, vide assessment.
jama' ragīq, vide assessment.
Jamāl Bakhtyār, Shaikh, of Jale sar, 191, 425 (No. 113), 470.
Jamāl, Mulla and Maulānā, 546.
Jamāl Kambū, Shaikh, 528.
Jamāl Khān Afgān, 435.
Jamāl Khān Kambū, 544.
Jamāl Khān of Mewāt, 334.
Jamāl Khān, son of Qutlu, 520.
Jamāluddīn, a kātīb, 101.
Jamāluddīn Bārba, 408, 476 (No. 217).
Jamāluddīn Husain Inju, Mīr, 450 (No. 164).
Jamāluddīn Husain, a kātīb, 101.
Jāmī, the poet, 566a.
Jamīl Beg, son of Tāj Khān, 547.
Jamshed, Maulānā, 102.
Jān, Khwājah, 611.
Jānān Begum, 309.
Jān Bābā, Mirzā, 362, 363, 364a.
jangala, a kind of horse, 233.
Jānī Beg, Mirzā, of Sindh, 194, 209, 335, 361, 576a.
Jānish Bahādur, 345, 481 (No. 235).
Jān Jahān Lodi, 506.
Jaunjāhā, a tribe, 456a.
Jān Nisār Khān, 504.
Jān Qalīj, 500 (No. 291), 501.
Jārullah Mirzā, 618.
jast, a metal, 40.
Jaswant Singh, 478.
Jaswant Singh Bundelā, 488.
Jat Mall, of Mairha, 502; of Chitor, 617; vide Jaimall.
jau, a weight, 36.
Jauhar, Shaikh, 547.
Jazīb, a poet, 430, 596.
jasyah (properly ji-yak) or tax on insidels, abolished by Akbar, 189; 237a.
jealousy, of the Grandees, 326.
jeta, a coin, 31.
jewels, 15.
jhandā, the Indian flag, 50.
Jhāriah, a caste in Gujrāt, 285a.
jharok'hak, or inspection window, 54, 337n., 613a.; vide darsan.
Jhūjhar Khān Afgān, 436.
Jhūjhar Singh Bundelā, 488, 498, 505.
Jhūjhar Khān Gujrātī, 386, 462.
Jī Jī Anagah, Akbar's nurse, 321, 325; dies, 327.
jiladdār, or runners, 138, 142a.
jilawānāk, 142.
Jodh Bai, 309, 619.
Jodrā, a tribe, 466a.
Jotik Rādī, or court astrologer, 404a.
Judāi, a poet, 467, 590, 590a., 598a.
Jūjak Begum, 492.
Jumla ul Mulk, a title, 349.
Junaíd i Karānī, 330, 396, 400, 422.
Junaíd Murul, 523 (No. 383).

K

KAB Gakkh'har, 456a.
Kab Rādī, or Poet Laureate, 404, 613a.
kadbā, a diabh, 60.
Kabīr Chishti, Shaikh, 519 (No. 370), 520, 521, 522.
Kabīr, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Munawwar, 547.
Kabīr, Shaikh, 519a.
Kakhwāhah Rājahs, madness in their family, 310, 333; 398, 453a., 469; vide Bahārī Mall, Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh; Rājāwat and Shaikh-kwāt, 419.
Kifiyāh, title of an Arabian grammar, 362a.
Kāhī, a poet, 566.
kail, 26.
Kai Qubād, son of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, 377.
Kájar, a Turkish tribe, 619.
Kākars, a tribe, 377.
Kākar 'Alī Khān Chishtī, 408 (No. 92).
kašk, a dish, 60.
Kashmir, Mirzá, 472, 473.
Kashmiris, their character, 380, 399.
Káthis, a tribe in Soraf'h, 334.
káthib, or kalíngvat, a singer, 612a.
Kálbí, Ibn, an Arabic work, 106.
Kálma, a poet, 602a.
Kálma, a work on Persian
literature, 283a.
Kálma, son of Kál Rám, of Jodhpúr,
886, 478.
Kálma, of Jawkuri, 477.
Kálma, Núrí, factor of Bikánír, 316,
804 a, 809.
Kálma, Núrí, son of Mán Singh, 496.
Kálma, a family.
Kálma, Sayyid, 397.
Kálma, Uwhrá, 322, 410, 455, 478.
Kálma, of Jálóor, 622.
Kálma, Kháwání, 446a.
Kálma, father of Mir Abú Turáb,
804.
Kálma, Muhyín Hussain, Maulaná, 540.
Kálma, a tribe, 399, 402.
Kálma, author of the Náfáís uš Madsir,
448a.
Kálma, of Sabzvárár, a poet, 601.
Kánill Khán 'Alamgirí, 489.
Kánill Khán, Mirzá Khurram, 327, 328, 459.
Kámán, Mirzá, 311, 312, 378, 379, 380, 388, 463, 618.
Kangár Kachhwáháb, 436, 437, 531.
kásís, a metallic composition, 41.
Karam 'Alí, 519.
Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, 515.
Karamullah, son of 'Alí Mardán Bahá-
dur, 496.
Karamullah Kambú, 402, 432.
Karam Ráorthor, 359, 483.
karan, a trumpet, 51.
Karim Dád Afghán, 331.
Karm Chand Kachhwáháb, 387a.
Khán i Kalán, Mír Muhammad, 322 (No. 16).
Khán i Khánán, a title, 316; insignia, 316; 312; vide Bairám Khán, Mun‘im Khán, and next name.
Khán Khánán, Mírza 'Abdurrahim, son of Bairám Khán, 206, 309, 315, 334 (No. 29), 362, 451, 503, 569a, 574a, 578a, 579a, 585a, 593a, 599a, 601a, 603a, 606a, 608a, 613a.
Khán Mírza, 311, 311a.
Khán Muhammad Qáqshál, 621.
Khán Zamán 'Ali Qulí Shaibání, 319 (No. 13), 366, 462, 489, 568.
Khánahzád Khán, 466, 472, 495.
Khánán, a káthib, 102, 617.
Khánghár, of Kachh, 419.
Khánjár Beg Chagh táí, 533.
Khánjí, Malik, of Jálúr, 492.
Khánzádáhsí, of Mewát, 334, 391.
Khánkháni, a kind of gold, 40, 41.
Khárdái, a weight, 36.
Khárgá, a tent, 64.
Khátars, a tribe, 456a, 487a, 522, 522a.
Kháwánd Dost, 423.
Kíchái, 59.
Khímatyiáh, a class of servants at court, 252, 282; their chief, Khímat Ráí, 252, 431.
Khing Swáár, 448.
Khízr, (Elías) the Prophet, 566a, 567a, 681.
Khízr Khwáiáh Khán, 365, 365a, 374, 388, 441, 443, 529, 615.
Khízr Súltán Gakkhar, 487.
Khókárs, a tribe, 468a.
Khubí, Sháikh, 496 (No. 275).
Khadáwánd Khán Dák’híní, 442 (No. 151), 449.
Khubá Yár Khán Láti, 363a.
Khourram Begum, 312.
Khourram Khán, 533.
Khourram, Prince, 337; vide Sháhjáhán.
Khourram, Mirzá, vide Kámil Khán.
Khourmandád, a musician, 613a.
Khwákhá, a díah, 59.
Khwáhrús, 276.
Khuírá, Prince, son of Jahángír, 310, 327, 414, 414a, 433, 454, 455, 467.
Khuírá, of Díllí, the poet, 540, 546, 582.
Khuírá Khán Chírgís, 363, 364, 364a.
Khuíráwí, of Qáín, a poet, 591.
Khufrá, read by princes, 185.
Khwáiághán Khwáiáh, 423, 539; vide Khwáiáh Khán.
Khwáiághán Khwáiágh Táhrání, 508, 512.
Khwáiághán Muhammad Husain, 478.
Khwáiághán Ahrárá, a saint, 322.
Khwáiágh Há’arab, 204.
Khwáiágh Bágí Khán, 459.
Khwáiágh Beg Mírzá, 519 (No. 365).
Khwáiágh Hasan, uncle of Zain Khán Kokah, 310, 344.
Khwáiágh Hasan Naqshbandí, 322.
Khwáiágh Há’arán, Aminá of Harát, 424 (No. 110).
Khwáiágh Há’arán Dost Muhammad, 477a.
Khwáiágh Khán (Khwáiághán Khwáiáh), 322.
Khwáiágh Súlámání Afgáhn, 340.
Khwáiágh Umá’n Afgáhn, vide ‘Umá’n.
Khwáiághán Dost, Mír, 465.
Khwáiághán Mahmód, 322.
Kijak Begum, 322.
Kijak Khwáiáh, 494 (No. 262).
Kiká Ráná (Ráná Partáb), 339, 418, 443a.
kíldá [gildá], cherries, 65a, 616.
killing of animals forbidden, 200, 258.
kíndrá (lace), 510.
Kírách, Rájah of Kálínjár, 611a.
Kíshán Dáás Túswár, 506 (No. 313).
Kíshán Singh Bhádáuriáh, 489.
Kíshnjoshtí, a Sáskrít work, 104.
Kíshwár Khán, 497.
kítkén, the imperial, 56.
Kohbar, a tribe, 613.
kokah, or kokultash, or fosterbrother, 323.
kokular, 513.
Kor Hamzah, 313.
kornish, a kind of salutation, 158.
Kroris, 13.
Kufic letters, 99.
kukhous, or palki bearers, 254.
kukanah, 23.
Kujak [Kuchak] Yasawul, 482.
kukrah, 23, 24.
kumak, a class of troops, 231.
Kundliwala, a clan, 391, 395.
kushtah, prepared quicksilver, 563n.
kucargah, a musical instrument, 50.

LAC, 226.
Lachmí Nárain, of Kuch Bihár, 340; vide Lachmí.
Lachmí Nárain Shafiq, a Persian writer, 491n.
Ladh, Shaikhd, 620.
Lad Bárha, Sayyid, 626 (No. 409).
Ládan, a perfume.
Láddi Begum, 311, 510.
Láhauri, Mirzá, 500.
Laili, 560n.
Lakhmi Ráí, of Kokrah, 480a; vide Lachmí.
lakrát, 252.
lÁ'í Jaldí, a coin, 29.
Lál Kaláwant [Miyán Lál], 612, 612a.
Lál Khan, a singer, 613n.
Lál Khan Kolabi, 475 (No. 209).
Láláh, son of Bir Bar, 405, 523 (No. 387).
lállah, meaning of, 426n.
Lamas of Tibbat, 201.
Land revenue, 13.
Langáhs, a clan, 362.
Lárdlí Begum, vide Láddí.
Idrí, a kind of silver, 23, 37.
Lashkar Khan Abul Hasan, 211.

Lashkar Khan Bárha, 392.
Lashkar Khan, Muhammad Husain, 407 (No. 90).
Lashkarí, Mirzá, son of Mirzá Yusuf Khan, 374, 505, 518, 522 (No. 375); vide Çafshikan Khan.
Lashkarí Gakkhar, 457.
Lashkarshikan Khan, 339.
Látif Khwájah, 196.
lead, 40.
Learned men, exchanged for horses, 191; banished, 187, 189, 190, 191; list of them during Akbar’s reign, 537; where placed in battle, 587n.
leopards, for hunting, 285, 287, 288, 623; leopard carriages, 160.
letters, 98.
Library, the imperial, 103.
Lilavati, title of a Sanskrit work, 105.
lien, price of, 223.
Lisán ul Ghaiib, title of a book, 603n.
Lisání, a poet, 603n.
Liwáí, a poet, 613n.
Lodi Khan, son of Qutlú, 620.
Lohání Afgáns, 622.
Lohar Chak, 479.
Loon Karon, Ráí, 404, 494, 531.
lubás, a perfume, 82.
Lubuttawárikh, title of a historical work, 447n.
Luftullah, son of Khusrav Khan, 364.
Luftullah, son of Sa‘íd Khan, 466.

MAKSIR I BHÂMí, a historical work, 338, 603n.
Ma’qum Beg Çáfsu, 426.
Ma’qum Khán Farangkhudí, 351, 400, 410, 443 (No. 167).
Ma’qum Khan Kábulí, 159, 342, 343, 351, 400, 431n., 446, 448n., 621.
Ma’qum, Mir, of Bhakkar, 514 (No. 514).
Ma’qum, Mir, of Kábul, 323.
Ma’qum, Mir, of Káshán, 504n.
madad i ma’ásh, vide sayurghál.
Ma'dan ul afdar, a Masnawi, 514.
Maddet, a class of letters, 103n.
Mádhú Singh, of Kokrah, 401, 480n.
Mádhú Singh, 505.
Mádhú Singh Kachhwáhah, 418 (No. 104).
Mádhú Singh Shaikháwat, 419.
Madhabar Bündelá, of Unjchah, 356, 389, 390, 430, 452, 458, 467, 488.
Madrasah, 279; Humáyûn's at Dihlî, 538.
Maghríbí, a dirham, 36.
Maghríbiyâh, a class of saints, 507.
Máh Bánú Begum, 328, 334, 336.
Máh Jájak Begum, 318, 322.
Máhá Singh, grandson of Mán Singh, Kachhwáhah, 340, 447.
Máhá Singh Bhadauriah, 489.
Máhábat Khán 'Alamgíri, 622.
Máhápáter, the singer, 611n.
Mahdawi Sect, 490. [490.
Mahdí Qásim Khán, 348 (No. 36), 372.
Mahdí Khwájah, 420.
Mahes Dáráthor, 359.
Mahmanda, an Afgán tribe, 345, 397.
Máhmúd, son of Bábú Mankí, 473.
Máhmúd of Bádba, Sayyid, 389 (No. 75).
Máhmúd, of Basakhwán, 177, 462.
Máhmúd Bigarâh, Sultán of Gujrát, 506.
Máhmúd, son of Daulat Khán Lodí, 503.
Máhmúd, of Ghazní, 456n.
Máhmúd Isá-háq, a kátil, 102.
Máhmúd Khán, son of Khán Jahán Lodí, 505.
Máhmúd, Malik, of Sístán, 314.
Máhmúd, Mír, Mahwí, a poet, 585n.
Máhmúd, Mír Munshí, 449.
Máhmúd, Mírzá, Gurgání, 460.
Máhmúd Pak híwáil, 601.
Máhmúd Siyáush, a kátil, 101.
Máhmúd, Sultán of Bhakkar, 362, 420, 421, 422.

Máhmúd Sháh (II.), Sultán of Gujrát, 385.
Máhmúd Sultán Mírzá, 461, 462.
Máhmúdís, a sect, 462.
mahdób, 46.
Máhum Angag, 316, 323, 324, 328, 332, 381.
mahwás tree, 70, 616.
Máhwí Hamadání, a poet, 585.
Maidání Afgánás, 499.
Mailí, of Harát, 571.
Máin, or Munj, a Rájpút clan, 526.
Májí, a tribe, 610n.
Majma' ul Akkdr, a work, 589n.
Majnún Khán Qâshál, 326, 368, 369 (No. 50).
Mák'han Bárha, 392.
Mákhóqás Khán, 388 (No. 70).
Mákhóqís ul Mulk, 'Abdullah of Sultán-púr, 169, 172, 173, 175, 177, 185, 187, 189, 374, 544.
Mák'fí, the nom-de-plume of two Imperial princesses, 399, 510.
Mákhó, a musician, 613n.
Makkzan i Afgání, a history, 506.
mâi, or Gujrát wrestlers, 219, 253.
máldgír, a perfume, 82.
Malays, 616.
Máleko, Rájah, of Jodhpúr, 315, 316, 429, 430.
málghubák, a dish, 61.
málik, a title, 369n.
Malik Ahmad Dakhli, a poet, 608.
Malik 'Ali, Khwájah, 515 (No. 330).
Malik 'Ambar, 491, 503, 504.
Malik Bir, 466.
Malik Kalán, 456.
Malik Kid, 456.
Malik Ma'áid, 609.
Malik, Mauláná, a kátil, 102.
Malik Pilú, 456n.
Malikusháía'ríd, 491, 548n.
Malék Sáin, of Kuch Bihár, 331.
Malik (Qâdir Khán), 428. [520.
Mamres Khán, son of Usmán Lohání,
man, a coin, 30.
Mán Tunwar, of Gwáliár, 611a.
Mançábdára, 231, 236, 238; muster one-fourth, or one-fifth, of their contingents, 244; salaries, 240, 245, 248; below the rank of commanders of Two Hundred, 527; — under Jahángir and Sháhjáhn, 535 vide grandees.
Manqúr, Mír, 590.
mandáli, a tent, 54, 78.
Mangarála, a tribe, 456n.
mangoes, 67, 68, 644.
Maníjá Begum 499, 511, 512, mánkít, meaning of, 370, 370a, 473.
Manohar, son of Lónkarañ, 494 (No. 265).
Manúr Kachhwáháb, 388.
Mán Singh Darbári, 506.
Mán Singh Kachhwáháb, Rájáh, 206, 339 (No. 30), 418, 418a.
Maqşúd, Khwájah, of Harát, the engraver, 27, 52, 53.
Maqşúd, son of Makñsá Khán, 388.
Maqşúd 'Alí, of Wercopaí, 608a.
Maqşúd 'Alí Kor, 437 (No. 136).
marká, a caligraphical term, 103n.
Markázuládawár, title of a work, 549n.
migration, laws of different sects, 174; Akbar’s laws regarding, 277; taxes on, 278; age fixed for, 195, 203.
Ma’rúf Mauláháná, a katab, 100.
Ma’rúf Qádr, Sháikh, 471.
Maryam-makán, title of Akbar’s mother, 309, 48, 62, 455.
Maryam-amánní, title of Jahángir’s mother, 309, 619.
Masárdv giá ulamáwár, a work, 547.
Masíh (Messiah), 566n.
Masíhá Kairánawáí, a poet, 544.
Masnad i ‘Alí, 502, 523.
Mas‘úd Husain Mírzá, 330, 461, 462.
Maţdíi, an Arabic work, 524n.
much-lock, 113; —bearers, 116, 251, 254.
Mat’hrá Dáis Khátrí, 523 (No. 379).
Mauláánázíshád Shukr, 541.
Mávarid ul kilé, title of a book, 549n.
Máwí, an aboriginal race, employed by Akbar, 252.
Mázhári, of Kásímír, a poet, 584.
measures, 88a, 225, 226, 229; of Káshír, 346.
Medinit Ráí Chauhán, 470 (No. 198).
melons, different kinds of, 65, 523.
metals, origin of, 38; compositions, 41.
Mewáhs, runners, 262.
Mír Begum, 518.
médé, a perfume, 80.
Mír ‘Alí Bálásh, 342.
Mír ‘Alí Khán Sildóz, 435 (No. 130).
mírábí, a coin, 33.
mír kíl, a kind of cloth, 95, 617.
Mihurrúsíá, vide Núr Jábán.
Míhtár Jauhar, 441n.
Míhtár Khán Anúuddáín, 417 (No. 102).
Míhtár Sa’ádat, 497.
Míhtár Sákáí, 441.
mílk, vide saýrghál.
millennium, 106a, 169a, 191, 198, 545.
minerals, 39.
Mínt, Imperial, 16, 18, 495; Akbar’s mint-towns, 31.
Mír ‘Adí, 268.
Mír ‘Arz, an officer, 257, 259, 334.
Mír Aftásh, a title, 470.
Mír Bakáwal, or master of the Kitchen, 57.
Mír Kalán, Mauláháná, 540.
Mír Káhífah, 490.
Mír Khán, 416, 472.
Mír Khán Yasáwúl, 518 (No. 361).
Mír Kháwáft, Khwájah, 445n.
Mír Khwájah, son of Sultán Khwájah, 423.
Mír ‘Amín, or quarter-master, 47.
Mír Rúb’dí, a title, 602n.
Mír Sámad, a title, 384.
Mír Sháh, 515.
Miran Bakádár Aghán, 475 (No. 208).
Mírák Jaláír, 521.
Mírák Kháán, 439.
Mírák Kháán Bahádúr, 532.
Mírák Khwájah, 525.
Mírák Khwájah, Chingiz Kháán, 442.
Mírák, Mírzá, Razáwi Kháán, 438.
Mírák Buhbári, Sayyid, 397.
Mírák Kháán Jábáí, 468.
Mírák Mubárák, of Khándásb, 309.
Mírák Muhammad Sháh, of Khándásb, 325.
Mírákaká, a non-commissioned officer, 116a., 252, 254.
Míráz, the, their genealogy and revolt, 461; vide rebellion.
Míráz Ahmad, Kháán, 508, 512.
Míráz Beg Sháhri, 424.
Míráz Kháán Náshéfúrú, 502 (No. 303).
Míráz Kháán, or Míráz Kháán Kháánán, vide Kháán Kháánán Míráz 'Abdurrahím.
Míráz Kháán, son of Míráz Asadullah, 622 (No. 371).
Míráz Qulí Kháán, 376, 386, 530.
Míráz Qulí Málíl, 571.
Míráz Rájá, vide Mán Singh.
Míráz Sháhí, 413.
Míráz Súltan, son of Míráz Sháhrukh Badákhshí, 513.
Mírázáb, a weight, 36.
Mírázáb, of copyists, 52a.
Míyán Chand, a singer, 612.
Míyán Téz Kháán Lohání, father of 'Umarán, 520.
Míyán Jóm, 371.
Míyán Kháán Chórí, 326.
Míyán Láí, vide Láí Káláwánt.
Míyán Tánsén, vide Tánsén.
Míyán Wajibuddín, 638.
Míyánah Aghábáns, 456, 506.
Míyán Dás, Ráí, 470.
Míyán Kachhwáháb, 398. [104.
Míyán Kachhwáháb, a Sanskrit work, money, Persian, Hindústání, and Túrání equivalents, 486.
Míyán Khwájah, 479.
Míyán Rájá, vide Udáí Singh.
Ma'allaq, 300.
Míyán Kháán, 518.
Mud'dab, meaning of, 433.
Mu'ázzam Kháán, 492, 521a.
Mu'ázzam Kháán, 366a., 406, 524.
Múbárák i Bukhári, of Gujrát, 386, 397.
Múbárák Kashmírí, Sayyid, 479.
Múbárák Kháán Gakk'har, 465, 467, 486.
Múbárák Kháán, waźir of Sultán Mahmúd of Bhakkar, 421.
Múbárák, Mullá, 195.
Múbárák Sháh, a kútú, 100.
Múbárák, Shaikh, of Alwar, 537.
Múbárák, Shaikh, of Gwáliár, 537.
Múbárák Kháán 'Adlí, 456.
Muc'ab ibn Zubáir, 36.
Muckháib Kháán, 533a.
Muc'táfá Ghílzi, 486 (No. 246).
Muc'táfá Kháán, 445a., 501.
Muc'táfá, Mullá, of Jaunpúr, 500.
Mufíis, Míráz, 541.
Myfrídád 'i Ma'úmmá, title of a book, 514.
Mughfís, Mír, Maháwí, 585, 585a.
Mughuls, look upon 'nine' as a sacred number, 364a.
Mughul Kháán, son of Zain Kháán, 346.
Mughul, Míráz, Badákhshí, 313.
Muhammad, vide Prophet.
Muhammad, son of Daulat Kháán Lodi, 503.
Muhammad Ardístání, Hájí, 525 (No. 399).
Muhammad Bukhari, Shalih, 396 (No. 77).
Muhammad Haji, of Khabusun, 606a.
Muhammad Haji, a kabit, 100.
Muhammad Moulana, 541.
Muhammad Mullah, of Aubah, a kabit, 101.
Muhammad Mullah, of Kingri, 514.
Muhammad Mullah, of Talah, 378, 500.
Muhammad Mullah, of Yazd, 175, 182, 189.
Muhammad Mirza, 492 (No. 259).
Muhammad, of Qazvin, a kabit, 101.
Muhammad Mir Sayyid, the Mahdawie, 546.
Muhammad Sayyid, 422.
Muhammad Sayyid, Mir Adl, 438 (No. 140), 490.
Muhammad Sayyid, of Rohytas (Bihar), 400.
Muhammad Shaikh, of Bahrogh, 545; —, a kabit, 102.
Muhammad Agghar, vide Ashraf Khan.
Muhammad Agghar, Bahar Khan, 405 (No. 87).
Muhammad Akbar, Prince, 487.
Muhammad Ali, of Jum, 523 (No. 377).
Muhammad Amun, a kabit, 103.
Muhammad Amun Dwhanib, 334.
Muhammad Amun, Hashiz, 185.
Muhammad A'am Haji, 581a.
Muhammad Bakhtyar, of Jalaeer, 425.
Muhammad Daqi Khan, vide Daqi Khan.
Muhammad Baqir Harawie, 355.
Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan, 362.
Muhammad Calib, 413.
Muhammad Calib, cadr, 272.
Muhammad Calib, Khwajagir, 528.
Muhammad Calib, Mirza, 364a.
Muhammad Cuft, of Masandaran, 590.
Muhammad Fikri, Sayyid, 462.
Muhammad Ghaus, Shaikh, of Gwailier, 307, 457, 458, 539.
Muhammad Hakim Hashiz, a kabit, 101.

Muhammad Hakim Mirza, Akbar's brother, king of Kabul, 319; his daughter, 312; his sister, 449; his mother, 318, 320, 322; 317, 344, 377, 465, 469, 470, 609a.
Muhammad Husain, of Kashmir, a kabit, 102.
Muhammad Husain, of Tabriz, a kabit, 102.
Muhammad Husain, Khwajah, a kabit, 101.
Muhammad Husain, Khwajagi, 478, 485 (No. 241).
Muhammad Husain Lashkar Khan, 407 (No. 90).
Muhammad Husain Mirza, 326, 461, 462.
Muhammad Husain Mirza Caftawi, 313.
Muhammad Husain Nazir, 579, 579a.
Muhammad Is Tarkhan, 362.
Muhammad Ishtabi, 659, 659a.
Muhammad Khan, 525 (No. 400).
Muhammad Khan Dharri, a singer, 612.
Muhammad Khan Gakhar, 456, 456.
Muhammad Khan Jalair, 411.
Muhammad Khan Niyazi, 483 (No. 239).
Muhammad Khan Sharafuddin Ogah Takliah, 425, 508.
Muhammad Khan Turkman, 516 (No. 430).
Muhammad Mar'ud, son of Ahmad Beg Kaul, 466.
Muhammad Mirak Calib, 583.
Muhammad Mirza Caftawi, Sultan, 426.
Muhammad Mumin Haftak, 613a.
Muhammad Payandah, vide Payandah Khan.
Muhammad Qasib, Mirza, 370.
Muhammad Qasim Khan, of Nishapur, 353 (No. 40), 603a.
Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir Atea, 478.
Muhammad Qasim Kohbar, 613a.
Muhammad Qasim Shaid Shab, 109.
Mu'inuddin, author of *Ta'ṣīr i Ma'ād*ī, 523.
Mu'inuddin, of Farāb, a kātib, 100.
Mu'inuddin Ahmad Khān Faranhūdī, 434 (No. 128), 541.
Mu'inuddin Chishtī Sīgīz, of Ajmīr, 401, 540.
Mu'inuddin Tanūrī, a kātib, 100.
Mu'izz, Mīr, of Kāshān, a kātib, 102.
Mu'izzul Mulk, Mīr, 189, 381 (No. 61).
Mujāhid Khān, 383, 421, 494, 533.
*Mujāmul Buddh*ī, a work on geography, 106.

*mujannas*, a kind of horse, 140, 233.
*Mujtalāh*, 186.
Mukammal Khān, 105, 519a.
Mukarram Khān, 439, 493, 621.
Mukarram Mirzā Çafawī, 315.
Mukaṭma Bhdanriah, 489 (No. 249).
Mukhliṣ Khān, 505.
Mukhlīs Llah Khān, 466.
Mukhtār Beg, son of Aghā Mullā, 497 (No. 278).
mukhā, a pānleaf, 616.
Mukund, zamindār of Fatbābād (Bengal), 374.
Mukund Deo, of Orīsā, 611a.
Mullā Mīr, 542.
mules, imperial, 159; where bred, 437; imported, 152; their food, 152; harness, 153; how mustered, 216.
Multaṣīf Khān, 472.
Mūmīn Khwāfī, Khwājah, 447.
Mūmīn Marwārī, 101.
Mumtāz Mahall, 369, 601a., 512, 615.
Munawwar, Shaikh, an author, 106, 189, 547.
Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, 263, 317 (No. 11), 334, 371, 384, 427, 440.
Mūnīs Khān, 417.
Muj, a Rājpūt clan, 526.
mūnj, a kind of grass, 395.
*Munkir* and *Nakir*, two angels, 600.

*munšiḥiyāt*, or letters, of Abul Fath Gīlānī, 435a.
Muqīf Khān, 477 (No. 222).

Mujāhid, 263.

Muqarrab Khān (Akbarshāhī), 373.

Muqarrab Khān, 543.

Muqbil Khān, 408.

Muqīm 'Arāb, vide Shujā'at Khān.

Muqīm i Harawī, 420, 421.

Muqīm Khān, 371.

Muqīm Khān, son of Shujā'at Khān, 523 (No. 386).

Muqīm, Khwājah, son of Khwājah Mīrkhān, 525 (No. 401).

Muqīm, Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā Zul-nūn, 433.

Muqīm Naqshbandī, 433.

Muqīm Shāhjāhānī, 413.

muqītī, or jāgīrdār, 256.

Murād, Prince, Akbar's son, born and died, 309, 618; his complexion, 309; 48, 141n.; called Pahārī, 182n.; is instructed in Christianity, 182, 183; 335, 383, 543, 574n., 618.

Murād Bakhsh, Prince, 472, 478.

Murād Ḍafawī, son of Mīrzā Rustam, 314, 315.

Murād Khān, 373 (No. 54).

Murād, Mir, of Juwain, 498 (No. 282).

Murād, Mir, Kolābī, 523 (No. 380).

Murād Quli Sultān, 486, 487.

Murtazā Khān, vide Farīd i Bhukhārī.

Murtazā Khān, Husamuddin Ijūj, 451, 472.

Murtazā Khān, Mir, 449 (No. 162).

Murtazā, Mīrzā, 327.

Murtazā Nizām Shāh, 336, 449.

Murtazā Sharīf, Mir, 449, 540.

Mūsā, Shāikh, Fatḥpurī, 402, 403.

Mūsā, Shāikh, Lāhorī, 539.

Mūsā, Shāikh, 544.

muṣadādat, or advances to officers, 265.

muṣamman, a dish, 60.

Mūsawī Sayyīdī, 881, 882.

Muḥṣifī of Bhukhāri, a poet, 583.

music, at court, 51, 611; schools of, 611n.; abolished by Aurangzīb, 613n.

Mu'tamīd Khān, 478, 521n.

Mu'tamīd Khān Bakhshī, 413.

Mu'tamīd Khān Muhammad Čalib, 446a.

mutanājah, a dish, 61.

Muzaffar, brother of Khān 'Alam, 502 (No. 304).

Muzaffar, king of Gujrat, 326, 332, 334, 335, 383, 386, 518; vide Nat'hu.

Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, 353, 461 (No. 180), 463.

Muzaffar Husain, Mīrzā, Ḍafawī, 313 (No. 8), 314.

Muzaffar Khān Bārha, 392, 394, 505.

Muzaffar Khān Turbātī, Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī, 332, 348 (No. 37), 368, 439.

Muzaffar Khān Ma'mūrī, 504.

Muzaffar Lodī, 505.

Muzaffar, Mīrzā, son of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, 362.

Muzaffar Mughul, 512.

Nāẓīb Shāh, son of Qutlū, 520.

Naqīr Main, 526 (No. 410).

Naqīr, 383.

Naqīr Khusrav, a poet, 190, 196.

Naqīruddīn Pakhlīwāl, Sultān, 454.

Naqīrulmulk, vide Pir Muhammad Khān.

Naqīrullah, son of Mukhtār Beg, 497.

Naqīrullah, Čafī, 100.

Nādī 'Ali Arlāt, 508.

Nādī 'Alī, Háfiz, 506.

Nādī 'Ali Ma'idānī, 507 (No. 817).

Nādir Shāh, 363.

Nādirī, name of several poets, 605, 606a.

Nādir ulmulk, 590a.

Nafīdis ulmasāris, a work on literature, 445n.

nafīr, a trumpet, 51.

Nāhīd Begum, 420.

Nāīk Bakhshī, a singer, 611. [312.]

Najābat Khān, Shujā' Mīrzā Badakhbāh,
Najat Khan, Mirza, 374, 439 (No. 142).  
Najibah Nasagah, 398.  
Najmuddin 'Ali Khan Barha, 392.  
Najmuddin Muhammad Khan, 566a.  
Nakhoda, or skipper, 281.  
Naman Das Kachhwahab, 483.  
name of grandfather given to a child, 487.  
namghara, or awning, 46.  
Nam, a poet, 614.  
Nanak Jajj, a singer, 612.  
maphtha, 40.  
Napoleon I, 587a.  
Naqibat Khan, 406.  
Naqib Khan, 104, 106a, 106, 447 (No. 161).  
naqis, a weight, 36.  
naqtdara, a drum, 51;—khana, 47.  
naqshbandi, its meaning, 423a.  
Narvin Dast Bahor, of Idar, 433.  
mardal, a kind of gun, 113.  
mashpadi, a melon, 65.  
nask, a kind of writing, 99, 100.  
maslat, a kind of writing, 101, 102.  
Natthu, of Gujrati, Muzaffar Shah, 385, 386; vide Muzaffar Shah.  
Nau'i, a poet, 606.  
Nauroz Khan, 354, 463, 531, 572a.  
nauruz, or New Year's day, 183, 276.  
Nauroz Beg Qasbahal, 437.  
Navai, 603a.  
Nawazish Khan Sa'dullah, 363, 363a.  
Nazar Bahadur, 374.  
Nazar Be Uzbak, 455 (No. 169).  
Nazar Khan Gakhar, 486 (No. 247).  
Nazar Muhammad Khan, of Balkh, 481.  
Nazi, the poet, 579, 579a, 613a.  
newwriters, 258, 338.  
New Year's day, 183, 276.  
midriyas, 23.  
Nizamuddin, a Persian primer, 41a.  
michicaldah, 26.  
Nikallu, a Turkish tribe, 619.  
Nil Kanti, of Orissa, 508 (No. 318).  
nimah azmudra, 254.  
Nimatullah Barawab, a katiib, 101.  
nine, a favorite number of the Mughuls, 364a.  
Niyabat Khan, the rebel, 400, 403, 425, 437.  
Niyazi Afghani, 484.  
Nizam, of Jalore, 494.  
Nizam, Qazi, vide Ghazi Khan Badakhsh.  
Nizam, Shaikh, 598.  
Nizami, of Qazvin, 103.  
Nizam Murtaza Khan, Sayyid, 469.  
Nizamuddin Ahmad, the historian, 420a, 436, 514, 528.  
Nizamuddin Ahmad, son of Shah Muhammad Khan, 516 (No. 341).  
Nizamuddin Auliya, 440.  
Nizamuddin, Jam, 362.  
Nizamulmul Khwaja, 495.  
Nizamulmul Tus, 583.  
Nuzrat Yar Khan Barha, 392, 395.  
nugtah, 453.  
Nugtawis, a sect, 452, 597a.  
Nuram, 526 (No. 415).  
Nur, a poet, 542.  
Nurndah, title of a poem, 412.  
Nur Qilij, 480 (No. 229).  
Nuruddin Mirza, son of Aqaf Khan II, 369, 433.  
Nuruddin Muhammad Naqshbandi, Mirza, 309, 618.  
Nuruddin Qarari, a poet, 586, 586a.  
Nuruddin Tarkhan, 424, 524, 641.  
Nurullah, a katiib, 103.  
Nurullah Injul, 451.  
Nurullah, Misr, 545.  
Nurullah, Qazi, 346.  
Nurunnisa Begum, a wife of Jahangir, 464, 477a.  
Nuzhatulwadah, a gustic book, 181, 547.
ODAT Singh Bhadauriah, 489.
Officers of the Mint, 18, 19, 20, 22.
opium eating, excessive, 378, 384n.;
vide drinking.

oranges, 69.
Ordat Kachhwáhah, 483.
ordeals, 205.

PACHWARIAH, a kind of horse, 133.
Páshá Khwájah, 459.
Pádisháh Quilf, 480, 596.
padre, a Portuguese priest, 182.
págoskt, one of Akbar’s regulations, 217.
Pahár, of Jálor, 494.
Pahár Khán Baloch, 381, 526 (No. 407).
Pahár Singh Bundolá, 407, 488.
Paháří, nickname of Prince Murád, 309.
pahit, 59.
pahukuda, or wrestler, 253.
pálkí, or runners, 138; vide postrunners.
pákdr, 26.
painting, art of, 96, 107; discouraged
by Islám, 108; painters of Europe, 96; vide Akbar.

Pairawi, of Sáwah, a poet, 600.

pásha, a coin, 31.
palád, a wood, 298.
pálkí bearers, 254.
pán, 72, 73, 616.
pándkotalí, a stuff, 610.
Panchú, Shaikh, 538, 617.
pándau, a coin, 30, 31.
pánidláh, a fruit, 70.
páníuñdr, 26.
páñj, a coin, 30.
Pápá, the Pope, 183.
paper, variegated, invention of, 101.
Parhez Bánú Beşum, 314.
Parírsám, Rájah of Jammu, 345.
Parnánsánd K’hatrí, 476 (No. 214).

Pársí feasts, kept by Akbar, 276; vide
Akbar, Zoroastrians.

páras stone, 402.
Parí-chúrat, a masnawi, 514.
Paríchhat Zamíndár, 493.
Partáb Bundlá, 488.
Partáb, Ráí of Mánkot, 345.
Partáb Ráná (Ráná Kiká), 387, 400,
443n., 519.
Partáb Singh Kachhwáhah, 516 (No.
336).
Partáb Ujjainiyah, 513a.
párváncháhah, 263.
Parvánchá, an officer, 269.
Parvíz, Prince, 310, 311, 314, 336, 337,
344, 477n.
Parvízídád, a musician, 613a.
Patr Dás, Ráí Bikramájít, 439, 469
(No. 196).
páuláh, a coin, 31.

pay, of soldiers, 247, 251, 252, 254,
504; of mançabdárs, 248; of Abadís,
260.

Payámí, a poet, 601.

Páyanád Khán Mughul, 387 (No. 68).
Páyanád Muhammad Tarkhán, 362.

payments, how made, 262, 263, 264.
pensions, 474, 610.

perfumes, 73, 74, 75, 77.

Peshrá Khán, 497 (No. 280).

pharát, 253.

Pharsí, proverbial in the East, 160a.,
169, 170, 181.
Pícháh Ján Anagáh, 344.
pickles, 64

pigeon flying, 298.
piles, prevent a man from joining in
public worship, 177.
pineapples, 68.

pinjar, 25.

Pír ‘Alí Beg, 315.

Pír Khán [Píráj], son of Daulat Khán
 Lodí, 603.

Pír Khán, of Jálor, 629.

Pír Muhammad, a káthib, 101.

Pír Muhammad Khán Shirwájí (Muájí),
334 (No. 20), 359a., 541, 619.
Pirzádah, Liwáí, a poet and musician, 613, 613a.

geláí, vide brass.

píydr, a fruit, 71.

plantain tree, 70.

play, at court, 203, 297, 303, 349.

Poets, of Akbar’s reign, 548ff.; poets laureate of India, 491, 548a.; 611;

vide Kabi Ráí, Malik ushaharárá.

Vide also the following Poets, mentioned in the Ain,—Açafi, Amrí, Anjáí, Arslán, Askí, Asirí, Atisí, Bábah Tálib; Çibrí, Çárfí (Çárafi) Kashmirí, Çárfí Sáwájí, Çábuíi, Çáhib, Çálihi, Çúff; Dakhlí, Daurí, Dáwái; Faizí (Fáyzáí), Faizí Sarhindí, Fáhím, Fánáí, Farebí, Fárisí, Fikrí, Fúsání; Ghairáí, Ghayúrí, Ghazáli, Ghazáwí, Haidar Mu’ammáí, Haidarí, Hairáí, Hálatí, Halilmí, Hamdámí, Háshímí, Hayátí, Háziq, Hussain Marwi, Husní, Husúrí; Imámí, 'Itábí; Jámí, Jázáí, Judáí; Kábí, Kalím, Kábí, Kábí Sabzáwárí, Khusráu, Khusráwí; Lisáni, Liwáí; Mawí, Málí, Makhmi, Msháí, Mazjhári, Musháfiqí; Nádír Khusráu, Nádírí, Námí, Nau’í, Nawáí, Nazáí, Núrí; Pairáwi, Payámí; Qádí, Qaráí, Qásím Arslán, Qásím Jánábádí, Qásími, Qudáí, Rahálí, Rahí, Rázáí, Ruswáí; Sámarí, Sanáí, Shaikh Ságí, Saqqá, Sarkháwí, Sarmádí, Sawádí, Shafrí, Sháhri, Shápurí, Shérí, Shíráí, Shikbáí, Shójáí, Sirájá, Sulántí; Taqyá, Táriqí, Tashbáhí; Uháfí, 'Urífí; Wafrí, Wáfrí, Wáfí, Walí Daesh Bayází, Wálábí, Wágarí, Wuqúlí.

porter, vide Darbán.

Portuguese, their missionaries at Akbar’s court, 188, 189, 191, 618; take pilgrims to Makkah, 172, 440, 499.

post, post-runners, 252a.

Prasuttam Singh Kachhwáháh, 458.

Pratáí, vide Partáí.

precious stones, 15, 451, 510a.; vide diamond, yáqút.

prices of articles, 62; of ice, 56; of building materials, 223; vide wages.

Printing, art of, in India, 99a.

prisoners, how treated, 330.

Prít’hi Chand Kachhwáháh, 495.

Prít’hí Singh Bundelá, 488.

Prophet, the, abused at court, 196.

prostitutes, segregated, 192.

prostration, or sjídah, 169, 159a., 181, 192.

Public Works, 223.

punhá, 24, 26.

Páran Mall, of Gódhor, 340, 480a.

Páwan Mall Kachhwáháh, 329.

Purbín Khán, a musician, 612.

Puruk’hotam, Ráí, a Bráhman, 180, 533.

QABIL son of ’Atíq, 526 (No. 412).

Qábúl Khán, 457 (No. 197), 516.

gábúlú, a dish, 60.

Qadam Rádíl, or Qadam Mubárák, or foot print of the prophet, 199, 507.

Qádir Khán Mallú, 428.

Qádir Quli, 526 (No. 402).

gaiuyú, a kind of camphor; vide fanúrú, 78.

Qádí, of Shírúz, a poet, 599.

Qáim Khán, 371.

galandár, a kind of tent, 46, 54.

galýak, a dish, 61.

Qamar Khán, 443, 485 (No. 243).

gamargháh, a kind of hunting, 254.

Qandahári Maháll, 314.

Qanbar Bo, 455.

Qásá, a medical work, 467.

Qáqshál, a clan, 369, 369a.

Qarah Bahádur, 460 (No. 179).

Qarah Bahúrí, 516 (No. 345).
Qarâ Beg Farrâshbegî, 313.
Qarâ Khân Turkmân, 355.
Qaraqoïntî Turks, 315, 619.
Qarátâq Khân, 400, 516.
Qarâ Turks, 371a.
Qarâ Yûsuf, 315.
Qarâchah Khân, 388.
qarârnâmah, 263.
Qarârî, Nûrûddin of Gilân, a poet, 175, 586.
qârdwâl, or hunters, 282, 289.
Qârlyghâ, a tribe, 454, 501.
Qâsim, Mûllâ and Maulânâ, 545.
Qâsim 'Alî Khân, 465 (No. 187).
Qâsim Arslân, a poet, 103, 609.
Qâsim Badakhshî, Mîr, 499 (No. 283).
Qâsim Beg, 106, 517 (No. 359), 541.
Qâsim Beg Khân, 378.
Qâsim Jânâbâdî, Mîrzâ, 591.
Qâsim Kâhî, a poet, 209, 566.
Qâsim Khân Kâsû, 443.
Qâsim Khân Mîr Bahr, 379 (No. 59), 620.
Qâsim Khân, son of Mîr Murûd, 498.
Qâsim Khân Sîstânî, 439.
Qâsim Khwâjah, 507 (No. 316).
Qâsim Kohbar, a musician, 613.
Qâsim Kôkah, 420.
Qâsim, Shaikh, Muhtashim Khân, 493.
Qâsim, of Mâzandarân, a poet, 610.
Qawwân Khân, 371.
Qazâq Khân Takhî, 426, 608.
Qâzî, 268; general character of Qâzîs, 269.
Qâzî 'Alî, 411, 528.
Qâzî Khân Badakhshî, 383.
Qâzî Khân Bakhshî, 477 (No. 223).
Qâzî Hasan, of Qazwîn, 498 (No. 281).
qîmah paldo, a dish, 60; qîmah shûrbâ, 60.
gîrât, a weight, 36.
gîrbûk, a title, 303a.
Qismiyah Bânû, 618.

qîsâq, a mare, 135.
qîmîr, a weight, 36.
Qiyâ Khân, 437.
Qiyâ Khân, son of Čâbib Khân, 464 (No. 184).
Qiyân Khân, son of Shâh Muhammed Qalâtî, 433.
gübüz, a musical instrument, 613.
Quch Beg Humâyûnî, 455.
Qudsî, of Karbây, a poet, 602.
quicksilver, 39; habitually eaten, 401; when called kushkâ, 663a.
gulîj, meaning of, 355a., 500.
Quîlî Khân, 34, 309, 354.
Quîljullah, 501.
gullatâin, 202.
Qunduq Khân, 464 (No. 181).
Qundâz Khân, 376, 464.
gur, or collection of weapons, royal flags, &c, 50, 109, 110, 282.
Qurâish Sultân, of Kâshghar, 469.
gurqâbû, 23.
gutâb, a dish, 60.
Qutbuddîn, Sultân of Gujurât, 506.
Qutbuddîn, of Jâlesar, 191.
Qutbuddîn Khân, 138, 241, 333 (No. 28).
Qutbuddîn Khân, Shaikh, 496 (No. 275).
Qutlû Khân Lohânî, 326, 343, 354, 356, 366a, 440; his sons, 520.
Qutlûgh, meaning of, 432.
Qutlûgh Qadam Khân, 432 (No. 123).

Râbi, a coin, 30.
Râfi, [Râfi'uddîn Haidar] of Kâshân, a poet, 593, 593a.
Râfiqi, 594a.
Râfi'uddîn Çâfawî, Mîrzâ, 523.
Rahî, a poet, 592a.
rahas, a coin, 28.
Rahî, a poet, 611.
Rahim Quil, 516 (No. 333).
Rahmân Dâd, Mîrzâ, 339.
Rahmat Khân, son Masnâd 'Alî, 497, 502 (No. 306).
Rahmatullah, a singer, 613.
Rāi Bhūj Hādī, 468 (No. 174).
Rāi Durgā Śrīodā, 417 (No. 108).
Rāi Māl Shāikh Hāwāt, 419.
Rāi Mān, 526s.
Rāi Rāi Singh, 310, 357 (No. 44, 463, 556).
Rāi Sāl Dārābī, 419 (No. 106).
Rāhārī, a class of Hindūs who train camels, 147.
rañjānt, a kind of writing, 99, 100.
Rājah 'Ali of Khándoseh, 463; vide 'Ali Khān.
Rājāwāt, 419.
Rājpūta, Jānūhā, 334; Kachhāwākh, vide Bhārī Māl; Hādī, 409; Rangbār, 526; Rāthors, 357, 469; vide Main, Munj.
Rājasingh, Rājah, Kachhāwākh, 458 (No. 174).
Rājū Bārūs, Sayyida, 452.
rdkā'ī, a Hindū custom, 184, 216s.
Rām Chand Baghelā, 358, 367, 369, 406, 612s.
Rām Chand Bundelā, 477s., 487 (No. 248).
Rām Chand Chauhān, 495.
Rām Chand Kachhāwākh, son of Jagannāth, 387.
Rām Chand Kachhāwākh, 405 (No. 268).
Rām Chandr, Rājah of Khurdah, 489 (No. 250), 407n.
Rām Dās, son of Rajainge, Kachhāwākh, 463.
Rām Dās Kachhāwākh, [Rājāh Kāran] 483.
Rām Dās Diwan, Rāi, 615 (No. 331).
Rām Dās, the singer, 611a., 612, 612s.
Rāmasāh, Rājah of Gwāliār, 339, 343.
Rām Sāh Bundelā, 356, 357.
Rānās of Maiwār, 387; vide Partāb Singh, Udā Singh.
Ranbāz Khān Kambū, 402.
Rangbār Rājpūta, 626.
Rangsen of Agraah, a musician, 612.
Rashahdī-ul-haydā, title of a book, 568s.
rast, an acid, 24.
Ratan Rāthor, 359.
Ratan Singh Śrīodā, 418.
Rāthors, 337, 469, 523.
rati, a weight, 16s.
Rauhānīs, 34s., 340, 345, 356.
Razā Quāl, 496 (No. 274).
Razā, a poet, 466.
Razawī, 492; — Sayyida, 381; — Khān, a title, 439; vide Mūsawī.
Razawī Khān Mīrzā Mīrāk, 438 (No. 141).
Razīf Mulk, 386.
rebellion of the Mīrzās, 323, 330, 332, 333, 373, 375, 388, 396, 397, 404; dates, 484s.
refining of gold, 20; of silver, 22.
religious views of the Emperor Akbar; vide Akbar.
reporters, 268; vide waqī'ah-nawīs.
revenue, how paid, 13.
revolt, military, in Bengal, 323, 350, 351, 431.
Bī'āyat, son of Pesbhra Khān, 498.
rīpa, a metal, 40.
rice, best kinds, 57.
rīqā', a kind of writing, 99, 100.
rīdālahdar, an officer, 269.
river tolls, 281.
Rīdānasalātīn, title of a historical work, 427.
Rizqullah Khān, vide Hakīm Rizqullah.
Rozafūn, Rājah, 446s.
rubūb, a musical instrument, 613.
ruby, a large one, 414.
rūṣī-i-tāiyyā, a metal, 40.
rūṣānt, a kind of writing, 99.
Rūhullāh (I), 611.
rūz, a metallic composition, 41.
rusted towns, 494.
Ruknuddin Mahmūd Kamāngar, 539.
Ruknuddin, Shāikh, 538.
Ruknuddin, a poet, 589s.
S A'ADAT Bânú Begum, 619. 
Sa'ádat Khán, 478, 478a. 
Sa'ádat Khán, son of Zafar Khán, 522. 
Sa'ádat Khán Badakhshi, 427 (No. 117). 
Sa'ádat Mirzá, son of Khízr Khwájah, 443 (No. 153). 
Sabal Singh, 485 (No. 245). 
sabd, 22. 
Sabdul Khán, 438 (No. 139). 
Sa'duddín, of Kháf, 592n. 
Sa'dullah Masihá, 544. 
Sa'dullah Mauláná, 545. 
Sa'dullah Nawázish Khán, 363, 363a. 
saffron (za'farán), 84, 411, 479. 
safídrú, a metallic composition, 40. 
sdg, 59. 
sahsah, a money bag, 14. 
Sâhú Bhopsirah, 489. 
sâhu ullisân, title of a book, 603n. 
sâibdân, a royal ensign, 50. 
Sa'id Badakhshi, 410. 

Rúmí Khán, Ustád Jalábí, 441 (No. 148). 
runners, 138. 
Rúp, a servant of Akbar, 425. 
rupee, raised from 35 to 40 dáms, 233; counted 40 dáms in salaries, 31; — of Sher Sháh, 31; of Akbar, 31, 33. 
Rúpmátí, the beautiful dancing girl, 429. 
Rúp Mukund Sísodiah, 418. 
Rúp Singh Sísodiah, 418. 
Rúpsi Bairágí Kachhwálah, 427. 
Rugayyah Begum, daughter of Mírzá Hindál, Akbar's wife, 309, 509. 
Rustam Khán Dák'hín, 478. 
Rustam Çáfawi, Mirzá, 314 (No. 9), 364a, 513, 619. 
Rustam, Prince, 618. 
Rustam i Zamán, Shaikh Kabír, 519, 520. 
Ruswái, 595n. 
riyât, 196. 

Sa'id Khán Bahádur Zafarjang, 466. 
Sa'id Khán Chaghtái, 331, 340n, 363, 363a, 463. 
Sa'id Khán Gakk'hár, 456, 457, 477n, 632. 
Sa'id, Mauláná, of Turkistán, 540. 
Sa'id Toqúbí, 439. 
Saif 'Alí Beg, 315. 
Saif Khán Bárha, 392, 414. 
Saif Khán Kokah, 350. 
Saifuddín Çáfawi, 315. 
Saifuddín Húsain 'Alí Khán Bárha, 392. 
Saifullah, Mirzá, son of Qulij Khán, 500 (No. 292), 34a. 
Saifulmulúk, 473. 
sailors, 250. 
Sájawá Khán Súr, 428. 
Sakat Singh, 485 (No. 256). 
Sakat Singh, son of Udai Singh, 519. 
Sakat Singh Kachhwálah, 516 (No. 342). 
Sakinah Bânú Begum, 435, 449. 
Sakrá, of Maiwár, 519 (No. 366). 
Sálbuddín Çárfí, 586n. 
Sálmulálah, 211. 
salaries, of women, 44, 45, 615; of pensioners, 451; of ship-captains, 281; bow paid, 262, 263, 264; 240, 245, 248, 250, 251, 510, 511. 
Salim Chishti, of Fathpúr Síkri, 169, 267a, 309, 402, 475, 482, 496, 515, 539, 546. 
Salim Khán Afgáhn, 415. 
Salim Khán Kákar, 438 (No. 132). 
Salim Khán Sírmúr Afgáhn, 436. 
Salim, Prince, vide Jahángír. 
Salim Qulí, 618 (No. 367). 
Salim Sháh, 331, 317, 466; vide Is-lém Sháh. 
Salimá Khánúm, 441. 
Salimá Sultán Begum, 198, 309, 316, 327, 441, 618. 
salímt, a coin, 30. 
Salmán of Sáwah, a poet, 100n.
sallon, 21, 26, 37.
salt, manufacture of, 470; an antidote against drunkenness, 555a.
saltpetre, 55, 56.
Saltán Deodah, of Sarohí, 357, 358a., 419.
salutations, at court, 158.
Samání Khán, 416 (No. 100).
Samání Khán Qurghújí, 441 (No. 147).
Samarqandí, Mir, 523.
Sámí‘ah Begum, 451.
Sámí‘, a poet, 603a., 604.
Sandbél, title of a book, 547.
samadás, or grants, 259; how sealed, 263.
Sanáí, a poet, 550a., 563.
sanblú, a dish, 60.
sand forrewing on paper, 101.
sandalwood, 81.
Sandahás, a family of Amarkot, 339.
Sángah Pupwar, 556 (No. 411).
Sangrám, of K'harkarpúr, 340, 466, 466a., 480a.
sangrám, Akbar’s favorite gun, 116, 617.
Sání Khán Harawi, 476.
sanj, or cymbal, 51.
Sanjár, of Kashán, a poet, 595.
Sanjár Çañañ, Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirzá, 313, 496 (No. 272).
Sanjár Mirzá, son of Khizr Khán Házaráh, 477a.
Sánká Báná, 430.
Sanakrit, translations from, 104, 106, 199; names of the sun, 200, 202.
sanuí (sattúj), a kind of horse, 133.
Saywal Dós Jalóq, 525 (No. 396).
Saywal Singh Bundelá, 488.
ságdísmah, 290.
Ságí, Shaikh, a poet, 593.
ságínámas, a class of poems, by Sanáí, 563a.; by Shíkebí, 576a.; by Muhammad Çá‘íf, 590a.
Saqqá, a poet, 581a.
saráspardáh, 54.
Sarboland Khán, 506.
Sardár Khán, Mirzá ‘Abduláh, 327, 328.
Sardár Khán, 328, 469, 492.
Sarfaráz Khán, 492.
sarkhúj, 260, 261, 263.
Sarkhúj, the poet, 263a.
Sarmadí Afgán, 341.
Sarmadí, of Iqfahán, 607.
sarmandál, a musical instrument, 612.
Sarmast Khán, 519 (No. 362).
Sarod Khán, a singer, 612.
Satr Sál Bundelá, 488.
Satr Sál Kachháwáh, 418.
Satr Sál Ráthor, 359.
Sattás, a tribe, 456a.
Saturn, or Zanhal, 201a.
Sawádí, a poet, 580a.
Sawdání, a historical work, 316a., 418a.
Sawdání ilhám, title of a book, 549.
sayurghál, or rent-free land, 261, 268, 269, 270.
Sayyíd, of Amrohab, 391; Arabbáhí, 389; of Bárha, 336, 390; of Bu-khrá, 413, 415; of Gúlistánah, 566a.; of Injú, 460; of Itósháh, 459; of Mánikpúr, 391; Músawí, 381; Razawí, 381, 482; Salámí, of Shíráz, 506, 507; Ťabá‘íbá, 593a.; of Tirmíz, 514.

sciences, how divided, 279a.
sealing-wax, how made, 264.
seals, Imperial, 46, 52, 263.
soot, vide Khwájahs; Maghríbiyáhs; Mahdawíhs; Mahmoudíhs; Nútíawáhs; Rahsháníhs; Sumáníhs; Umanáhs; Wáhidíhs.
Shád Khán, 481.
Shád Khán, Mirzá Shahánmán, 327, 328, 480 (No. 233).
Shádí Be Usták, 519 (No. 367).
Shádí Beg, 456.
Shádí Beg Shájä‘át Khán, 481.
Shádí Khán Afgán, 319.
Shádí Khán Shádí Be, 456.
Sháh Muhammad, son of Quraish Sultán, 506 (No. 310).
Sháh Muhammad, son of Káshghar, 459.
Sháh Muhammad, son of Sháhábéd, 106.
Sháh Muhammad Khán Qaláti, 408 (No. 95).
Sháh Quli Khán Náranjá, 480 (No. 231), 596.
Sháh Quli Çalışat Khán, 449.
Sháh Quli Mahram Bahári, 359 (No. 45).
Sháh Sultán, Mírzá, 441.
\textit{shákálú} (cherries), 65; vide gílá.
Sháham Aghtá, 441.
Sháham Beg, 319.
Sháham Khán Jaláir, 410 (No. 97).
Sháhámát Khán Bárha, 392.
Sháhab Khán Kambá, 188, 242, 328, 342, 356, 399 (No. 80), 429.
Sháhab Khán, son of Shárií Amírul-Umará, 618.
\textit{sháhí}, a kind of silver, 23, 37.
Sháhjahán [Prince Khúrram], 310, 311, 314, 337, 337a; abolishes the prostration, 213a.
Shahnawáz Khán Čafawí, 339, 472, 472a.
Shahnawáz Khán, Mírzá Irlích, 339, 511.
Sháhí, a poet, 424.
Sháhrúkh Dántúrí, 524 (No. 392).
Sháhrúkh, Mírzá, son of Mírzá Itáshín Badakhshi, 309; 312 (No. 7); his children, 313; 330, 390a.; 525.
Sháhrúkh, son of Mírzá Rustam Čafawí, 314.
Sháhrýáár, Prince, 311, 510.
Sháhú Khálí Afgáná, 602.
Sháhídá Khánun, Akbar’s daughter, 308.
Sháblání, a tribe, 319, 328.
Sháblání Khán Úrbák, 361, 362.
Shaíkh Husain, an engraver, 53.
Shaíkh Husain, Mauláná, 540.
Shaíkh Mír, 445a.
Shaikhawat Kachhwáhah, 494.
Shaikhzádah i Suhrawárdí, 100.
Sháhtab Khán, Mirzá Abú Tálib, 511, 512.
Shájáwal Khán Súr, 428.
Shámdúd un-nabá, title of a work, 544.
Shámlú, a tribe of Túrkmáns, 578a, 619.
Sháms Buhará, 619.
shámsa, an ensign, 50.
shámskerdáz, 252, 253.
Shámaí, Mirzá, vide Jahángír Qul Khán.
Shámsuddín Báyásanghur, a kátil, 100.
Shámsuddín Chak, 618.
Shámsuddín Hakímúl Mulk, 542.
Shámsuddín Kháfd, Khwájah, 445 (No. 159), 411, 425, 461.
Shámsuddín Khatán, a kátil, 100.
Shámsuddín Kírmání, a kátil, 102.
shámdul, an awning, 54.
Shámkal Bég, 361.
shámsa, 27.
Shápúr Khwájah, 506, 512.
Sharáf, of Nishápúr, a musician, 613a.
Sharáf, of Yásd, an engraver, 53.
Sharáf Bég, of Shíráz, 512 (No. 321).
Sharafuddín, of Munár, a saint, 48.
Sharafuddín, Mir, 607.
Sharafuddín Husán, Mirzá, 323 (No. 17), 330, 350, 351.
Sharíf Amlú, Mir, 462 (No. 166), 176, 209, 591a.
Sharíf, Amír ul Umár, son of Khwájah 'Abduqamát, 617 (No. 351).
Sharíf Khán, 383 (No. 63).
Sharíf, Mir, of Koláb, 526 (No. 406).
Sharíf, Mir, son of Sháh Fathullah, 540.
Sharíf, Mirzá, son of 'Aláuddín, 522 (No. 372).
Sharíf Sarmád, 516 (No. 344), 591a, 607, 607s.
Sharíf 'Usúq, a poet, 591.
sháki, 203.

Shawls, 90, 91.
Sher Afkán Khán Ištajú, first husband of Núr Jahan, 496, 524.
Sher Afkán, son of Sáif Kókáb, 518 (No. 355).
Sher Afkán Khán Humáýuní, 455.
Sher 'Alí Kámrání, 388.
Sher Beg Yásawulbábí, 515 (No. 334).
Sher Khán, son of I'timád Khán Gujrátí, 387.
Sher Khán Fúládí, 325, 386, 396, 407, 463.
Sher Khán Mughul, 494 (No. 263).
Sher Khwájah, 469 (No. 176).
Sher Muhammad, 524 (No. 393).
Sher Muhammad Dívánábá, 316, 317, 348, 402, 524.
Sher Sháh Súr, called by Mughul historians Sher Khán, 328a; his army reforms, 242; confers lands, 256, 271; 340, 422, 428, 456, 503, 504.
Sher Sháh, son of 'Adli Mubáriz Khán, 410.
Sherzád, 408.
Sherzád Khán Bahádúr, 514.
Sher Zamán Báhra, 392, 394.
Sherí, a poet, 106, 197, 202, 204, 610.
Sheroyah Khán, 455 (No. 168).
Sherullah, 522.
Shí'ahs, 339; how treated by Sunnis, 401; may abuse their religion, vide taqiyah.
Shifá, a writer, 543.
Shiháb Badakhshí, 482.
Shiháb Khán, a singer, 612.
Shiháb Khán, Hájí, 371.
Shihábuddín Ahmad Khán, or Shiháb Khán, 322 (No. 26), 591a.
Shihábuddín Suhrawárdí, 433.
Shihebí, Mullá, a poet, 335a, 576.
Shimáí Khán Cheláh, 443 (No. 164), 476.
ships, 280.
sitting, modes of, 160a.
Sivrát, a Hindú festival, 201.
Síwá Rám, 481.
siyád gosh, 290.
Sozá Kachhváhah, 329.
soldiers, their pay, 247, 251, 252, 349n.;
nursed, 265.
sounds, nature of, 98.
Sox o gudás, a Masnawí, 606a.
specific gravity, 41; of woods, 227.
spices, 64.
[422.
Srí Rám, son of Gajpatí of Bihár, 400,
Stewart's History of Bengal, 323, 368a.,
370a., 399a.
stitch, different kinds of, 89a.
storax, 81.
stuff, different kinds of, 90, 91, 617.
Subhán Khán, a singer, 612.
Subhán Quli Khán, of Bakhárá, 522.
Subhán Quli Türk, 383.
Subhán Singh Bundélá, 488.
sugandh gúgál (bdellium), 83.
sugarcane, cultivation of, 69.
Suhail Khán Habsí, 335.
Suhrá Khán, 413.
Suhráb Türkman, 463.
Suk'h Deo Bundélá, 488.
súktí, a coin, 31.
Sulaimán (Solomon), king of the Jews,
306, 554, 554a., 562a.
Sulaimán Kararání, king of Bengal,
171, 318, 337, 366, 427, 502; his
death, 427n., 618.
Sulaimán, Khwájah, 457.
Sulaimán Lohání, Khwájah, 520.
Sulaimán Manklí, 370.
Sulaimán, Mirzá, son of Khán Mirzá
311 (No. 5), 322.
Sulaimán Shirzáí, Khwájah, 356, 457,
512 (No. 327).
Sulaimán, Sultán, of Badakhshán, 440.
sulphur, 26, 39.
sułá, a kind of writing, 99, 100.
Sultán, nom de plume of several poets, 320.
Sultán Shaikh, of Thaneswar, 104.
Sultán 'Adám Gakk'har, vide 'Adám.
Sultán 'Ali, of Qáyín, a kátib, 102.
Sultán 'Ali, Khwájah, vide Afzal Khán.
Sultán 'Ali, of Mashhad, a kátib, 101, 102.
Sultán Begum, 441.
Sultán Deorb, vide Sultán Deobah.
Sultán Háфиз Husain, a musician, 613.
Sultán Hásim, a musician, 613.
Sultán Husain, of Khurjand, 102.
Sultán Husain Jaláir, 317, 384, 411.
Sultán Husain Mírzá, 299.
Sultán Ibráhím, of Aushá, 435, 533.
Sultán Khánnum, Akbar's daughter, 434.
Sultán Khwájah, 'Abdul 'Azím, 204, 209, 210, 269, 272, 273, 423 (No. 108), 619.
Sultán Mahmúd Badakhshá, 528.
Sultán Mahmúd Mírzá, 311.
Sultán Muhammad Khandán, 102.
Sultán Muhammad Munsíf Khán, 477.
Sultán Muhammad Núr, a kátib, 102.
Sultán Sárang Gakk'har, 456, 486.
Sultán Tatár Gakk'har, 456.
Sultánunnísí Begum, 310.
Sumaní, a sect in Sindh, 179a.
sumú, a coin, 30.
sun, worshipped by Akbar, 200, 202; honored by Jahangír, 212a.
Sundar, of Orísá, 526 (No. 414).
Súr Dáš Kachhwáháh, 498.
Súr Dáš, a singer, 612, 612a.
Súr Singh Ráthor, 359.
súrajkírdát, a stone, 48.
Surján Hádá Rái, 409, 436.
surkh, a weight, 16a.
Surmáh i Sulaimánt, a Persian dictionary, 518.
surá, a trumpet, 51.
suttesa, 341, 606a, 612a.
swelling, a disease peculiar to Bhakkar, 421.
tangâr, 26.
tâng'han, a pony, 133.
tânk, a weight, 16n.
Tânsen, the singer, [Tansain, Tansin] 406, 475, 612, 613a.
Tántarang Khán, a singer, 612.
Taqî, or Taqyâ, Mullâ, of Shustar, 208, 209, 518 (No. 352).
Taqî Muhammad, 518.
Taqî, Mir, son of Shah Fathullah, 540.
Taqyâ, of Balbân, 518.
taqiyâh, practised by Shi'ahs, 338.
tarfîdâr, 289.
Tarbiyat Khân, 371.
Târdî Beg Khán, 318 (No. 12), 371.
Târdî Khân, son of Qiyâ Khân, 344, 416 (No. 101).
târî, or toddy, 70.
Târikh i Adjî, 410, 449.
Târikh i Ilâhî, or Akbar's Divine Era, 196.
Târikh i Khân Jahân Lodî, 506.
Târikh i Mu'vîmî, 421n., 490.
Târikh i Rashîdî, a historical work, 459, 460n., 461n.
Târikh i Sîndh (Mâqumî), 514.
Târikis, a tribe, 469.
Târîqî, a poet, 598n.
târkhân, a title, 364; conferred by Akbar, 542.
Târkhân Divânâh, 351.
târkul tree, 70.
târî, a fruit, 71.
Târson Khân, 342 (No. 32), 422.
Tarsen Mullâ, of Badakshân, 210.
Tâsh Beg, of Qipchák, a musician, 613.
Tâsh Beg Khân Mughul, 457 (No. 172).
Tâshbihî, of Kâshân, a poet, 476, 596.
tasîlîm, a kind of salutation, 158.
tassîjî, a weight, 36.
Tâtrâs, worship the sun, 210.
Tâtrâs Galk'har, Sultân, 456.
Tâtâr Khân, 424 (No. 111).

Tâtâr Sultân, of Persia, 508.
Tauhîd i Ilâhî, name of Akbar's religion, 201.
taujîth, army accounts, 260.
tauqî', a kind of writing, 99, 100.
taxes, 275, 430; on marriages, 278; on horses imported, 215.
tâzî, a kind of horse, 140, 233.
Tâskiratul Umârî, a historical work, 448n.
ten ser tax, 275.
Terry's Voyage to East India, 621.
t'hânah, meaning of, 345m.
thîlî, 59.
tiger hunting, 283.
Tihanpurîs, a clan, 391, 393.
Tilûksî Kachhwâhâb, 398.
tîwâh, 293.
timber, kinds of, 233, 227.
Timur, 361, 366, 460.
Timur and Napoléon I., 587n.
Timur Badakshân, 476.
Timur Khân Yakkâh, 476 (No. 215.)
Timurides, 461.
tîn, 40.
Todar Mall Khâtîrî, Bâjab, 32, 333, 351, 341, 348, 375, 382, 382m., 432; his birth place, 630.
toddy, vide târî.
Tolak Khân Quchîn, 444 (No. 158).
tolerâ, 445n.
tolls, rivertolls, 281.
Toqbâi, a Chaghtái clan, 434.
torâh i Chingîzî, 464.
translations from Sanskrit into Persian 104, 199.
transmigration of souls, 179.
Treasures, 12, 14.
U'umar ibn Hubairah, 36.
U'umar Shaikh Mirzá, son of Timur, 299, 461, 546.

Umar id kišār, 239, 240.
Umm Kulúsun Begum, 441.

Uplah, or cowdung, 21.

Urdu language, 352.

Urdubegs, armed women, 46.

Urfi of Shírás, the poet, 425, 569, 580a.

Usmán, son of Bahádur Khán Qurbegh, 465.

Usmán Lohání, Khwájah, 340, 341, 477, 520, 521.

Ustá Dost, a singer, 612.

Ustá Muhammad Amin, 613.

Ustá Muhammad Husain, 613.

Ustá Sháh Muhammad, 613.

Ustá Yusuf, 613.

Ustád Jalábí, vide Bámí Khán.

Ustád Mirzá 'Ali Fathagi, a singer, 613a.

Ustajlíi, a tribe, 619.

Uwáis Sultán, 311.

Uymód (aymód), 371a, 381n.

Uzbaks, 313.

úsuk, an imperial seal, 52.

V

Aqāri, a poet, 364.

Vakils, of Akbar's reign, 527.

Vazír, of Akbar's reign, 527; vide Wazír.

Vazír Khán Hárání, 353 (No. 41), 366.

vegetables, 63, 71.

vorskity, 471.

vowel-signs of the Arabic language, 99.

W

Aqlí, a poet, 622, 508, 512.

Wafí of Ḩafí, a poet, 592.

wages of laborers, 225; of sailors, 231.

Wahdat 'Alí Raushání, 411.

Wáhídís, a sect, 462.

Wais Khwájah Dwán, 433, 464.
Wajihuddin, Shaikh, of Gujrat, 415, 440, 457, 538.
Wakil, vide Vakil.
Wala Jaih, Prince, 472n.
Wali Beg, 518 (No. 359).
Wali Beg Zulqadr, 329.
Wali Dasht Bayzai, a poet, 576n.
Wali Khan Lehni, 520, 521.
Wali Mirza, 310.
Walihi, a poet, 595n.
Waqari, vide Waqari.
waq‘a’khawais, or news writer, 258.
Waqi‘at i Babart, History of Babar’s reign, 335.
wardrobe, the imperial, 87, 91.
water, drunk at Court, 55; — of lite, 556n.
waterfowl, 295, 296.
wax representations of the birth of Christ, 193, 618.
waqifah, or allowances, 268.
Wazir Beg Jamil, 473 (No. 200); vide Vazir.
weapons, list of, 110.
weavers, 55, 88.
weighing of the king, &c., 266; — of distinguished men, 613n.
weights, 16n., 36; vide babilhuri; 87; — of Kashmir, 84, 346.
wine, drunk at court, 197; vide drinking.
wood, price of, 223.
wrestlers, 253.
writing, art of, 96.
women, how many a Muhammadan may marry, 173; 44; armed, 46 (vide Urgibegins); perfect, 48; of Persia, India and Transoxania, compared, 327; how treated in the harem, 361; — literary, vide Makhfi.
Wuqui, of Nishapur, a poet, 591.

Y
A‘BU, a horse, 233.
yaddaht, 249, 259.

Yadgar, Khwajah, 422.
Yadgar Hulaf, a poet, 535.
Yadgar Husain, 437, 516 (No. 335).
Yadgar Razawi, 346.
Yahya, of Kashan, a poet, 561n.
Yahya, Khwajah, of Sabzwar, 601n.
Yahya, Mir, a khatib, 100.
Yahya Qazwini, Mir, 447.
yak-ha‘th, 252.
yakkhi, a dish, 60.
yumani, a dirham, 36.
Yaminuddaulah Araf Jaih, 511; vide Araf Khan (IV).
Yaqub Beg Chaghtai, 331.
Yaqub Beg, son of Shah Beg Khan- Dauran, 378.
Yaqub Bukhari, Sayyid, 398.
Yaqub Chak, 479.
Yaqub, Qazi, 174.
Yaqut, invents the naskh-writing, 99.
yaqut, a stone, 510n.
Yar Beg, 602.
Yarq Khan [Boraq Khan], 460, 621.
Yar Muhammad, son of Cadiq Khan, 479 (No. 288).
Yar Muhammad, Mir, of Ghazni, 321.
yasad, 160.
Yatim Bahadir, 470.
Yazid, 36.
Yol Quli Anisi, a poet, 478.
yalma, a dish, 60.
Yunan Beg, 519 (No. 369).
 Yusuf (Joseph), 558n., 574n.
 Yusuf, son of ‘Umar, 36.
 Yusuf Beg Chaghtai, 331.
 Yusuf Harkun, Shaikh, 539.
 Yusuf Kashmiri, 623 (No. 388).
 Yusuf Khan, son of Husain Khan Turkiyab, 373, 620.
 Yusuf Khan Razawi, Mirza, of Mashhad, 346 (No. 35), 448, 606n.
Yūsuf Khán Chak, of Kashmīr, 478 (No. 228).
Yūsuf Mitti, 423.
Yūsuf Muhammad Khán, son of Atgah Khán, 323 (No. 18).
Yūsuf Shāh, of Maḥhad, a kātib, 100.
Yūsufzāi, 204, 333, 344.

Z A B A ’ D (civet), 79.
Zafar Khán, Shukrullah, 522.
Záhid, son of Čādiq Khán, 499 (No. 286), 500.
Záhid Khán Kokāh, 412.
Zahiruddīn ’Abdullāh Imāmī, 576a.
Zahiruddīn Khwājah, 525 (No. 397).
Zahiruddīn Yazdī, Mīr, 326.
Zāiddūlah, Mīr, 472, 473.
Zain Khán Kokāh, 205, 328, 344 (No. 34), 410, 477a., 592a.
Zain Shāh Gakkhar, 456a.
Zainuddīn, a kātib, 102.
Zainuddīn Abū Bakr, of Tāfbād, a saint, 366.
Zainuddīn ’Akhī, 626 (No. 405).
Zainuddīn Khāfī, 592, 592a.
Zainuddīn Mahmūd Kamānqar, 539a.
Zainul ’Abidīn, Mirzā, son of Aqā Khán (III.), 412, 573.

Zainul ’Abidīn, Sultan of Kashmīr, 456, 611a.
Zakariyā, Shaikh, of Ajodhan, 181.
Zakī, Mīr, 492.
Zalikhā, wife of Potiphār, 559a.
Zamān, Shaikh, of Pānīpat, 181.
Zamīndar, a tent, 54.
zarāh [zarrah], a coin, 30; a weight, 36.
zard birinji, a dish, 59.
Zarrād, 21.
Zarrāh o Khwāshed, a Masnawi, 597.
Zarrān-galūm, title of kātib, 100, 102, 103.
zāt, ‘brevet,’ 241.
Zebunnisa Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, 309.
Ziauddīn, Shaikh, 546.
Ziauddīn Yūsuf Khān, 472.
Ziaullāh, son of Muhammad Ghaus, 457.
Ziāul Mulk, of Kāshān, 497 (No. 296).
Zoroastrians, 184, 210.
Zubair, 36.
Zuhal, or Saturn, 201a.
Zulfqār Khān Nuqratjang, 511.
Zul-nūn Beg Arghūn, 361, 362.
Zulqadr, a Turkish tribe, 619.
INDEX
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES
IN THE FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
AYN I AKBARY.

Amber, 328, 329n., 339.
Amethi, 511, 538, 546.
Ammer, 454n.
Amrohab, 202, 438.
Amrarnayin, 386.
Amul, 176, 452.
Andaján (Farghánah), 354, 380.
Anwuláh, 395.
'Azábín Mount, 380.
Arrah (Bihár), 383, 400, 441, 443.
Arrail, 425.
Arakan, 396a.
Arbádá Achal, 358a.
Ardistán, 516.
Arhang, in Badakhshán, 65.
Arwí, 463n.
Assadábád (Hamadáni), 585n.
Ashtí, 336, 484.
Astrábad, 699a.
Aták, or Aták Banáras, 31, 374a.
446, 446a., 522.
Aţ'hárb, 324n.
Aubah (near Harát), 101, 435.
Audh, (province) 341, 354, 366, 389,
465 ; — (town), 31, 366, 400, 440,
444, 547.
Auranagábad (or K'harkí), 491n.
Awánkári, 546n.
'Azampúr, 462, 538.
Azarbáiján, 316.

BABÁ Kháfrún, 444.
Bagrah, 62, 99n.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bardwán</td>
<td>55.5°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardí</td>
<td>39.2°N</td>
<td>88.2°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárha</td>
<td>39.0°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárí</td>
<td>28.3°N</td>
<td>75.6°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda (Gujrat)</td>
<td>33.4°N</td>
<td>73.6°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barakhwán</td>
<td>17.7°N</td>
<td>75.2°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basantpur, Ramjón</td>
<td>37.3°N</td>
<td>75.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazávar</td>
<td>26.1°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastar</td>
<td>12.2°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauli</td>
<td>39.8°N</td>
<td>75.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayánwán</td>
<td>123°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazúhá</td>
<td>53.0°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>21.6°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhasrak</td>
<td>34.1°N</td>
<td>88.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagalpur</td>
<td>33.0°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaiš (Bhasi)</td>
<td>39.5°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairoyáwal, on the Biáh</td>
<td>39.4°N</td>
<td>41.4°E, 41.4°E; near the Chānáb, 45.4°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakar</td>
<td>31.1°N</td>
<td>191.1°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakar</td>
<td>32.1°N</td>
<td>191.1°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhalán</td>
<td>61.8°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bálín</td>
<td>59.2°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>17.6°N</td>
<td>315.1°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistán</td>
<td>36.0°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bámíyán</td>
<td>30.0°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banáras</td>
<td>31.7°N</td>
<td>300.5°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banál River</td>
<td>39.2°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banakdá</td>
<td>42.0°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandol</td>
<td>49.9°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandhá</td>
<td>35.8°N</td>
<td>407.4°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangás</td>
<td>315.4°N</td>
<td>466.4°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banpúr (Pampúr)</td>
<td>48.8°N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárahmúlah</td>
<td>335.4°N</td>
<td>479.0°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barár</td>
<td>337.3°N</td>
<td>442.4°E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bareli, 395, 481.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárha, 390.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárí, 283, 286, 519.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barodáh (Gujrat), 334, 396.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barakhwán, 177, 452, 453a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basantpur, Kamión, 373.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basávar, 361.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastar, 122.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baúli, 398a, 483.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayánwán, 123.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazúhá, 530a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, 31, 68, 122, 149, 190, 254,</td>
<td>271, 279, 326, 330, 331, 332,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332a, 339, 340, 341, 349, 350,</td>
<td>351, 354, 366, 356, 417, 424,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427, 430, 436, 439, 469, 481, 493,</td>
<td>493a, 496, 498, 499, 504, 512,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhásár, 488, 489.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhásrak, 341, 374, 375, 447.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhágalpur, 330.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaiš (Bhasi), 395.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairoyáwal, on the Biáh, 39.4a, 398,</td>
<td>413, 414, 414a, 454; near the Chánáb, 45.4a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakar, 31, 190, 191, 271, 332, 342,</td>
<td>362, 363, 363a, 420, 421, 423,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428, 438, 471, 481, 490, 514, 515, 546.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakralah, 486.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandar, 505.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhasí, vide Bhaiš.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatí Ghorás, 123, 355, 367, 406, 618.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatí, 331, 340, 342, 342a, 356, 400,</td>
<td>401, 431a, 436.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatinda, 143, 286.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaíner, 143, 286.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhasí, 335.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhintar, 437, 591a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpur (Bihár), 513a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhowál, 343.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biánah, 326, 384, 462, 545.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biáh River, 317.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bidauli, 391, 393, 395.
Bigrám, 397, 441n.
Bihárí (Muzaffarnagar), 394.
Bihish tábdád, vide Sikandrah.
Bijağár, 112, 325, 429.
Bijapúr, 306, 309, 466, 595n.
Bijnor, 395.
Bikánír, 143, 310, 316, 357, 358, 405.
Biláspur (Muzaffarnagar), 394.
Bilgrám, 316n., 390, 547.
Bir, 347, 459, 472.
Birbhúm, 395, 494n.
Broach, vide Babroch.
Bukhárá, 361, 423n., 583, 583n., 604.
Búndí, 410, 427, 458.
Burbhánábád, 401.
Búshahaj, 455.
Bust, 481.

CAMBAY, vide Kambháyat.
Chamári, 423, 539. [506, 506n.
Chámpanír (Gújrát), 80, 318, 386, 462.
Chamyári (Panjáb), 365n.
Chanár, Fort, 367, 396, 409, 435.
Chaná River, 55, 414n., 454.
Chandaúri Chandaurab, 395.
Chanderí, 112, 484.
Chándor Fort, 335.
Chándpúr, 395.
Chárikán, 388.
Chathanúrá, 398.
Chatórah, 394.
Chatmohor, 621.
Chaurágárr, 367, 407.

Chausá, 349, 355, 410, 427, 455.
Chhach Valley, 487n.
China, 81.
Chinese Tartary, 93.
Chios Island, 79.
Chitór, 330, 358, 408, 409, 435, 459, 519, 617.
Chittuá, 375.
Chotánab, 518.
Çihhatpúr, 311.
Cliffen, 197.
Cyprus, 78.

DAHNASÁRI (Tennasserim), 81, 281.
Daigúr Fort, 399.
Dainúr, 315.
Dak’hin, 82, 95, 149, 254, 336.
Dalamau, 469.
Dáman i Koh, 456.
Damáwánd, 543.
Dándes, vide Khándesh.
Dandoqáh, 397.
Dángali, 456n., 457n., 621.
Dantúr, vide Dhantúr.
DarwÍshábád, 592n.
Dastárá, 356.
Daulatábád, or Dhárágárh, or Deogir, 452, 459, 491n., 503, 506.
Dáwar, (Zamín Dáwar) 313, 314, 319, 328, 388, 408, 409.
Deogir, vide Un’tgír.
Deogir, vide Daulatábád.
Deoli Sájrí, 359n.
Deosah, 329.
Dháká, 511, 520, 521.
Dhamerí, 487.
Dhamún, 413.
Dhantúr (Dhantáwar), 501, 524.
Dhantúr, 524.
Dharangkón, 617.
Dhárágarh, vide Daulatábád.
Dhádrúr, 348.
Dhásri, 393.
Dholpur, 357, 472n.
Dholqah, 351, 397.
Dīg hapatī, 621.
Dīh Qāzīyān, 494.
Dik′bdār, 317n.
Dīpakpur (Māwah), 176, 453; (Panjāb), 325.
Disah, 622.
Dīd, 326, 348.
Dongarpur, 386, 404, 428, 494, 494a.
Dor River, 524n.
Dūnāārah, 399, 399n.
 Dwārkā, 326.

EDAR, vide Idar.
Europe, 59, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 279, 290n.

FADAK, 197.
Faiz Nahr Canal, 333.
Fānṣūr (in Sumātra), 78, 616.
Farāb, in Sijistān, 41a, 314.
Farānakd, near Samārghan, 434.
Farādābād, near Dīhlī, 415, 620.
Fathābād Sirkār (Bengal), 374.
Fathābād: (Panjāb), 414; (K′harkī), 491n.
Fathpur, a village near Kārah, 320.
Fathpur Hapsawah, 354, 390n, 456.
Fathpur Jhinjho, 236.
Fathpur Sirkī, 55, 88, 223, 309, 373, 402, 403, 423, 448, 492, 493, 495, 496, 497, 514, 515, 600n.
Firuzābād, 319.

GAKKH′HAR District, 487, 621.
Ganges, 37, 55.
Gango, 533, 546.
Ganjábah Fort (Ganjáwah), 421.

Gārha, (Gādha) or Gārha-Katangah (Jabalpur), 123, 326, 348, 356, 367, 368, 372, 381, 408, 409, 410, 428, 450, 480, 497, 533n.
Gārhi (Bengal), 326, 330, 335, 339, 349, 370n.
Garmūf, 313, 384.
Gaur, 175, 318, 375, 376, 410.
Gawil Fort, 449.
Gayā, 448n.
Ghandak River, 379.
G′harwālī, 297n.
Gharjistān, 342, 381n, 473.
Ghurāghah, 497.
Ghāzipūr, 208, 313, 410, 443, 465, 526.
Ghujdwān, 500.
Gidhor, 480n.
Gīrān, 175, 177, 424, 542, 574.
Goás, 331.
Gogandah, 339, 400; battle of, when fought, 418, 418n.
Golāb, vide Kānt o Golāb.
Gondwānāh, 367, 606.
Gorakhpūr, 32, 366, 369, 376.
Goshkān, or Joshqān, 55, 287n.
Gōjān, 498.
Gujār Khān, 466n.
Gujrāt, town in the Panjāb, 88, 414n, 471.
Gulpsāgān, 688a.
Gūndchūr, near Jāhindhār, 317n, 619.
Gūnahbād (Junābid), 691.
Gūrē, or Kūrā, 487n.
HADAUT, 409.
Haibatpūr, vide Patī Haibatpūr.
Hājīpūr, 208, 318, 326, 332, 349, 356, 410, 424, 460.
Hailān (Panjāb), 360, 467n.; vide Hīlān.
Haldīpūr, 499n.
Hamadān, 315, 585, 585n.
Hamīdpūr, 544.
Handīah, 122, 481, 619.
Hardāvar, or Harīdāvar, 31, 55, 352.
Harīgārph, 122.
Harīpūr, 375.
Hasan Abdāl, 425, 515.
Hāshimpūr, 395.
Hatiā, 486.
Hatiāpūl, 505, 505n.
Hatkhānt'h, 323, 389, 488.
Hazārah, 290.
Hīgār (Kābul), 359, 435, 609.
Hīgār Firāzah, 31, 57, 321.
Hilālābād, 332.
Hilāpūr, or Hil (vide Hailān) on the Jhelam, 467, 467n.
Hindūkūsh, 312.
Hirāpūr, 346.
Hirmand River, 313.
Hoshangābād, 112.
Hūgil, 375n., 440, 449n., 469.
Hūrmuz (Ormuz), 599n.

JAGDESPUR, 400, 498.
Jāhānbād, 375n.
Jaipūr, 329n., 419, 419n.
Jāis, 511.
Jaisalmīr, 143, 286, 477.
Jātāram, 339, 389n.
Jakzarah, 344.
Jalālābād, 318.
Jalālābād, 425.
Jalālpūr, vide Kharvarh.
Jalālpūr, 410.
Jalesar (Orīsā) 374, 376; near Dīhlī, 425.
Jalānpūr, in Barār, 309, 347.
Jālor, 40, 377, 493, 494, 622.
Jām, 319, 366n., 523, 541.
Jamnāh River (Jamnā), 55.
Jammā, 345, 456, 466.
Jānsath, 392, 394.
Jarrīn Bandar, 585m.
Jassar (Jessore), 315, 341.
Jazār, 593, 593n.
Jhānni, 539.
Jhinjho, vide Fathpur.
Kachh, 133, 143, 326, 419, 431, 431a.
Káhan River, 456.
Káharmátri River, 471.
Kaládodah, 396.
Kairúnah, 543, 544.
Kákarípúr, 483.
Kákor, 546a.
Kakrauli, 394.
Kálálí, 329.
Kálánúr, 32, 315, 416, 513.
Kálápán, 487.
Kálínjar, 369, 405, 406, 505, 611a.
Kálíp, 32, 321, 336, 361, 403, 404, 465, 487, 539.
Kátípán, 410.
Kamáson, 373, 436, 533a.
Kambháyst (Cambay), 281, 323, 325, 445, 463.
Kamráj, in Káshmír, 86, 346.
Kángrah, 339, 414, 416, 509.
Kantí, 426.
Kánt o Golah, 373.
Karáh (Karáh-Maníkpúr), 193, 320, 367, 367a., 456.
Karanja, 484a.
Karbalá, 602, 602a.
Karharé Fort, 356.
Karí, in Gujrát, 386.
Káshán, 92a., 93, 102, 187, 593a., 594a., 595, 596.
Káshghár, 323, 365a., 456, 460.
Kášák, 374a., 376, 376.
Káštang, 367a.; vide Garha.
Káthhiwár, 386.
Kázarún, 490.
Khabúshán, 606a.
K'bachrod, 478.
K'háf, or Khwáf, 445, 445a., 592.
Khábar Pass, 204, 404a., 609a., 610a.
Kháirábád (Pánjáb) 333 (Andh), 366, 381, 382, 390a., 465, 469, 538.
Khálgaón, 331a., 370a.
KhalluKh, 92a.
Khán Dar (7), 419a.
Khánásh (Dándesh), 68, 325, 327, 335, 336, 336a., 337, 463.
Khánpúr, 440; (Pánjáb) 466a.
K'harkápúr (Bibár), 446, 480a.
Khárbusah, 487.
K'hárif, 396.
Khárjard, 445.
K'harkí, vide Aurangábád.
K'harwaá Jálápúr, 394.
K'hatáulí, 394, 395.
K'hatoráh, 394.
K'hatfú, 607a.
Khwáf, vide Khái.
Khírazábád, 333.
Khízrpúr, 343.
Khurár (Ortsá), 489, 493, 607a.
Khúsistán, 55.
Khwájah Awáráh, 444.
Khwájah Sayyárán, 444.
Khvárazm, its music, 51; 102, 581.
Kingrí, 514 (where wrong Kingú).
Kirmán, 55, 583n.
Koch, vide Kúch.
Koh i Sulaimán, 423.
Kokrab, 401, 479, 479n, 480n.
Koláb, 438.
Kól Jaláf, 343, 512.
Komálnair, or Koubhalmir, 400, 533n.
Korrab, 441.
Kot'ha, 409.
Kót K'hachwah, 431, 431a.
Kúch Hájo, 493, 493a, 621.
Kuhpáyah, 608a.
Kuhátá, 456n.
Kundíl, 393.
Kuráş, 487.
Kurdistán, 315.

LAḌLAI, 403.
Láhirí Bandar, 281, 363; vide Lohari.
Láharpúr (Auchh), 620.
Lak'bi Fort, 335, 484.
Lak'hipúr, 345.
Lak'hnau, 32, 348, 366, 373, 396, 424, 469, 470, 518, 612n.
Lak'hnor (Sambhal), 315.
Lalang Fort, 464.
Lamghánát, 344.
Láristán, 490, 540, 599n, 601n.
Lohari, 421, 432, 471; vide Láhirí.
Lobgarh, 482.
Lúdhíánah, 318, 426.
Luhárwar, 323n.
Lúni (Bañquí?), 398, 483.

MACHWARAH, 315.
Madáran, 375.
Mahindra River, 325, 462.
Makkar, 449.
Mahlúdábád (Champánírf), 507, 508.
Mainman, 395.
Mair'tha (Mi'tha), 286, 322, 368, 427, 436, 476, 493a.
Maisánah, 486.
Maiwár (Mewár), 353, 387, 417.
Majharah (Majherah), 391, 395, 477.
Makkah (Mecca), 93, 172, 273, 586n, 608a.
Malaca, 281.
Máler, 624.
Malibád (Malabar), 280.
Máltíghá, 498.
Máliá, 592n.
Manáráh, 422.
Mançúpúr, 394.
Mándalgarh, 452.
Mándá, 367n.
Mándlá, 390n.
Mangalkot, 440.
Máníkpur, 320, 369, 382.
Manipúr (Asám), 297.
Mánkoṭ, 316, 319, 323, 345, 366a, 390.
Manoharpúr, 494a.
Mararáj, 84, 346.
Márgalál, 486, 487, 487n.
Marw, 574.
Máywá, 476.
Mashhad, 100, 101, 102, 317, 346, 347, 381, 382a, 540, 563, 568, 569a, 606, 608, 611n, 612, 613.
Mát'hílah Fort, 421.
Mat'hirá, 254, 284, 478, 488.
Mau (Núrpúr State), 345, 519.
Mávaralnahr, 137, 327.
Mázarandán, 590, 610.
Medinípur, 342, 375, 375a., 376.
Mewár, vide Máiwáir.
Mewát, 133, 252, 319, 334, 334a., 391, 493.
Mihal (Champáran), 444.
Miránpur, 394, 395.
Miýánkál (Samarqánd), 372a., 545, 546a., 556, 567a.
Mohán (Audh), 452.
Mol Manoharbarnagar, 494.
Mornah, 395.
Mughulmári, 376, 376a.
Muhammadábád, 410, 444.
Muhibb 'Allípur, 423.
Mulher, 500.
Mulikápur, 503.
Munáir, in Bihár, 48.
Mungrwal (?), 320.
Munger, 361.
Murádábád, 478.
Muzaffarnagar, 390, 391; built, 394.

Nádínah (Sambhal), 382a.; vide Nádínah.
Nádot, 335, 357.
Nagarchín, 238a.
Negarkót, 390, 345, 404, 463.
Nagínáb, 398; vide Nádínah.
Nahr i Shiháb Canal, 333.
Nahrwáláh, vide Paţán (Gujrát).
Najaf, 569.
Namakár, 470.
Nandánpur, 129.
Narbadah River, 325.
Narhán, 410.

Nárnaul, 319, 329, 360, 369, 538.
Narwar, 122, 434.
Násik, 368.
Nausárí, in Gujrát, 184.
Naushád, in Turkistán, 92a.
Naushabahá (Kashmír), 437.
Nawábganj (Singorá), 320.
Nazar, 603a.
Nazbár, 334, 463.
Nek Ujýál (?), 520.
Nishápúr, 102, 322, 353, 591, 611.
Nimlah, 57.
Nizámábád, 267a.

Ogdír, in the Dák'hin, 346, 496.
Oorcha, vide Unjáocháh.
Ormuz, vide Hurmuz.

Pájkoráh River, 345.
Pahlínpúr, 622.
Pák'hí, 162, 454, 479, 501, 602.
Pakkha, 487.
Pák Paţán (or Paţán i Panáb, or Ajo-

dhan), 31, 181, 286, 326, 683a.
Pampúr (Kashmír), 433; vide Bampúr, and Pampúr.
Pan hán (?), 66, 616.
Pánipáth, 181, 319, 543.
Pannáh, 122, 425, 618.
Panpúr (Pampúr), in Kashmír, 84; vide Pampúr.
Paraspúr, in Kashmír, 85.
Parepád, 413.
Parasaror, 348.
Pasháwar, 345, 354, 377, 397, 466, 469.
Paţán or Paţán i Panjáb, vide Pák Paţán.

PAHTAN (on the Godawari), 459, 482.

PAHTHAN (Paithan), 314, 414, 457, 616.

PAHTI, 335, 496.

PATHAL (Panjab), 393.

PATIALA, 372.

PATIHubatpur, 133.


PAUNAR, 484a.

PAWANGARH, 318.

PEGU, 281.

PERSIA, 178.

PHARWALAH, 456a., 621.

PHILLIAR, 317a., 619.

PIHANI, 468, 469.

PIND DADAN KHAN, 456a.

PINDI GHEB, 456a.

PIJJAR, 479.

PIYG (vide Allahabad), 368.

PORTUGAL, 95, 281.

POHCHWAR, 436, 487a.

PUR MAULAL, 400.

PURU, 340, 366a., 370a.

PURNIAH, or PURANNIAH, 395, 436.

QAIN (Persia), 591.

QALAT, 314, 408, 455.


QANNOUJ, 32, 321, 336, 464, 468, 477.

QARABAGH, 344.

QAZVIN, 101, 102, 447, 572.

QIBRUS, vide Cyprus.

QICHAK, 613.

QIRGHIZ, 132.

QIRYAT KHUDAWAND KHAN, 442a.

QISUS, or QISTUS, vide Chios.

QUM, 598.

QUNDUZ, 315.

RAHUTARAH, 482.

RAI (Khurásán), 599.

RAI Bareli, 320.

RAÍSÍN, 112, 314, 326, 450.

RAJÁWAT, 328.

RAJMBAHAL, vide AkbarNagar.

RAJOR, in Kashmir, 309, 461.

RAJORI, 57.

RAJPIPLA, 335.

RAJSHAHÍ, 621.

RÁMPUR (Isibápúr), 417, 418.

RÁMSÍR, 510.

RANKATTHA, 332.

RANTABHÚR, 32, 189, 330, 348, 387, 398, 398a., 399, 409, 417, 436, 466, 483.

RASHT, 574m.

RASULPUR, on the Jhelam, 360.

RATANPUR, 122, 407.

RÁWAL PINDÍ, 456a., 487.

RED SEA, 82.

REWÁ, 407.

ROHANKHERAH, 442.

ROHTÁS (in Bihár), 132, 341, 349, 400, 422, 427, 427a., 497, 502; (in the Panjab) 484, 466, 486.

RÜDKHÁNAH I NASHEB, 322.

SABZWÁR, 55, 359, 498, 601, 601a., 602a., 613a.

SAFÍDún, 333, 542.

SAHÁRANPUR, 32.

SAHIND, vide Sarhind.

SAHWÁN, 335, 355a.; vide Siwistán.

SAJÁWALPUR, 428.

SÁKIT, 320, 324a., 435.

SAKRAWÁL (?), 320.

SÁLMÁBAD, 440.

SÁLMANCHAR, 415.

SALMAHÁ, 340.

SALT RANGE, 465a., 470.

SAMANÁH, 524.

SAMARQAND, 65, 187, 423, 539, 541, 605a.
Sambhal, 32, 34a., 313, 315, 319, 322, 331, 375, 462, 478, 481, 482, 540, 544.
Sambhalpur, 391, 394, 395.
Sambhar, 309, 329, 364a.
Samgar, 478.
Sangchur, 463a., 622.
Sandal, 384.
Sandháoli, 396.
Sangánír, 329, 434a.
Sanján, 445.
Sántur, 478.
Saráí Jáfrú, 472a.
Sarhoff, 383, 383a.
Sarhind, or Sirhind, or Sahind, 32, 105, 316a., 319, 332, 365, 441a., 526, 544.
Sarkich, near Ahmadábád, 335, 419, 507a., 568a., 603a.
Sarmál, 333, 357, 463.
Saroh, 322, 357, 358, 419.
Saruj, 32, 390, 402, 456, 505.
Sarov, 318.
Sarw River, 381a.
Sarwar, 381.
Sátgón, 122, 280, 331, 331a., 341, 374, 520.
Satwás (Sátwás), 119, 372, 373.
Sawál and Bijor, 425, 457, 471.
Sawáh, 586, 598a., 600.
Sehodhad, 505.
Sewé Fort, 362.
Sháhábád, 106, 206, 406.
Sháhpur 335, 357; on the Chanáb, 414a.
Shahr-i-Nau, 401.
Shaikhwát, 328, 390, 419.
Shajá’atpúr, vide Shujá’atpúr.
Shajáwalpur, 428.
Shamsábád, 372.
Sharízfád, 341.
Shergarh (Gannuan), 320, 398a., 400.
Sherpur, 399; — Atái, 341, 447; — Murcha, 340, 437.
Shihábuddinpúr, 460.
Shiráz, 100, 315, 450, 569, 594, 599, 604.
Shirwán, 132.
Shor, 377a.
Shujá’atpúr (Shajá’atpúr), 428.
Shustur, 545, 605a.
Siálkot, 32, 365, 605a.
Sijistán, 41a.
Sikandrábád, 332.
Sikandhrá (Bihishtábád), 211, 332a., 347.
Sikri, vide Fathpur Sikri.
Silhát, 332a.
Sínávali, 286.
Sinn Ságár Duáb, 456a.
Sind, 143, 179a., 335, 335a., 362, 363, 364a., 471, 644.
Singor (Nawábgaúj), 320.
Siráwand, 445.
Sirdhanah (Miráth), 394.
Sirdháoli, 394.
Sirgúj, 123, 618.
Sirhind, vide Sirhind.
Sístán, 314.
Sítpur, 539.
Síwánah Fort, 357, 399, 399a., 476.
Siwistán, or Sahwán, 335a., 363, 363a., 473, 474, 490, 511, 514.
Siyá River, 384.
Sodharah, 414a.
Schán River, 487.
Sonnát, 326.
Soráth, 621.
Soróq, 55, 615.
Srínagar (Garhwál) 478; (Kashmír), 346, 380.
Sukkhar, 471, 515.
Sultánpur, 172, 347, 544; — Bilahri, 400; — in Gakkhar District, 456a.
Sultánpur River, 415.
Sumánt, 78, 616.
Sunnám, 286.
Sunnárgón, 343, 400.
Súpá, 336.
TABARHINDAH, 316.
Tabrīz, 100, 101, 253, 497, 590, 603, 611n.
Tehrān (Teheran), 508, 599.
Tābād, 366, 366a.
Tāqī, 312.
Tājpur (Bengal), 342, 436.
Takaroi, vide Tukaroi.
Takht i Sulaimān, 33a.
Talambah, 330.
Tāligāon, 454a.
Talingānābād, 452a.
Tānūdah (in Bengal), 31, 318, 330, 331, 341, 350, 370, 436.
Tanderah, 395.
Tarān, 460.
Tāshkand, 540.
Tenneserim, vide Dahnasari.
Terāh Mount, 356, 361, 471.
Thāliner, 503.
Thānah Langar, 418.
Thaneswar, 104, 538.
Thor, 398n.
Tibbat, or Tibet, 37, 90, 132, 149, 201, 297n, 310, 456, 474, 607n.
Tiharpur, 393.
Tilābar, 133, 396.
Tilah, 466.
Tilpat, 418.
Tilwārāh, or the Biáh, 317.
Tiranbak, 479.
Tirmiz, 322.
Tis-hab, 395.

Tissang, 395 (where wrong Tung).
Tohad, 283.
Tons River (Banaras), 339.
Tukaroi, in Órīsā, 375, 379, 407.
Tulsīpur, 395.
Tūrān, 23, 64, 65, 132.
Turkey, 113, 132, 279.
Tushiz, 605.
Tú, 609.

UCHH, 544.
Udaipur, 357, 358, 400, 478, 519.
U'nchhod, 122, 618.
Ungchah, 356, 458, 458n, 487, 488.
U'ntigir (Ootigir), or Deogarh, 380.
Uroach, vide U'nochah.

VAZIRABAD (Punjāb), 414a.
Vhatnah, 394.

WASĪT, 390.
Werkopá, 608n.

YAMAN, 82.
Yazd, 92, 93, 603n, 616.

ZABULISTAN, 333, 340, 344, 345, 360.
Zafarnagar, 503.
Zahák (Zahák-Bāmiyān), 444, 455.
Zamāniā, founded, 320; 382, 427.
Zanzibar, (Zangbār) 279.
Zīrbād [Zerbād], east of Sumátra, 81, 616.
NAME

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